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GENESIS

AND ITS AUTHORSHIP.

TWO DISSERTATIONS.

- I. ON THE IMPORT OF THE INTRODUCTORY CHAPTERS OF THE BOOK OF GENESIS.
- II. ON THE USE OF THE NAMES OF GOD IN THE BOOK OF GENESIS,
 AND ON THE UNITY OF ITS AUTHORSHIP.

REVISED EDITION.

WITH NOTICE OF ANIMADVERSIONS BY THE BISHOP OF NATAL.

BY

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NOTICE

OF THE ANIMADVERSIONS

OF THE BISHOP OF NATAL.

In "The New Bible Commentary Critically Examined," Bishop Colenso has spoken of the following work, or rather of its author, as I take it for granted he has never read the book itself, in terms which call for a few remarks from me in reply.

In the Preface of Part I. pp. viii. ix., he complains that the Bishop of Ely has briefly referred to me as having "carefully and elaborately investigated" the linguistic differences between the Elohistic and Jehovistic passages of Genesis, instead of making any such investigation for himself; and again, in p. 72, he makes the same complaint. I should have supposed that any occasion for the Bishop of Ely to enter on such an investigation himself would have depended on the insufficiency of my discussion of these differences, and that Bishop Colenso had no right to blame the Bishop of Ely for contenting himself with a reference to me, without showing that I had failed in my attempt to account for them. Instead of this, however, he absolves himself from any consideration of my discussion of the matter with this contemptuous remark: "From the specimen which we have had in (6 ii.) above of Mr. Quarry's mode of reasoning, so much approved by Bp. Browne, I am not surprised at this," namely, at the Bishop's reference to my work. Turning now to the specimen by which he justifies this contempt (6 ii.) pp. 57.58, we find the Bishop of Ely quoted as saying, in regard to the repetition of the name Elohim in i. 1-ii. 3, "The passage is scarcely more really marked as Elohistic by the name Elohim occurring thirty-five times, than if it had occurred but once; for its having occurred once would inevitably lead to its continued and frequent recurrence," in support of which my table of alternations of the names in p. 401 of this work is cited in a note by his Lordship. To this quotation Bishop Colenso subjoins, "Ans. 'Would inevitably lead, etc'! Then let the reader turn to"-certain passages to which I purpose shortly to revert. And he adds, "In short, the table of Mr. Quarry, to which

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Bp. Browne appeals in a note with so much confidence as-showing how different the virtual occurrence of the respective names is from the apparent superficial occurrence on which so much has been built-is a simple absurdity when we take account of the above passages." To this he appends a note, in which he says, "By reckoning thirty-five Elohims in Gen. i. 1-ii. 3, three in v. 22-26, five in vi. 9-22, four in ix. 1-6, two in v. 1, viii. 1, ix. 1-6, each set as one, and similarly with Jehovah, Mr. Quarry considers himself to have proved that "as evidence of any predilection for either name, the case is just as if in Gen. i.-xi. Elohim had occurred singly fifteen times, and Jehovah twelve times." Just remarking on this note that I plainly did not consider myself to have proved this by reckoning as thus stated, but by the reasons assigned for reckoning in this manner, and that Bishop Colenso thus misrepresents my reasoning, of which he speaks so contemptuously, I now turn again to p. 72, in which I find him further saying that the Bishop of Ely, "after Mr. Quarry, has been 'constructing a theory in spite of facts,' since, according to his view—see above (6 ii.)—the writer having once begun with using Jehovah, should 'inevitably' have gone on repeating it throughout the section." On this passage I remark as follows:-

- 1. The sentence is constructed with singular ambiguity. A person reading in a cursory way would probably refer the pronoun his in the clause "according to his view," to me as the person last mentioned. Still, however, it may be alleged that it was intended to be referred to the Bishop of Ely as the principal subject of the sentence. Whether this ambiguity was accidental or not, it seems plain that the author intended to represent me as equally responsible with the Bishop of Ely for the alleged view, and for the use of the word inevitably, or of something equivalent, as giving to the argument the absurdity he so confidently imputes to it, shewing the stress he lays on this word by previously quoting it twice in Italics.
- 2. The Bishop of Ely is misrepresented in the sentence, so far as the reference is to him. He merely spoke of the use of a particular name at the outset as inevitably leading to its repetition, which only expresses strongly the natural tendency, what it would inevitably suggest. The author, however, represents the Bishop of Ely as thinking, "after me," that a person having once begun with a particular name, should "inevitably" have gone on repeating it. It will at once be seen how different are the Bishop of Ely's words and this interpretation of them, separated as it is by a considerable number of pages from the words themselves. It is plainly one thing to say that a particular act inevitably leads to its repetition, and another that the repetition should inevitably take place. Perhaps the Bishop of Ely will think that he may apply to Bishop Colenso the words of the latter respecting himself,

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p. 24, and "assume that this is the result of mere carelessness on his part, and not of a deliberate purpose to misrepresent his argument."

3. And now as regards myself, I never used the words at all, either expressly or by implication. The Bishop of Ely merely expressed his own opinion, and supported it by a reference to the conclusions I had arrived at. And as I never used the phrase on which so much stress is laid, still less would I have said anything implying that this continued use of a name once adopted was in any way necessary. How should I, when I had laid it down first as a principle, p. 264, that "supposing that the two names, Jehovah and Elohim, were co-existing names of the same nature and equivalent in their meaning, it would be nothing remarkable for the same writer, if only for the sake of variety, to use both indiscriminately and indifferently"? But I further say in the same connection, "At the same time it would not be unlikely that a writer, having from whatever cause set out with one or other of these names, should in any short piece complete in itself, such as a psalm or brief narrative of some particular events or circumstances, occasionally adhere to the use of the same name throughout." This was on the supposition that the names were equivalent; but having shown at length that the names were not equivalent, the one being a proper name and the other generic, I then, p. 267, mention the occasions which may naturally arise for variation in their use in the same discourse. As regards the tendency to continue the use of the name first adopted, I remarked on Gen. i. 1-ii. 3, in reference to the argument founded on the number of times Elohim is repeated in this passage, that "as regards any weight attached to the frequency of Elohim in the present passage, the argument is perfectly futile. If the writer had both names in common use, and was otherwise indifferent as to his choice, the general unity of this passage in substance and in form, and the regularity with which at each succeeding mention of God, he is introduced as it were with a standing formula, "and God said," "and God saw," "and God created," "and God blessed," would have naturally occasioned the use of the same name throughout, God being mentioned in no other connection after the introductory verses. And then the subject matter being uniformly such as made the general name more suitable, the whole must be regarded, not as representing 35 independent instances of the use of Elohim, as the Bishop treats it, but as if it were used only once, all the repetitions of it being of no more weight in this enquiry than the pronoun which might all through be substituted for it after the first use of the word." This remark is referred to in the general survey of the first eleven chapters in pp. 400 ff., and then I add that "the same remark may be made in reference to many other passages, in which one or other name having been, for whatever reason, once Xvi NOTICE.

adopted, its repetition through the remainder of the passage is a matter of course, and does not add in any respect to the character of the passage, as Elohistic or Jehovistic. The use of the compound name Jehovah Elohim is indifferent, and indicates no preference for either. Setting aside the places where this occurs, and reducing to one the number of times in which the same name is repeated as a matter of course, in sequence with its first adoption, the justness of which in each case the reader can judge for himself, the alternation of the names will be as follows," viz. as set out in the table referred to by the Bishop of Ely, together with the sentence that succeeds it. To that sentence I subjoin what follows: "Had these names been thus thinly scattered, and their places in other instances been supplied as they might, and in other languages would for the most part have been, by pronouns or other devices, it is probable the Jehovist and Elohist, as separate writers, would never have been dreamt of. It is only the Oriental, or at any rate the Hebraistic, habit of repetition which we Westerns try to avoid, that has given a supposititious importance to the recurrence and alternations of these names." This is what I have said on the subject in its general aspect, while in going through the successive portions of the book in detail, I endeavoured to account for the repetitions or changes as they occur on simple, natural, and reasonable grounds. And in doing this, I have not overlooked the passages in Genesis to which the Bishop of Natal refers in proof of the simple absurdity attributed to my table of alternations.

It will now be apparent why I took for granted that the Bishop of Natal had not read this work. While I have no right to suppose he was bound to make himself acquainted with it, it certainly behoved him, both as a matter of literary caution, and in common fairness, either to have taken no notice whatever of it and of me, or to have first ascertained what I really did say on this subject.

The passages not contained in Genesis to which Bishop Colenso refers as proof of the alleged absurdity of my table are in Ex. iii. and Numb. xxii. A few words will show that these passages are quite consistent with anything I have said.

In Ex. iii. Horeb is called "the Mount of God" in v. 1, this being in the writer's mind its well-known designation, derived either from the common usage to express a superlative, or from the divine manifestations there made. But this use of Elohim occasions no repetition of that word, as the account of the appearance in the burning bush commences immediately after in v. 2. Now the regular and all but invariable expression used to denote the personal manifestations of God in a sensible form is "the Angel of Jchovah." This, therefore, comes in properly in v. 2, and in sequence with it Jehovah

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again occurs in v. 4, in accordance with the alleged tendency that has given rise to this discussion. But as the Lord might have seen Moses turn aside without being himself sensibly present in the bush, the writer indicates that the actual manifestation in the bush was divine. God himself, not a created angel, by saying that "Elohim spake to him out of the bush," the generic Elohim being, as I have abundantly shown, the proper word to mark the distinction between the divine and the created. Then again in v. 6, Elohim, the generic word, is properly used in the predicate, "the Elohim of Abraham," etc. To have said "I am the Jehovah of Abraham" would have been absurd. But as it was Jehovah that was the subject of this proposition, represented by the pronoun I, so it is still Jehovah that speaks in v. 7. Here, however, comes a break by the intervention of several verses. The name Jehovah is now about to be formally communicated to Moses, first by the form "I am," Ehejeh, in the first person, and then in the third person, Jahveh or Jehovah. To make the narrative more dramatically correct, it is therefore to Elohim Moses is said to have spoken in v. 11, and this word continues to be used until God announces himself as "I am," Jehovah Elohim of your fathers, Elohim of Abraham, etc., vv. 14-16, in sequence with which we have again in v. 18, Jehovah Elohim of the Hebrews, Jehovah our Elohim. Thus all the instances of alternation and repetition are in the highest degree in accordance with the principles laid down by me on this subject.

In Numb. xxii. there is a great dramatic propriety also observable. It was not as an ordinary magician, but as one who professed the worship of Jehovah, the God of the Israelites, and affected to prophesy by his aid, that Balaam was resorted to by Balak. Accordingly, while in the early part of the narrative, Elohim is used by the writer speaking in his own person, Jehovah alone is put into Balaam's mouth, except in v. 18, where he calls Jehovah his God. This continues until v. 23, where God appears to Balaam as the Angel of Jehovah, this customary designation being here used as in Ex. iii., and continuing through this part of the narrative with the interchange of Jehovah by itself twice, in sequence with it, or to mark the identity of the Angel of Jehovah with Jehovah himself. A new portion of the narrative commences with v 36, and in v. 38 Balaam speaks of the word that Elohim should put into his mouth, distinguishing it thus as divine from his own word as human. In xxiii. 3, he hopes Jehovah will come to meet him, while the narrator in v. 4 uses Elohim as before, telling us that God did meet him, though, with manifest reference to Balaam's expectation, he says in v. 5 that Jehovah put a word in his mouth. Jehovah being thus adopted by the writer continues to be used by him in his own person,

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except in xxiv. 2, where he says the Spirit of God, a divine not a human influence, came upon Balaam. So also, as before, Balaam in conversation with Balak uses Jehovah as the name of his God, while Balak uses Elohim, as not being himself a worshipper of Jehovah, but speaks of Jehovah as being Balaam's God, a real god, according to the true spirit of the heathen. But in all the poetical predictions of Balaam, called parables in our English version, with the variation common in the parallel clauses of Hebrew poetry, he uses several different designations of the Divine Being. And it is remarkable that throughout these poetic oracles he never uses the plural form Elohim, except in xxiii. 19, where he calls Jehovah Israel's Elohim, a phrase familiar to the writer's mind, but always the singular El, as if to mark his belief in the unity of God, in opposition to Balak's polytheism. In xxiii. 8, God is El and Jehovah, in 19-24 El, Elohim, and Jehovah; in xxiv. 3-9, El, Shaddai, and Jehovah; in 16-23, he is El, Elion, and Shaddai. Thus these several designations are gathered up into identity with the personal Jehovah, in close conformity with a similar identification which I have noticed in pp. 297-299 as carefully made by the writer of the Book of Genesis. In all this there is great dramatic propriety, great evidence of design on the writer's part, quite enough to overbear any natural tendency to use one name throughout, and to account for the various interchanges.

As in the remaining parts of his examination, the Bishop of Natal has entirely ignored my work, I am not called on to notice further any of his remarks. But I take one "specimen," to use his own word. In p. 65 he revives his advocacy of the genuineness of the celebrated Clarian Oracle, relying on the authority of Land for the purity of its Greek and the correctness of its versification. Of course he takes no notice of what I have said on the subject in pp. 303-4; and passing over sub silentio his former translation of the oracle which I have criticised, he now offers a new translation, in which he corrects his mis-rendering of άλαπαδνός, so far as to substitute slight for adroit, and takes παύρη as a nominative instead of the dative $\pi \alpha \nu \rho \eta$, without, however, much mending the sense, as I have shown. Perhaps it was with some feeling of this fact that now, as before, he introduces the indefinite article. But if by "a little sense and a slight understanding," he intends our elliptical way of recommending a little of sense and a slight degree of understanding, however this may somewhat help the meaning, it is not what the Greek construction signifies, nor is slight, as denoting quantity, a proper rendering of alamadvos. He also proposes to substitute $\nu\eta\pi\epsilon\nu\theta\epsilon a$ for $\nu\eta\pi\epsilon\nu\theta\epsilon a$, a variant that might easily have arisen in copying the modern cursive Greek, but was not so likely to occur in

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the more ancient uncial character. But to say nothing of the questionable lawfulness of conjectural emendation for controversial purposes, if this change has the advantage of introducing a real in place of a doubtful Greek word, matters are not mended as regards the sense; for this emendation takes away the little grain of meaning the verse otherwise possessed. For while there was some reason in saying that one ought not to divulge mysteries that were ineffable in the sense of such as should not be mentioned, or rather were not to be enquired into, as the word would more properly signify, to call them "soul-soothing" is to give a reason for divulging, not for concealing them. It is astonishing how uncritical upon occasion, and even credulous, the sceptical mind can be! Indeed, the entire tone of this examination, as regards the Bishop of Ely, is by no means consistent with the calm, judicial spirit of a true critic.

Μοῦνοι Χαλδαῖοι σοφίην λάχον, ἤδ'ἄρ Ἐβραῖοι, 'Αυτογένητον ἄνακτα σεβαζόμενοι Θεὸν ἁγνῶς.

Eusebius reads αὐτογένεθλον.

¹ In reference to another conjectural reading, approved of by the Bishop in place of the silly $\partial_{\rho}\rho_{\nu}$ Idω of the last line, I suggested, p. 304, note, that if emendation of this kind were admissible we might read Έβραῖον Ιάω, instead of δάβρον Ιάω. I might have justified this by another pretended oracle of Apollo cited by Justin, Cohort. p. 12 B., Par 1615, and by Porphyry, apud Euseb. Præp. Ev. ix. 10., Par. 1628. As given by Justin it is as follows:—



GENESIS AND ITS AUTHORSHIP.

I. ON THE IMPORT OF THE INTRODUCTORY CHAPTERS OF THE BOOK OF GENESIS.

CHAPTERS I., II. 1-3.

THE SIX DAYS' CREATION.

I. There is no respect in which those who are adverse to the notion of the divine authority of the Holy Scriptures, and of an external revelation as contained therein, have supposed that they were in possession of a more advantageous ground from which to direct their attacks, than in the recent discoveries of geological enquirers, and the facts that these have brought to light in regard to the ancient history of our globe and of its living occupants. And nothing has occasioned the advocates of divine revelation a greater amount of perplexity, or placed them in a more unfavourable point of view, than the efforts which they have thought it necessary to make with the view of reconciling the accounts of the creation contained in the book of Genesis with the facts revealed by these discoveries. In the infancy of geological science indeed it presented no obstacle to the reception of the Mosaic account of creation regarded as a literal history, setting forth the successive steps in which it was accomplished in six days of ordinary duration; while the discovery of fossil shells high up on the mountain ranges was supposed to afford a striking confirmation of the book of Genesis

in respect to another particular of no slight importance, namely, the history of the deluge. Geology and its speculations, carried on in the interest of revelation, were at that time discountenanced by the infidel, and absurd hypotheses were framed to account for appearances which were supposed to be confirmatory of the Scriptural narrative of that event, such as Voltaire's supposition that the fossil shells of the Alpine passes were left behind by pilgrims, who, on their return from the Holy Land, had brought them as memorials of their pilgrimage. The inadequacy of such an explanation was evident enough, and believers in the Scripture history triumphed in this appeal to "the testimony of the rocks." Many that have long known the true state of the case are old onough to remember being taught that the deluge had left incontestible evidences of itself in the shells to be found on the tops of mountains—a notion which it is to be feared the general progress of education and diffusion of knowledge have scarcely yet banished from the minds of some.

How completely matters have been changed in this respect in these later times it is unnecessary to say. The advocates of revelation have latterly, through their own mistaken tactics, found themselves in the miserable condition of an army obliged to retreat before an advancing enemy, continually taking up new positions to be presently abandoned again, and ever in momentary expectation of being driven from the entrenchments that seemed to promise the greatest security. The theories that have been framed from time to time to meet the advancing state of scientific discovery, from their variety and inconsistency with one another no less than by their separate insufficiency, have failed to give satisfaction; even the most confident of their propounders must have felt that at best their explanations were only provisional. Such as have been any time before the world are too well known to those who take an interest in these matters to make it needful to describe them in detail, and their inconsistencies with one another as

¹ Dict. Philos., Art. Coquilles.

well as with the plain statements of the Biblical document itself have been amply exposed in Mr. Goodwin's article in the "Essays and Reviews," in a spirit, however, devoid of any desire to sustain the character of that document as an inspired communication.

These theories have proceeded in general either on the supposition that the successive stages of creation revealed by the researches of geologists had wholly come to an end, and that the earth was again reduced to a state of chaos, before the supposed new creation of the six days of Moses, representing the present state of nature, commenced; -a supposition which is negatived by the fact that such a general submersion of the earth as it implies, subsequent to any of the recognised geological periods, or indeed any decided and absolute break of continuity in the transition from the most recent of the older states to the present order, is not only without evidence, but contrary to all evidence afforded by geological observation. Or else they have supposed the successive days of the Mosaic account to represent the successive geological periods, this hypothesis in its most ingenious form, as presented by the late Hugh Miller, assuming that the creatures specified were not the only ones created on the successive days, but such as were specially characteristic of the successive periods. While Hugh Miller adopted the notion of an optical display of creation in its progress, as represented in a vision to Moses, more recently Professor Challis, in his Essay, "Creation in Plan and in Progress," supposes that the first chapter of Genesis presents not a history of the actual progressive operations of the Creator, but a proleptical or anticipatory representation of the scheme of creation, as devised by the Almighty. This he brings into accordance, as he thinks, with facts, by assuming, like Miller, that the point fixed in each successive period is not that of first appearances; but, instead of Miller's characteristic productions, he supposes that of maximum operation. This he says embraces

¹ Professor Challis is not consistent in his notion of what constitutes maximum operation or development. In p. 67, "the enormous development of flora in the

the preceding steps of development and the subsequent descending steps, while "the intervals over which their unfoldings were spread, overlapped each other," pp. 70, 71. In order to make the account, even on this supposition, accord with facts, he is obliged to confine the creatures of the sea, said to have been created on the fifth day, to reptiles, relying on the insufficient rendering of the Septuagint ($\epsilon \rho \pi \epsilon \tau \dot{a}$), and the word denoting flying creatures to the winged monsters such as pterodactyls. Thus, though he supposes all kinds of winged animals to be included, 1 yet he regards the word as properly and, according to the principle of maximum development, primarily to signify a sort of creature quite unknown to those in whose language the word was properly applicable to birds. Fishes he excludes altogether, like birds, from any express recognition, though he supposes them to be included with the cetaceans as the maximum development of the marine tribe, these being brought out of their own period, the tertiary into the secondary, merely on account of their marine habitat; animals not really belonging to this period at all being thus specified as characterising it in regard to an important part of its living creatures. But even apart from these difficulties, our knowledge of the characteristic productions, or the creatures

carboniferous period, greatly exceeding the amount of like productions, before or after," has manifest reference to quantity in the aggregate, rather than in the size of individual productions, while in respect to the secondary and tertiary periods, he speaks of the "development of animal life, remarkable as to form and magnitude," such as gigantic species of quadrupeds. In p. 74, he observes there is "no geological evidence of an epoch of the maximum production of fishes. While the species changed very gradually, the individuals were always in nearly the same abundance." Here development in regard to number is plainly intended. But presently he adds that "the epoch of the estaccans is regarded as that of the maximum development of the marine tribe of animals," as evidenced by the mention of "the great whales," where size not number is the criterion.

1 It is only very recently that birds have been supposed to have existed at all prior to the tertiary period, the first clear instance of the remains of a bird in deposits of

¹ It is only very recently that birds have been supposed to have existed at all prior to the tertiary period, the first clear instance of the remains of a bird in deposits of an earlier period having been portions of the skeleton of a swimming bird, found in the upper greensand of the cretaceous series, near Cambridge, in 1858, [the geological age of the footprints previously found in America having been doubted by competent authorities]. Since then the Archæopteryx Macrurus, now in the British Museum, was found near Solenhofen, in Bavaria, in a member of the upper colite. See Lyell's Antiquity of Man, p. 451. These rare instances do not certainly justify any reference to them in a description intended to represent the creatures of maximum development, as regards numbers, while in respect to size they are by no means remarkable.

of maximum development, belonging to particular geological formations supposed to have been contemporaneous, is founded on a very imperfect induction; we have not the evidence to be derived from vast regions as yet unexplored by geologists, which may hereafter greatly modify our view of what is characteristic of any particular period, while the larger part of the globe submerged beneath the ocean must for ever remain unexplored. 1 But, moreover, all theories, on whatever principle they proceed, agree in one particular, the recent creation of man; except indeed, that on the scheme of Professor Challis, he might perhaps have existed during the tertiary period. No other scheme at any rate makes any provision for the possible future discovery of human remains in any of the geological periods, as distinguished from the present order of things on the earth's surface. Accordingly the advocates of the purely historical character of the Mosaic account, have within a very recent period been much disturbed by the seemingly unquestionable discovery of the works of man in the heart of an ancient gravel drift, at Abbeville in Picardy, and like discoveries elsewhere. The artificial character of these remains, consisting of flint arrowheads, knives, and hatchets, and the antiquity of the deposits in which they were found, were at first disputed. Careful investigation, however, removed all doubt on these points. And now Sir Charles Lyell, in his work on the "Antiquity of Man," has brought together a large amount of evidence, which has since received considerable accessions, highly convincing to any one at all acquainted with the nature of geological discussions;—evidence derived from England, the

¹ Thus Sir Charles Lyell, Antiquity of Man, p. 448, eloquently remarks, "that it is not part of the plan of nature to write everywhere, and at all times, her autobiographical memoirs. On the contrary, her annals are local and exceptional from the first, and portions of them are afterwards ground into mud, sand, and pebbles, to furnish materials for new strata. Even of those ancient monuments, now forming the crust of the earth, which have not been destroyed by rivers and the waves of the sea, or which have escaped being melted by volcanic heat, three-fourths lie submerged beneath the ocean, and are inaccessible to man; while of those which form the dry land, a great part are hidden for ever from our observation by mountain masses, thousands of feet thick, piled over them."

Continent of Europe, and America, by which it is clear that man was co-existent with the mammoth and mastodon, the cave-bear, and cave-hyena, and other extinct quadrupeds. The bones of these, in some instances split for the extraction of the marrow, have been found with human bones and artificial implements, in circumstances quite inconsistent with the supposition of a cataclysmal sweeping together at some more recent period—circumstances which leave no doubt that the earth was peopled by the human race at a vastly more early period than was previously at all imagined. These unexpected indications of the antiquity of the human race, and the fact that the result of fresh geological discovery has ever been to push back the existence of different creatures to an earlier period than that in which they had been previously supposed to have lived, as instanced in the recent discovery of the feathered tribe within the secondary period, create a strong anticipation that human remains may also be ere long discovered in some of these earlier periods of the earth's existence. Under these circumstances it would be rash in the highest degree to build one's faith on a negative evidence that may at any moment be converted into positive evidence of an opposite tendency; and we see how desirable it would be for the advocates of the divine authority of the Biblical records to find some principle of interpretation, which would set them free from all apprehension of discoveries that might seem at variance with such records, and would be far more in accordance with the uses of a divine revelation than any representation of the progress and order of the physical development of creation.

II. The marvel, indeed, is that those who are thus perplexed by the discoveries of modern geology should not remember, that even supposing these discoveries had never been made, or were of quite an opposite character to what they really are, or that we were still in respect to geological science in that state of happy innocence which prevailed when Voltaire resorted to the

notable expedient to account for the existence of fossil shells on the heights of mountains which was adverted to just now, quite as serious an astronomical difficulty would still remain—a difficulty felt to be so great when the Copernican system was first established as to occasion the persecution and forced retractation of Galileo, and to induce the Jesuit editors of Newton's Principia to save their reputation by disclaiming a belief in the reality of that system which formed the basis of the great work on which they were commenting. Long habit has enabled men now to blink this difficulty; or if instead of shutting their eyes to it, many have wisely given up the strictly historical character of the narrative in this particular, it is strange that they should feel bound still to maintain that character with respect to the works assigned to the other days beside the fourth. The more rational view would seem to be that, if the narrative cannot be taken in respect to this fourth day's work in its literal historical acceptation, it is necessary, in order to preserve the unity of character which the whole passage evidently possesses, to abandon that acceptation as regards the remainder.

Some indeed, as Professor Challis, and more recently Dr. M'Caul, "Mosaic Record of Creation," in "Aids to Faith," confront the astronomical difficulty. The former supposes a dense stratum of cloud to have hidden the heavenly bodies until the fourth day, previously to which the earth was self-luminous, but then ceased to be so, the light of the heavenly bodies becoming manifest by the disruption of the supposed cloud stratum. And he says that, "according to the principle of this narrative, their existence would not be recognised till they became visible or produced sensible effects," pp. 39, 40. Now this supposes previous alternations of light and darkness, evening and morning, day and night, not produced by the heavenly bodies and their motions, real or apparent, and yet manifestly identified by the narrative itself with the alternations called by the same name, and similarly enumerated in succession as produced by the heavenly bodies; while the self-luminosity of the earth sufficient for the purposes of vegetation, the very existence of which yet supposes a degree of heat in the earth insufficient to cause a development of light, the production of the alternations of day and night in some unknown way, the existence of the cloud stratum, dense enough to exclude the sun's light and its subsequent dispersion, are purely arbitrary conjectures. If conjectures such as these, unwarranted by any trace of evidence in the narrative, or any facts of which we are aware, were admissible, any one with a fertile imagination might easily get rid of all difficulties in this and like cases. Dr. M'Caul, "Aids to Faith," pp. 209-12, offers Laplace's celebrated nebular hypothesis of the formation of the solar system, as affording a probable solution of the difficulty,—a theory which its author proposed, as he said, with the défiance which became him in reference to views which had been tested neither by experiment 1 nor by calculation, which

¹ In a note, p. 210, Dr. M'Caul refers, for an experimental verification of the theory, to the beautiful experiments of M. Plateau on a revolving mass of fluid freed from the action of gravitation, which he obtained by introducing oil into a mixture of alcohol and water in such proportions as to be of the same specific gravity as the oil. When the oil, which assumed the form of a globe, was made to revolve, it became flattened, and an equatorial ring was separated, which, as it revolved, was divided into equidistant spheres which continued to revolve round the original axis, and also rotated on their own axis, while between them there were smaller globules like satellites which revolved in the same orbit, the entire effect lasting for a few moments. Dr. M'Caul could not have read M. Plateau's own Memoir, as plainly appears from the way in which he describes the experiments as made, namely, by causing the vessel to revolve on its axis. When he caused the vessel itself to revolve, its contents of course soon partook of its own motion and revolved with it as if part of a solid mass, and it was only by suddenly stopping the motion of the vessel, the friction of whose sides then retarded the ambient fluid, that he could obtain an excess of motion in the globe of oil, and thus observe the effect of centrifugal force. He accordingly abandoned this mode of experiment as unsatisfactory. See his note, Taylor's Scientific Memoirs, vol. iv. p. 34. We gather from this that Dr. M'Caul did not see the papers of M. Plateau himself. Had he read them, he would scarcely have appealed to the experiments as affording a verification of the theory in question, as M. Plateau is careful to distinguish the force opposed to the centrifugal force in his experiments, from that of gravitation, which would have operated by a different law in the formation of the planets according to the hypothesis of Laplace, by the rupture of the cosmical rings attributable to the condensation of the solar atmosphere;'' and again, in p. 43, "Notwithstanding

has not progressed a step towards the semblance of demonstration since it was first advanced, and which has been deprived of the seeming countenance it had received from the existence of other nebulous masses supposed to be like systems in progress of formation, by their resolution into distinct stars in the field of Lord Rosse's telescope. Assuming the probable truth of this theory, he supposes that the central mass did not receive its luminous atmosphere while the several planets were in progress

a scientific sport, for the circumstances which gave rise to the result have evidently no analogy with those which can have occasioned the configuration of the system of Saturn." And again, in a subsequent memoir, having described the revolution of a Saturn." And agam, in a subsequent memoir, having described the revolution of a column of oil into larger spheres with intermediate satellites, as in the case of the revolving ring, he subjoins the following note: "It is clear that this mode of formation is entirely foreign to Laplace's cosmogonic hypothesis; therefore we have no idea of deducing from this little experiment, which only refers to the effects of molecular attraction and not to that of gravitation, any argument in favour of the hypothesis in question, an hypothesis which in other respects we do not adopt."—Taylor's Scientific Memoir red or noted.

Scientific Memoirs, vol. v. p. 661.

It will be observed that the smaller spheres were not, properly speaking, satellites at all, but lesser principals, though there is no reason why satellites should not be produced if the experiments could be continued under favourable circumstances. It will also be perceived that there is no illustration of the formation of a single planet, but only of a series in the same orbit, which appear to have never shown the least tendency to run into one. It is farther observable that while the experiments exhibit a rotation of the revolving spheres on their own axis, nothing is said of the velocity of that rotation. Theory would seem to provide for only one revolution on the axis during the period of revolution round the centre of the system, as in the case of the moon. In the ring, as first separated, any imaginary sphere would make one revolution round an axis perpendicular to the plain of the ring while this rotated once round the central body. The principle of rotation on which Foucault's celebrated experiment is founded would imply this much; and when the ring is resolved into separate spheres, it is reasonable to suppose that these would retain the same velocity of revolution on their axis, as there appears nothing to occasion its increase or diminution. The motion of the primary planets, however, on their axes is far more rapid in proportion to their periodic times, and for this more rapid motion the nebular theory does

Dr. M'Caul says of this theory that "its truth has been taken for granted by Humboldt, 'Cosmos,' i. 85, 90; iv. 163." This, however, is far from being the fact. In the place first referred to, Humboldt merely says, "If the planets have been formed out of separate rings of nebulous matter revolving round the sun," such and such causes "may" have produced certain existing differences. In the third he merely such causes "may" have produced certain existing differences. In the third he merely speaks of the internal heat of the earth as "generated possibly by the condensation of a rotating nebulous ring." In the second reference he actually suggests a difficulty in the way of supposing the planets to have been thus formed. "If the primary and secondary planets have been formed by condensation from annular rotating portions of the primitive atmospheres of the sun and of the principal planets, there must have been in the ring of vapour which revolved round Uranus singular and unknown relations of retardation or counteraction to have accordanced the second and fourth relations of retardation or counteraction to have occasioned the second and fourth satellite to revolve in a direction opposite to that of the rotation of the central

¹ This observation can scarcely be considered as invalidated by the still more recent application of the Spectrum-Analysis to some of the Nebulæ. The indications of the gaseous nature of the Nebulæ thus obtained can hardly be yet considered decisive.

of formation, as from time to time they were separated in the form of rings which subsequently broke and were contracted into spheres. "The work of the fourth day consisted in furnishing it with its luminous atmosphere. When this took place, and the sun began to shed its light, then the moon and the earth's fellow planets, 'the stars' of v. 16, became luminous also." He says Moses does not call the sun "Or, light," but "maor, a place or instrument of light, a luminary or candlestick," or, as he afterwards expresses it, "a lightholder." One would suppose that the use of these terms would imply quite the opposite of what Dr. M'Caul adduces them to prove. If one speaks of setting lights in an apartment, nothing is of necessity implied as to the introduction of candlesticks or lamps, which may have been there already, and only needed to be furnished with candles or to have lights kindled in them; but if one speaks of placing candlesticks or lamps, then the introduction of the "lightholders" themselves is expressed, and it is not even implied that lights are kindled in them. Nothing can be plainer, moreover, than that an ordinary reader would naturally understand by "the stars" of v. 16 the stars in general, both fixed and planetary; while the application of the nebular theory to the explanation of this verse obliges us to confine them to the planets alone, which, as known to the ancients, and distinguished from the earth and moon, were only five out of that countless host of stars which Abraham was challenged to tell if he could number. And as the narrative of Genesis i. affords no intimation that the planets only were intended, it is assumed that the fixed stars, as distinguished from them, were included in the heavens mentioned in v. 1, that verse being supposed to describe a previous creation to that formed in the six days. And in order to prove the pre-existence of the fixed stars to the earth and so to the other bodies of the solar system, the mention of the morning stars which sang together at the creation of the earth according to Job xxxviii. 7, is relied on. But this proves nothing of the kind; the singing of the morning stars may have

taken place at the simultaneous creation of the earth and other heavenly bodies, when the music of the spheres commenced its glorious harmony. Dr. M'Caul is also mistaken in supposing that the sons of God, mentioned in the parallel clause as shouting for joy, were the angels whose supposed existence before the creation of the earth would confirm the previous creation of the morning stars also. Plainly the latter clause, according to the frequent usage of Hebrew poetry, only repeats in a different form the idea expressed in the former; and a personal act being attributed to the stars in the first, (they sang together), the personification is carried on and varied in the second by calling them the sons of God, which here only means their being creatures of God. But even if his interpretation of this verse were correct, its citation in the present discussion would be irrelevant. question being the agreement of the words of Moses with the facts of nature, it is not allowable to import into the words of Moses a meaning derived from any other author—a meaning which his own words do not imply.

More recently, Dr. Pusey, in his great work on the book of Daniel, Pref., p. xviii., speaks of "the remarkable parenthetic mention of the stars in Genesis, when, in the detailed account of the creation of the sun and moon, and of their offices for our earth, there are appended the simple words, 'and the stars,' as though it was intended only to guard against the error, that they might otherwise be thought to be uncreated." Now, if they had appeared in the original as in the English version, "he made the stars also," they might possibly be parenthetic. But as they stand they can scarcely be so regarded, especially as "the stars" is connected by the particle denoting the object (78) with the sun and moon, as together governed by the same verb. Moreover, the words expressing the offices for our earth, to "be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years," must apply to the stars as well as to the sun and moon, inasmuch as the sun and moon do not, for the practical uses of mankind, mark seasons and years except in connexion with the

stars. With great deference for so eminent an authority, one must therefore reject the supposition that this clause is parenthetic and refers to a previous creation of the stars. It certainly was not so regarded by the writer of Psalm exxxvi. 7-9:

"Who made great lights: for his mercy endureth for ever;
The sun to rule the day: for his mercy endureth for ever;
The moon and the stars to govern the night; for his mercy endureth for ever."

It is true, however, as Dr. M'Caul says, that "Moses does not say that the body of the sun or moon or stars were created on the fourth day." He says it, however, just as much as he says that their light was created on that day, or that the other works were created on the several days enumerated with them. Whatever was the relation intended between the several works and days respectively, if we may legitimately separate the performance of any one of the works from the day specified in connexion with it, we may just as lawfully do so in regard to the others. And whatever conclusion the exigencies of the narrative necessitate in regard to the relation between the works and days in any one case, the unity of character and identity of form in the entire passage will oblige us to adopt the same in reference to all the rest.

III. There is a principle frequently insisted on, scarcely denied by any, yet recognised with sufficient clearness by few of the advocates of revelation, which if fully and practically recognised, would have saved themselves much perplexity and vexation, and the cause they have at heart the disgrace with which it has been covered by the futile attempts that have been made through provisional and shifting interpretations to reconcile the Mosaic Genesis with the rapidly advancing strides of physical science. The principle referred to is this: matters which are discoverable by human reason and the means of investigation which God has put within the reach of man's faculties are not the proper subjects of divine revelation, and matters which do not concern morals or bear on man's spiritual relations towards God are not within the province of revealed

religion. If, then, a person writing by the inspiration of God on things pertaining to religion should have occasion to speak of the phenomena of nature, it might be expected beforehand that he would speak of them as they are phenomena, that is, according to the impressions which they make as appearances, and so according to his own existing conceptions or the imperfect apprehensions of those for whose use he might have been more immediately writing. On any of the more moderate theories of inspiration, according to which the writer is in the conscious exercise of his own faculties, speaking from his own knowledge and observation in matters within the range of his experience and according to his own familiar conceptions in regard to matters which it did not form part of the design of revelation to make known more exactly, this may seem the less questionable. In regard to such matters, God's part would seem to be confined to such a superintendence and guiding of the writer as might best conduce to serve the end in view, while the more direct communication from God would be confined to matters beyond the writer's information, but which it was God's purpose to reveal. And even the revelation thus imparted, being as it were filtered through the writer's mind, would be more or less coloured by his own individuality. This colouring derived from the writer's individuality is found to be actually observable in the case even of the doctrinal parts of the New Testament, as we may instance in the case of the same truths as put forward by St. James or St. John, and by St. Paul. And this, so far from impairing the value of the sacred writings as the vehicle of Divine revelation, may be, if not necessary, at any rate largely conducive to their serving the purpose for which they were intended. It is thus that the purely chemical elements of the material world would be utterly unfit for man's use as articles of food; but when taken up and assimilated by the organic productions of Nature they become profitable and nutritious. But even on a higher and more rigid theory of inspiration, what has been called the organic, as distinguished

from the other, known as the dynamic, supposing that the writer is a mere passive instrument, like a pen in the hand of God, the presumption would seem to be, that God, in communicating spiritual truth, would do it in such a way as not to supersede man's understanding and the exercise of his faculties in matters unconcerned with what it was God's purpose to reveal. We see even in the case of our blessed Lord that the union of divine and human in his person did not supersede his growth in wisdom as in stature—in human wisdom, no doubt, as in human stature. And that man might live by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God, it would be as needful on this, as on the former supposition, that the pure elements of absolute truth, too subtle or too hard for man's spiritual digestion, should be incorporated in some sort of earthly organism, to be available for our instruction. It is therefore presumable, even taking the highest view of inspiration, that much would be conformed to the previous conceptions of the sacred writer, or of those for whom his writing was more immediately intended.

It may be said this is true in regard to all casual allusions to natural phenomena, but the case is different in respect to a formal statement purporting to set forth the creation of the world, and bearing on its whole surface such a physical character as is presented by the first chapter of Genesis. But it will readily appear that in this representation the religious element is the essential part; what is purely physical only the accessory clothing. And if in this physical representation we find particulars manifestly in accordance with things as they appear, and with the natural and popular conceptions of men in regard to them, such as the entire subordination of the heavenly bodies to this earth and the uses of man, and consequently the representation of their creation after the earth, the probability is, that in other particulars not within the range of observation, and so not even sensible appearances, the representation is not more exactly conformed to the reality of things. We need not, however, suppose that in such particulars the writer puts forward his own inventions as physical truth. Some poetic imagery is adopted, some principle of representation discoverable by the reader, if only he will give up looking for physical truth where moral alone is to be expected. Such representations are still, however, true in a certain point of view, as they are practically more useful for the writer's purpose, being designedly employed as better adapted to enforce the truth which he is more immediately concerned with inculcating; while a representation conformed to the reality of nature might, as incomprehensible to the reader, be wholly useless for this end, and so beside his purpose altogether. Moreover, such a representation, conformed to physical reality, beyond the writer's own or his reader's previous conceptions, would render what would be thus taught matter of faith, and so far supersede the exercise of those faculties by which God has intended that we should glorify him in the study of Nature, and thus, for no apparent advantage, defeat a manifest design and arrangement of Providence.

Indeed, as scientific investigation is and ever must be a constantly progressing pursuit, each successive discovery, as it advances the frontiers of knowledge, opening a new and as yet unknown region to our speculations, in which fresh discoveries are again to be made, any description of physical phenomena imparted by revelation would necessarily, from the very nature of the case, be always imperfect, if conformed to any particular stage of this progressing scientific advancement. Beyond that stage, as discoveries would become extended, men would find the same difficulty and perplexity which is now felt on the supposition that the Mosaic account of creation should be conformed to the present state of scientific knowledge; while up to that particular stage of discovery there would be an equally perplexing inconsistency between the revealed account and men's own observations of nature. Or if the representation should be conformed to the ultimate and absolute reality of things, it would be always to some extent, if not altogether, at variance

with men's knowledge arrived at by the investigations of reason, which can never be adequate to things as they really are. A representation such as this would occasion a perpetual disagreement in many particulars, between what would thus, as revealed, be matter of faith, and even the most advanced scientific knowledge, to say nothing of men's sensible apprehensions or the popular conceptions that would prevail from time to time. It would, therefore, be less useful for any purpose that we can conceive than a description founded on sensible appearances or adapted to the conception of those for whose use it might be intended, or else a representation framed, for some special purpose, according to an artificial scheme, devised by the writer. Only in this latter case we might expect that he would give some indication, perceptible to persons of ordinary intelligence, that he does not intend his statements to be taken in their literal acceptation, as an exact historical account of the matters described. When things are represented according to their sensible appearances, or to popular conceptions, no such indication is called for. The writer speaks in good faith, and his statements are subjectively true as regards his readers, and it may be himself also. It is only when he departs from, or goes beyond, his own or his readers' conceptions, that it is necessary to indicate that he does not mean his words to be understood as exactly conformed to facts, but merely as a manner of speaking, a form embodying a truth not literally expressed. Sometimes the nature of the composition itself as a work of imagination, or at any rate adorned with poetic imagery, will suffice to hinder any misconception. partly the case with the Mosaic account of the creation, and partly the statements themselves give sufficient indications that they are not meant to be taken in their exact literal and historical acceptation.

IV. The existence of these indications in the Genesis of Moses has been perceived by those interpreters in all ages who have not allowed themselves to be blinded by prejudice. Of such

interpreters we can trace back a stream that is finally lost in the source from whence the Christian Church received the Hebrew Scriptures; and it will be found that the Jesish doctors at the time of the Christian era were not unobservant of these indications also. It will be interesting to trace back this stream of opinion with a few rapid strides, and will help perhaps to a right conception of the design and import of the Mosaic account of the creation. But before this is done it will be well to direct attention to the peculiarities of the document itself, that have given rise to the opinion to which reference has just been made, to examine the statements of the Mosaic Genesis, and to observe whether the writer gives any sufficient indications to justify the supposition that he did not intend his account to be regarded as an exact historical description of the process of creation in the order and limited times of its successive steps. It is not in any spirit of irreverence that such a review of the inconsistencies in this account, when regarded as a strictly historical statement, is entered upon here. It is with sincere reverence for the document itself, as an integral part of the sacred volume, and with the view of freeing it from the difficulties which these inconsistencies present, as well as from those occasioned by physical science, that the writer ventures to adduce them, in proof that we must assign to it some other character than that of a strictly historical narrative, and endeavour to remove it altogether from the range of physical interpretation and the relation to scientific discoveries.

And, first, it is to be noticed that at the outset the heavens and the earth—the universe at large, as it would appear—are represented as created simultaneously—a representation with which the fourth verse of the second chapter, mentioning the day on which God created the heavens and the earth, agrees. The heavens thus created cannot denote the mere empty space in which the heavenly bodies move, that space not being a material existence but an uncreated vacuity.¹ Either the

One is utterly at a loss to conceive how Professor Challis, pp. 16, 17, can think

heavenly bodies themselves, which in their aggregate constitute the heavens, or else the material firmament in which they appear to be set, must be intended. In either case this statement is incompatible with the subsequent statement taken historically. For the firmament in which, according to v. 14, the heavenly bodies were set is represented as not called into existence until the second day, while the heavenly bodies themselves are described, with the same formula which expresses the other days' work, as called into existence only on the fourth day. It will not suffice to say that the first verse contains only an anticipation of the creation of the heavenly bodies; for the earth is coupled with them, and in that statement rightly subordinated to them, while there is no further mention of the actual creation of the earth, which appears thenceforth as already existing, and so implies the simultaneous existence of the heavenly bodies, whose creation is described conjointly with that of the earth. Thus, at the very outset, we are met by a statement which seems incompatible with the historical character of the subsequent narrative; and if we must abandon that in so important a particular as the celestial world, a parity of interpretation and the unity of character in the entire passage will require the same as regards the other particulars similarly described. And thus we can see how justly the son of Sirach says, "He that liveth for ever created all things together,"1 and why some of the Rabbinical writers and St. Augustine, as we shall see hereafter, regarded all creation as having taken place simultaneously or concurrently, the subsequent orderly

cf space as a created existence. Regarding the second verse as a negation of the existence as yet of the earth as an objective reality, for which he relies on the words of the Septnagint, $\hat{\eta}$ $\delta \hat{\epsilon} \gamma \hat{\eta}$ $\hat{\eta} \hat{\nu}$ $\delta \hat{\rho} a \tau o \kappa a \hat{\nu}$ $\delta \kappa a \hat{\nu} a \kappa a \hat{\nu} \kappa a \hat{\nu} a a \hat{\nu}$

succession of the several works and days, as described by Moses, being an *ordo rationis solùm*, only a rational separation, arrangement, or classification of things already existing.

Then, again, we have the creation of light, while as yet the heavenly bodies, according to the order of the subsequent narrative, have not been called into existence and set in the firmament. Both in fact and in popular conception, light, as a cosmical element, whatever be its nature, molecular or undulatory, is mainly, and for all the purposes of natural illumination, derived from the heavenly bodies. And it is the light that illuminates this world, as distinguished from ordinary darkness, —daylight as distinguished from night, receiving from the Creator its name of day, while darkness is called night, and alternating with night through the vicissitudes of evening and morning for three successively enumerated days—that is thus represented as existing before the time when the sun, on which alone depends this alternation, is said to have been called into existence. And surely the days thus specified, whatever is intended by their enumeration, are, as set forth in the narrative, ordinary natural days. No prophetic day, no day of the Lord said to be as a thousand years, no day standing for any other definite time, is ever thus described as having evening and morning.1 This is the essential difference—the distinguishing mark of the kind of day mentioned. Moreover, the days enumerated are similarly described all through the chapter; and as one of these days in particular—the day mentioned in immediate connexion with the appointment of the sun and moon to divide the day from the night, the one to rule the day and the other the night—can

¹ Dr. M'Caul, in p. 214, says, "The time of light in which the Divine work proceeded He called day, and the time of darkuess He called night;" and then in a footnote he says, "Compare the words of our Lord: 'I must work the works of Him that sent me, while it is day; the night cometh when no man can work.'" This is not a case in point. Day, in our Lord's words, does not stand for an indefinite period, but for natural day, and night for natural night. Our Lord compares himself to a workman who has an allotted day's work to accomplish, and must haste to complete it while the daylight lasts, lest the approaching darkness of night should oblige him to cease before his work is done. The same remark applies to similar passages, such as Rom. xiii. 12., which, however, Dr. M'Caul might as well have adduced.

on no fair principle of interpretation denote any other kind of day than that produced by the sun, so also must all the days reckoned be the same. The existence of such days in an orderly succession, as proper days, divided by the sun before the actual creation of the sun, would be a contradiction, while the description plainly indicates periods and alternations having all the characteristics of such days. That all the appearances produced by the sun should have taken place in orderly succession, and due gradation, while yet there was no sun, and having been thus independently produced for so long, should then without break or interruption have gone on, as the effects of the sun, is so improbable a representation, that one seems forced to find an escape from the difficulty in the non-historic character of the narrative in this particular, and so of the entire account as setting forth the successive steps of the actual creation in due order of time; while this non-historic character is confirmed by the mention of God's assigning the names of day and night, as subsequently of heaven, and earth, and sea. The attributing the assignment of these names to the Creator, and that in the language of men, while as yet there were in existence no men in whose language such names might be spoken, and to whom they might be communicated, of itself suggests not a literal fact but a manner of speaking indicative of the specific differences of things as distinguished by the Creator. Moreover, the manner in which the several days are enumerated is peculiar. Josephus 1 intimates that there was a particular reason why in verse 5 we read "one day" and not the first—a reason which he promised to explain on another occasion, but did not. Now, it is true that the cardinal one with the article (which it has not here) was used in Hebrew as an ordinal. But this was regular, one of the ways of forming a superlative, which the word first properly is, having been to prefix the article. The Hebrews also spoke of the first of the month as "one to the month," the word day being always omitted,—a manner of speaking occa-

sioned by frequent use, and the consequent aiming at brevity. They said likewise "the year of one" for the first year, (as "of two," or "of three," etc.),—an elliptic form which in full would be "the year of one year." But besides these idiomatic expressions, we have no instance whatever of the employment of the cardinal one as an ordinal.1 And, as we find it here, in reference to the first of the creation days, while the ordinals are used to specify all the succeeding days,—a peculiarity sufficient to attract the attention of Josephus, to whom the Hebrew usage was familiar,—it is at least possible that the writer intended to intimate that he did not mean the first of a series of consecutive days in their proper order of temporal succession, but the first of a promiscuous number, in reference to which the other days were numerically, as expressed without the article, and not in the order of time, a second, third, etc., just as in the Latin enumeration by unus, alter, tertius.2 Moreover, an intelligent reader, who had noticed the peculiarity now mentioned, could scarcely have failed to observe further, that in enumerating the days in the unusual manner which the writer adopts-"there was evening and there was morning, one day," "a second day," and so forth, without a definite article prefixed, until the sixth—

¹ Mr. Rorison, "Replies to Essays and Reviews," p. 289, note, compares the well-known $\epsilon \nu \mu / \alpha \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \sigma \alpha \beta \beta \hat{\omega} \tau \omega \nu$. But this manner of speaking is referable, not to Hebraistic usage, but to a proper Greek idiom. See Liddell and Scott, $s, v, \epsilon \hat{t}s$.

Hebraistic usage, but to a proper Greek idiom. See Liddell and Scott, s. v., & s. 2 Mr. Rorison, in the note just referred to, quotes the following note of Kalisch:—

'Mr. Rorison, in the note just referred to, quotes the following note of Kalisch:—

'It is futile to assign to this use any mysterious or hidden reason, as Josephus and others insinuate, or to understand it as a peculiar day, a day sui generis, or a period of indefinite duration." This is true, and it will be observed that Josephus has only been cited as a competent authority in regard to the peculiarity of the expression, not as if it denoted any mystery in the kind of days intended, but simply suggested that the days are not reckoned in the order of temporal succession, the numerals being taken for no more than they actually are, merely denoting promiscuous numbers until the sixth, where the ordinal form, with the article prefixed, indicates the numerical completion of the work-days enumerated. It will be seen, however, as we proceed, that there is an order of succession, though not of temporal succession. It is to be observed that it is not the character of this piece to reject the article generally, as in some of the Psalms and other poetical compositions. The article is used invariably except where the expression is designedly indefinite, or the word is one which habitually refuses it. We may instance the former in v. 2: "A spirit (or breath) of Elohim," whether denoting a wind or a divine influence; and in v. 27: "In an image of Elohim created he him," as if to express only a certain similitude and not an absolute likeness. Instances of the latter occur in v. 1, 2; the words there rendered "the beginning" and "the deep" constantly reject the article.

he abstains from expressly asserting that the works enumerated were actually for the first time wrought on the several days reckoned in connexion with them. The relation between the works and days is not distinctly expressed. To the nature of that relation we purpose to revert hereafter; it is now merely noticed for the sake of remarking that the indistinctness of its expression has place amongst the indications of the non-historical character of the passage.

Mr. Rorison, in his very beautiful contribution to the "Replies to Essays and Reviews," which he has named "The Creation Week," relies on the poetical parallelism which characterises the whole passage, and which he has so admirably brought out, as an evidence of its non-historic character. Comparing the arrangement of the passage with that of the Lord's Prayer, he says, "None will dispute the presence of parallelism in the Lord's Prayer—such parallelism as is proper to prayer, a psalm, or parable, or prophecy, or impassioned discourse, but is not proper to historical narrative. Yet how closely homologous in structure is the Mosaic Heptameron." It is not, however, the simple parallelism that is observable in the passage which indicates its non-historic character. A poetical narrative of historical facts might be set out in parallel sentences. But it is the highly artificial arrangement, strikingly exhibited in the correlation of the two groups or triads into which the six days' works are resolvable, the luminaries of the fourth day corresponding to the light of the first, the fishes and birds of the fifth to the waters and the firmament of the second, and the terrestrial animals of the sixth to the dry land of the third, which affords the proper evidence that the narrative is not strictly historical. This correlation of the three latter days' operations to those of the three first respectively, is noticed by Mr. MacDonald, who says, "Creation and Fall," p. 266, "The works of the three last days of creation form a remarkable parallel with those of the first three." Long before, it had not escaped the observation of Thomas Aquinas, who remarks that

"the several parts of the world required to be distinguished first, and then each part to be adorned by being replenished, as it were, with its proper inhabitants." It has, however, been most effectively displayed by Mr. Rorison, who has perceived, what the others failed to notice, the non-historical character of such an arrangement.

V. And now, if we compare the passage concluding with the third verse of the second chapter with the account that follows, we are forcibly struck by a difference which led Josephus to remark, that in the latter Moses begins to speak physiologically, or according to the truth of nature, implying that in the former he spoke in the way he calls enigmatical. Indeed, it is hardly conceivable that a writer, proposing to himself to describe a series of events, in a plain historical manner, could have passed consecutively from the one passage to the other. This difference has, therefore, been relied on as one of the main proofs of the supposed fragmentary character of the early part of the book of Genesis. For the present purpose it is, however, practically the same thing, whether Moses composed the two first chapters consecutively, or only put together two documents, one of which, at least, had previously existed, whether composed by himself or by another, or such a combination had been made at a later period. The Jewish Church, at any rate, handed over the whole as one to the Christian, and the founders of the Christian Church adopted it as such, one part to be doubtless understood in a manner consistent with the other. The whole has come to us as part of the sacred writings given by the alleged inspiration of God. The allegation might be as true in regard to a combination of fragments, as to a single work. At any rate, those who put these passages together, if we suppose the fragmentary hypothesis to be true, were as capable as we are of perceiving the apparent inconsistency between them, and may be reasonably supposed to have acted on the principle that one part, at least, was not a strictly historical narrative to be taken

¹ Oportuit primò distingui partes mundi: et postmodum singulas partes ornari per hoc quòd quasi suis habitatoribus replentur.—Sum. Theol. Pars. Prim. Quæst. 74, Conclus.

in the literal acceptation of its statements—a view which we shall see was taken by some of those who were highly esteemed in the Church immediately after the Apostles' days. That the differences are real, could not have escaped the notice of any but those who, assuming that all must be received as literal history given by the inspiration of God, have habitually shut their eyes against the observation of any disagreements that would be inconsistent with such an assumption. Let us, however, compare the two passages, and note the points of difference.

In the first chapter we are told that "the earth brought forth grass and herb yielding seed after his kind, and the tree yielding fruit whose seed was in itself after his kind: and God saw that it was good. And the evening and the morning were the third day." But then in the fifth verse of the second chapter we are told "that every plant of the field was not yet in the earth, and every herb of the field had not yet grown," that is, no plant of the field was yet in the ground, and no herb of the field had yet grown, "for the Lord God had not caused it to rain upon the earth, and there was not a man to till the ground." This seems to intimate that vegetation had not taken place before the creation of man; and therefore, to provide a place for his reception, God plants a garden, an apparent exception to the barrenness that prevailed as yet. So sensible were translators, Greek, and Latin, and English, of this disagreement, that they have rendered the passage in a way inconsistent with the proper meaning and grammatical construction of the sentence, the word DTD, terem without a prefix signifying not yet, and when placed between the verb and the nominative case, admitting of no other rendering than that given above. This erroneous rendering of the translators, manifestly resorted to from the exigence of the case, in order to avoid an apparent contradiction between the statements of the two passages, makes the sacred writer represent the vegetable creation

¹ [This is plainly the way of construing the words which naturally offers itself, and that from which an absolute necessity alone would warrant a departure.] See Note A, p. 247.

as a thing made and existing by itself before it was yet in the ground, whereas in the first chapter it was made at its first production to spring out of the ground. Professor Challis, p. 55, adopts this erroneous translation, apparently not aware of any grammatical objection to it, and regarding the fourth and fifth verses as a summary of the whole preceding account, thinks that the intention was to signify that the foregoing was "an account of the creation as it was in plan or design, not as executed." But besides the incorrectness of the rendering on which he builds, he is mistaken in regarding these verses as a summary of the preceding account, and in thinking that "the historic account of natural facts and creative operations" commences with the sixth verse. The abruptness of this verse standing by itself, and its connection with the preceding, both verbally by a copulative, and in sense by the contrast between the mist and the rain, plainly show that it cannot be the commencement of a new paragraph. The words, "these are the generations," are an accredited commencing formula, and there is not a shadow of reason for his saying that the like formula at the commencement of the fifth chapter is retrospective; nothing can be plainer than its reference to the gencalogy that follows. He admits the prospective use of the formula at the commencement of the tenth chapter, but relies on the retrospective reference of the words, "these are the families," at the close of that chapter. But in this, and in similar instances in the course of that chapter, they could not refer to the sequel which has its own proper beginning, and must therefore refer to what precedes. This is not the case in the second chapter; the first paragraph has its proper peroration in the three first verses of . this chapter, and a second recapitulation in verse 4 would be an unmeaning redundancy. The fourth verse is plainly the heading of a new passage, with which it is connected grammatically as well as by the use, for the first time, of the name Jehovah Elohim, which is thenceforward continued through the chapter.

¹ [The LXX. use the same formula in ii. 4 as in v. 1, ἄυτη ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως. This could never have had reference to the preceding account.]

Dr. M'Caul, it is true, p. 197, quotes the authority of Ewald, for connecting the fourth verse with the preceding paragraph, or at least the words, "these are the generations of the heavens and the earth." The impossibility of stopping at these words, however, will appear presently, while against the authority of Ewald may be set that of Hengstenberg, who, "Authentie des Pentateuch," pp. 311 ff., makes the second passage to commence with verse 4, as its superscription, in which it was intended to represent the creation as the work of Jehovah, while in the first it appears as the work of Elohim. 1 Mr. MacDonald, "Creation and the Fall," pp. 323-4, recognises the incorrectness of the usual rendering of the fifth verse and the necessity of carrying the commencement of the new paragraph further back than this verse. But to get over the difficulty of the apparent inconsistency between the two accounts, he makes a division in the fourth verse, in opposition, he admits, to the Masoretic punctuation, and, he might have added, to the Septuagint reading also. He connects the first part with the previous account, which he makes to conclude with the words, "These are the generations of the heavens and the earth, when they were created;" and he commences the new paragraph with the words, "In the day that the Lord God made the earth and the heavens," supposing that the writer goes back to a point previous to the creation of the vegetable productions. He overlooks, however, the manifest parallelism of the two clauses with the Hebraistic inversion in the second of the order of the leading ideas expressed in the first-"heavens, earth, created" in one, and "made, earth, heavens," in the other-which forbids the separation of the two clauses; while in order to make the connection of the latter with the fifth verse possible, he silently drops the copulative

¹ Dr. M'Caul insists on the significance of the inversion of "the heavens and the earth" when repeated as "the earth and the heavens," in v. 4. He supposes that the heavens first mentioned are the heavens of Gen. i. 1, created before the earth, while he regards the heavens as mentioned the second time as the firmament of Gen. i. 7, 8, created subsequently to the earth, and therefore mentioned after the earth. One greatly wonders Dr. M'Caul did not perceive that this is only an Hebraistic poetical inversion of the order of the corresponding terms in the two parallel clauses, an inversion not confined to "the heavens and earth," but extending also to the corresponding words, "created" and "made."

with which this verse commences, and translates, "In the day that the Lord God made earth and heaven, there was no shrub of the field yet in the earth." It is strange that while he felt it necessary to admit that he was departing from the Masoretic punctuation, he should make no reference whatever to the unwarrantable suppression of the conjunction which exists both in the Hebrew, and in the Greek of the Septuagint. It is true we meet with frequent instances in Hebrew in which the second part of a sentence is connected with the first by a conjunction, in cases in which we should not think of using one; and the next chapter, v. 5, affords an instance which at first sight might be thought to justify the use of the copulative in the sentence formed by the proposed division of v. 4, and the junction of its latter clause to v. 5. In the English version this copulative is represented by then: "In the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened." This, in the original, runs thus: "In the day of your eating thereof, also shall be opened your eyes."1 Here the copulative connects their eating in the former part with their eves being opened in the latter, somewhat in the manner of the antecedent and consequent of an hypothetic proposition, the parts of which are frequently thus connected in Hebrew; and, in fact, the instance which has been quoted is only a disguised hypothetic; "if ye eat, your eyes shall be opened also." When this is not the case, some important word, as the nominative case to a verb, or, as in this instance, the pronoun your, is carried from the first part of the sentence on to the second. There is nothing of this kind in the case under consideration; no idea expressed or understood is carried from the first clause into the second; the word earth, repeated in the latter, has a somewhat different meaning from the earth coupled with the heavens in the former, denoting rather the ground or soil out of which vegetables should grow, than the earth in its cosmical sense, and severed also from the heavens, which should be joined with it, if it were in this way

בּיוֹם אַכְלְבֶם מִמֶּנוּ וְנִפְּקְחוּ עִיגִיבֶם י

carried on from the first clause by the conjunction. One can scarcely think that Mr. MacDonald did not perceive this difficulty in the way of his subdivision of v. 4, and the connection of its latter clause with v. 5, and it is to be supposed that he would have adduced such instances of the use of the copulative as we have referred to, if they appeared to afford him any assistance. At any rate, nothing can more clearly show the difficulties that beset the purely historical interpretation than the shifts to which its advocates are constrained to resort in order to evade their force. The significance of the formula, "these are the generations," in reference to the organic structure of the entire book, as the title of its larger sections, will be fully discussed hereafter.

But to return to the comparison of the two passages, it is to be noticed further that in the first chapter every winged fowl after his kind is created before the dry land appears, while in the second chapter God forms every fowl of the air, no less than every beast of the field, out of the ground. Moreover, in the latter, both appear to have been formed subsequently to the creation of man, being brought to him at their creation to be named by him; whereas, in the former, both appear to be previously created, and the fowls on a different day. And, lastly, in the second chapter the formation of the woman is a subsequent operation to the creation of the man, while in the first man is made both male and female at once—a difference which gave rise to the foolish speculation of the Rabbis, that the man and woman were created together, united back to back or side to side, and separated during the deep sleep described in the second chapter, but which may more reasonably be regarded as indicating that in the first chapter the creation of the species, male and female, and not of an individual man and woman, was intended.

Now, it is true that attempts have been made by the supposition of *prolepsis* in one place and *metalepsis* in another, anticipated mention here and repetition there, to reconcile the statements of these two passages. It does not concern the present argument to inquire what measure of success may have attended these attempts. It is enough for our purpose that a difference exists so manifest as to require such attempts at the reconciliation of statements which could scarcely thus widely differ, if written as consecutive parts of a history meant to be understood throughout in the literal acceptation of its words. If the construction of one or both passages is such as to suggest that either is to be taken in a sense different from the literal acceptation, this is sufficient to justify our departing from that acceptation, as designed by the author; and particularly in respect to that one which we find it difficult to reconcile with facts on the supposition that it is a literal history, as is the case with the first chapter.

VI. It was remarked that the necessity of thus departing from the historical interpretation had been felt by many from the very commencement of the Christian era, and even by some of those from whom the Christian Church received the Hebrew Scriptures. It will be of use here rapidly to trace back this succession of interpreters before any endeavour to elicit from the document itself what is its real purport and design. And in doing this it should be premised that it is by no means intended to express any assent to the several opinions which are about to be adduced, but merely to cite them as evidence of the difficulties which men of learning and intelligence, as well as of profound reverence for the sacred writings, have from time to time experienced in the interpretation of this portion of Holy Scripture.

Let us take our start from a point anterior to the difficulties presented by modern geological discoveries, and commence with a luminary of the Gallican Church, Augustine Calmet. In a dissertation on the system of the world, according to the Hebrews, prefixed to his Commentary on the book of Ecclesiasticus, he concludes by remarking:—"Let no one say that if the words of the sacred writers are found inconsistent with truth and experience in matters of physical science, we have no reason

to bestow greater credit on them in other matters. For the statements referred to are not so positively set down, as if they meant to assert them for truths. They put them forward, as it were ex hypothesi-not as their own, but as the received opinion."1 [More distinctly amongst ourselves Dr. Samuel Clark, in his "Exposition of the Church Catechism," speaking of the Fourth Commandment, says, "As to the particular space of time, in which this beautiful fabric of the world was formed out of a Chaos, and made of things which do not appear; 'tis not in itself at all material, whether it had been performed in one moment, or in six days. But for our greater distinctness of perception, 'tis described to have been effected in six days; and possibly, moreover, as this might be a typical representation of some greater periods." The allusion is probably to the notion of the world lasting six thousand years, to be followed by a millenial period; the notion of long geological periods had not yet been thought of.]

We turn now to Dr. Thomas Burnet, the well-known author of the "Theory of the Earth," who, in his Archæologiæ Philosophice, having pointed out the disagreement of several particulars in the Mosaic Genesis with the truth of nature, proceeds to say2:-"These brief annotations on the Genesis set forth by Moses, seem to prove that it was not the design of the sacred author to explain the formation of the world in accordance with physical truth, which would have been useless for a people incapable of instruction in philosophy; but to represent the origin of things in such a manner as might be easy of conception, and might beget piety and the worship of the true God in the minds of men." And he proceeds to observe, that as other ancient nations prefixed a cosmogony full of idolatrous notions to their national history, so Moses prefixed to the history and institutes of his nation something of the same kind, in a form calculated to eradicate such idolatrous notions. In illustration of this he refers to a passage in the Hexaemeron of Basil the

¹ Translated from the Latin edition of "Calmet's Commentary on the Bible." ² Arch. Phil., b. ii. e. 8, p. 424.

Great, where it said that the creation of the sun did not take place until after the earth was clothed with vegetables, in order to counteract the tendency of men to worship the sun as the supposed cause of vegetation. It is true Basil treats this as designed, not merely in the order of narration, but of creation itself. But that, under the historical form, a different meaning was suspected by Basil himself to lie hid, may be gathered from his words in the introduction to the first homily, where he says, it is desirable at the outset to enquire who the author was, as though, through the weakness of our understanding we may not be able to arrive at the inward meaning of the historian, yet having regard to the credibility of the speaker, we may be readily led to assent to what he says.

We pass next to Stillingfleet, who briefly remarks, "All the question is concerning the particular manner which was used by God, as the efficient cause in giving being to the world. As to which I shall only in general suggest what Maimonides says of it. Ommia simul creata erant, et postea successive ab invicem separata; altho' I am somewhat inclinable to that of Gassendus, Majus est mundus opus, quam ut assequi mens humana illius molitionem possit." Perhaps we shall see reason to suspect that Maimonides, if not Stillingfleet after him, regarded the subsequent successive separation, as pertaining only to the description and not the actual formation of the six days' work.

The next writer to whom reference may be made is the celebrated Dr. Henry More, who, in 1662, published his *Conjectura Cabbalistica*, in which he proposed a threefold interpretation of the three first chapters of Genesis, distinguished as the Literal, the Philosophical, and the Mystical or Moral Cabbala. With

^{1 &#}x27;Ενθυμηθῶμεν τίς ὁ διαλεγόμενος ἡμῖν· διότι κὰν τῆς βαθείας καρδίας τοῦ συγγραφέως μὴ ἀφικώμεθα διὰ τὸ τῆς διανοίας ἡμῶν ἀσθενὲς, ὰλλὰ τῆγε ἀξιοπιστία προσέχοντες τοῦ λέγοντος, αὐτομάτως εἰς συγκατάθεσιν τῶν εἰρημένων ἐναχθησόμεθα. [Burnet corresponded with Sir Isaac Newton on this subject, and there is an interesting letter from Newton in Brewster's Life of Newton, vol. ii. pp. 447 ff. I extract the following:—"When he tells us of two great lights, and the stars made the fourth day, I do not think their creation from beginning to end was done the fourth day, nor in any one day of the creation.—It being his design to describe things in order according to the succession of days, allotting no more than one day to one thing, they were to be referred to some day or other." There is, however, a good deal of realism in the interpretations contained in this letter.]

2 Origines Sacre, b. iii. c. 2, p. 296, cd. 1709.

the latter we are in no way concerned; of the Literal, he says in the Preface that by it "there is a very charitable provision made for them that are so prone to expect rigid precepts of philosophy in Moses his outward text. For this Literal Cabbala will steer them from that toil of endeavouring to make the bare letter speak consonantly to the true frame of nature, which while they attempt with more zeal than knowledge, they both disgrace themselves and wrong Moses." The spirit of this socalled Literal Cabbala is to be found in the Introduction to the Defence of it, p. 50, where he says that "the manner of delivering the Creation is accommodately to the apprehension of the meanest: not speaking of things according to their very essence and real nature, but according to their appearances to us: not starting of high and intricate questions, and concluding them by subtle arguments, but familiarly and condescendingly setting out the Creation, according to the most easy and obvious conceits they themselves had of those things they saw in the world. Nor doth it follow that the narration must not be true, because it is according to the appearance of things to sense and obvious fancy; for there is also a truth of appearance, according to which Scripture most-what speaks in philosophical matters."

In the Philosophical Cabbala there is a great deal of Pythagorean speculation on the meaning of numbers, much that makes one readily assent to what the author says in the Preface in reference to the title of his work, "that though I call this interpretation of mine Cabbala, yet I must confess I received it neither from man nor angel. Nor came it to me by Divine inspiration." A few sentences are extracted that are of moment to the present inquiry. In p. 72, he says that the atheist shall have nothing to allege against the philosophy of this account of the Creation, "for he shall not hear Moses in this Philosophick Cabbala either tasking God to his six days' labour, or bounding the world at the clouds, or making the moon bigger than the stars, or numbering days without suns." And in pp. 79, 80, he says, "you are to understand that these six numbers or days do

not signify any order of time, but the nature of the things that are made in them. But for anything in Moses his Philosophick Cabbala, all might be made at once, or in such periods of time, as is most suitable to the nature of the things themselves."—
"Nor will this at all seem bold or harsh, if we consider that the most learned have already agreed that all the whole creation was made at once.—So that that leisurely order of days is thus quite taken away, and all the scruples that may rise from that hypothesis."

Bacon points to a like manner of regarding the description of the six days' work. He says, "In the works of creation we perceive a twofold emanation of divine virtue, of which one has relation to power, the other to wisdom. The former is chiefly discerned in the creation of matter in the mass, the latter in the beautiful disposition of its form. This being premised, it is to be noted that there is nothing in the history of the creation to hinder our understanding the confused mass and material of heaven and earth to have been created in one moment of time, to the disposing and digesting of which six days have been attributed, so significantly has God discriminated between the operations of his power and of his wisdom. To this is to be added that in respect to the creation of matter it is not related that God said, 'Let there be heavens and earth,' as was said of the succeeding works; but the actual work is nakedly asserted: 'God created the heavens and the earth;' so that matter appears as if wrought by hand; but the introduction of form has the style of a law or decree." If we observe the use of the word

¹ In operibus creationis, duplicem virtutis divinæ emanationem videmus, quarum una ad potentiam refertur, altera ad sapientiam: Illa præcipuè cernitur in creaudâ mole materiæ, hæe in pulchritudine formæ disponendâ. Hoe posito notandum est, nihil in creationis historià obstare, quin fuerit confusa illa codi terræque massa et materia unico temporis momento creata, cui tamen disponendæ, digerendæque sex dies fuerunt attributi; adeò signanter Deus opera potentiæ ae sapientiæ discriminavit. Cui accedit quòd de materiæ creatione memoriæ proditum non sit dixisse Deum, faat cælum et terra, sicut de sequentibus operibus dictum est; sed nudè atque actualiter, Deus creavit cælum et terram: ita ut materia videatur, tanquam manufacta; formæ verò introductio stylum habeat legis, aut decreti. De Augm. Sci. lib. i. [In the earlier "Advancement of Learning" the disposition of the mass of created matter is called "the work of six days." But if we compare Thom. Aq. Sum. Theol. pt. 1. qu. 74. Art. 2 sub fin., where the views of Augustine are discussed, we cannot doubt that Bacon had this in view and that the change was designed. Both make the same

actualiter in regard to the creation of the heavens and the earth, and reflect that the actual introduction of form required divine power as much as the creation of the universe in mass, we cannot doubt that he regarded the account of the six days' work as descriptive of things as they exist, rather than as they were actually created.

In the unreformed Church, the celebrated Cajetan, who died in 1534, thus wrote on Gen. i. 5; "For the sanctification of each seventh day, Moses gathered the days to seven rather than to any other number. Yet the works of the six days were not on this account a fiction. But to six perfections of the universe in orderly mutual relation he accommodated six days, to signify that the things of which the universe consists have an order and sequence between themselves, just as six natural days have. So that between days and works there is a similitude of proportion in such manner that, as a second day has its relation of sequence to the first, and a third to the second, and so on to the seventh, so the six created perfections have a relation of sequence to one another up to the consummation of all things requisite to the perfection of the universe in every respect in the existing nature of things. Because, therefore, the things created by God when distributed into six gradations are related to one another, just as if the several gradations had been produced on several days, and the artificer had rested on the seventh, all being completed; so without a fiction Moses accommodated all the works created at the first instant, in which God created the heavens and the earth, as distributed into six degrees of perfections in orderly relation to one another, to six natural days, and rest to a seventh."2

distinction between the creation of matter in the mass and the communication of form, both use the word altribute in reference to the six days, and the word signanter in reference to the discrimination in speaking of Creation.—Deus creavit omnia simul, quantum ad rerum substantiam quodammodo informem : sed quantum ad formationem

quantum ad rerum substantiam quodanimodo informem: sed quantum ad formationem et ornatum non simul. Unde signanter utiter verbo creationis.—Secundum Aug. ille ordo dierum referendus est ad naturalem ordinem operum, quæ diebus attribuumtur.]

[¹Mr. Mivart, in the "Contemporary Review" for Jan., 1872, gives many references to other eminent Roman Catholic theologians. A striking passage by Colet, the Dean of St. Paul's, is quoted by Milman in his "Annals of St. Paul's Cathedral.]

² Moses propter sanctificationem septimi cujusque diei collegit dies ad septem potiùs quàm alium numerum. Nec propterea finxit opera sex dierum: sed accommodavit sex ordinatè se habentibus perfectionibus universi sex dies: ad significandum,

If now one steps back to the times of the Schoolmen, a cursory glance at the questions discussed in the Summa Theologie, of Thomas Aquinas, in reference to the six days of creation, their nature and the works performed in them, will show how many and perplexing difficulties this portion of Holy Scripture was at that period thought to present. Amongst these questions may be instanced the difficulty arising from the enumeration of successive days with evening and morning, light and darkness, before the creation of the heavenly bodies as represented on the fourth day, and the production of the vegetable clothing of the earth prior also to the existence of the sun, so necessary to its growth according to all experience.

At an earlier period the Venerable Bede remarked in reference to the mention of the first day in Gen. i. 5: "Perhaps under the name of day all time is here designated, and all revolving ages are included in this word. Hence it is not called the first day, but one day." The notion that the creation days extend over all time to the final consummation, and are accordingly still going on, was, as will presently be seen, entertained by a much earlier authority.

Procopius of Gaza, who flourished circa an. 520, in his Commentaria in Octateuchum, says, in reference to the creation of the luminaries on the fourth day, that "we learn from it that the number of days was assumed for the sake of order, and because of our weakness of understanding. For else we should

quòd res universi sunt à Deo dispositæ ordinatè et consequenter se habentes inter seipsas, quemadmodum sex dies naturales. Ita quòd inter dies et opera est similitudo proportionalis: ut sicut secundus dies consequenter se habet ad primum, et tertius ad secundum, et sic usque ad septimum; ita effecta sex perfectiones consequenter se habent inter sese usque ad consummationem omnium requisitorum ad omnimodam perfectionem universi in esse naturae. Quia itaque effecta à Deo in sex distributa gradus se habent inter se ac si facti fuissent singuli gradus singulis diebus, et septimo quievisset opifex perfectis omnibus; ideò absque fictione Moses effecta omnia in primo instanti, quo creavit cœlos et terram, distributa in sex perfectionum gradus consequenter se habentes, accommodavit sex diebus naturalibus, et quietem diei septimo. Comment in Gen. i.

1 Fortassis hic diei nomen, totius temporis nomen est, et omnia volumina seculorum

Fortassis hic diei nomen, totius temporis nomen est, et omnia volumina seculorum hoc vocabulo includit. Ideòque non dictus dies primus sed dies unus. He says of the second day, Ita hæc quæ repetuntur, sicut superiùs intelligenda sunt. And so also he says of the other days.

not have been able to apprehend the order of created things by reason of their multitude." And again on the commencement of ch. ii. he says, "I think it manifest that after all things had been already made and completed, for the sake of order and proper harmonious arrangement, this number" (namely, six) "was assumed."

We now come to St. Augustine, who discourses at large on this subject with great subtlety, and at the same time with great depth of thought. He says, "It is more probable that the first six days were evolved in a manner strange and unwonted to us, in the conditions of things themselves, wherein evening and morning, like real light and darkness, that is day and night, did not present that alternation which natural days do by the course of the sun; what at any rate we are obliged to admit in regard to the three days enumerated before the luminaries were created."2 He also says, that of the same Creator of whom this Scripture says that in six days God finished all his works, it is elsewhere written that he created all things simultaneously, these six or seven days being rather one day six or seven times repeated in condescension to the capacity of those who could not readily form a conception of such a simultaneous creation of all things.3 And in a passage

¹ Docet numerum dierum assumptum esse ordinis gratiâ et ob nostram imbecillitatem intellectus. Nam alioqui non quivissemus ordinem rerum creatarum ob multitudinem assequi. In Gen. i. 14. Manifestum arbitror cùm omnia jam essent facta et consummata, ordinis gratiâ et debitæ consonantiæ assumptum esse hunc numerum. In Gen. ii. 1, 2.

² Probabilius est istos quidem septem dics, illorum nominibus et numero, alios atque alios sibimet succedentes currendo temporalia peragere spatia: illos autem primos sex dies inexpertâ nobis atque inusitatâ specie in ipsis rerum conditionibus explicatos, in quibus et vespere et mane, sient ipsa lux et tenebræ, id est dies et nox, non eam vicissitudinem præbuerunt, quam præbent isti per solis circuitus; quod certé de illis tribus fateri cogimur qui ante condita luminaria commemorati atque enumerati sunt. Gen. ad Lit. iv. 18. Equally strong expressions of this view of the creation days are to be found in the Liber Imperfectus de Gen. ad Literam. Reference may be made to § 28, § 43, and § 51.

made to § 28, § 43, and § 51.

³ Gen. ad Lit. iv. 33. De quo Creatore Scriptnra ista narravit quod sex diebus consummaverit omnia opera sua, de illo alibi non utique dissonanter scriptum est quod ereavit omnia simul. Ac per hoc et istos dies sex vel septem, vel potiùs unum sexies septiesve repetitum simul fecit qui fecit omnia simul. Quid ergo opus erat ex dies tam distinctè dispositèque narrari? Quia scilicet ii qui non possunt videre quod dietum est, Creavit omnia simul, nisi cum eis sermo tardiùs incedat, ad id quò eos ducit pervenire non possunt.

to which there will be occasion to refer farther on, he says that that one day which God first made was made present to all his works, being prior or subsequent not by intervals of time, but in the connexion of the creatures. The alternation of these days, he says again, is not to be understood of a succession of time, but of the variety that exists in the works of God, the historian having subsequently in his discourse divided that which God did not divide in the accomplishment of his work; for God created all things simultaneously, whilst by one act of his will he provided for the manifold variety of all species, in which will all things were made without time, which from their very origin God ceases not to dispense throughout all time.1

Before Augustine, Origen likewise expressed his belief that the account of the creation given by Moses contained under the veil of the letter a profound and hidden meaning, intimating that perhaps the only thing expressly taught was the creation of the world in time.2 He asks how any one possessed of sense could suppose that there was a succession of first, second, and third days, with their evening and morning, before the existence of sun and moon and stars, as represented by this account in its literal acceptation.3

Irenæus gives a distinct intimation that he regarded the six days of creation as still going on, the seventh day being the promised rest of the righteous hereafter. He says that the statement, that God finished his works in six days and rested

¹ De mirabilibus Scripturæ i. Sed quamvis per sex dierum alternationem omnis instituta fuisse creatura perhibetur, non tamen hæc dierum alternatio per spatium temporis intelligitur; sed in his operum vicissitudo declaratur. Post namque historiæ narrator divisit in sermone; quod Deus non divisit in operis perfectione. Simul enim cuncta quæ condidit, Deus creavit, dum unâ voluntate multiplicem omnium specierum varietatem fleri disposuit, in quâ voluntate unâ omnia simul sine tempore esse fecit, quæ ab ipso ortu suo per tempus dispensare non desinit.

² De conditione mundi quæ alia nos Scriptura magis poterit edocere quâm ea quæ à Moyse de origine ejus scripta est? Quæ licet majora intra se contineat quâm historiæ narratio videtur ostendere, et spiritalem in quâm maximis contineat intellectum, atque in rebus mysticis et profundis velamine quodam literæ utatur, tamen nihilominùs indicat hoc sermo narrantis, quod ex certo tempore creata sunt omnia quæ videntur. Περί ἀρχῶν, iii. 5.

omnia quæ videntur. Περί ἀρχῶν, iii. 5.

³ Τίς νοῦν ἔχων δρίζεται πρώτην, καὶ δευτέραν, καὶ τρίτην ἡμέραν, έσπέραν τε καὶ πρώταν χωρὶς ἡλίου γεγονέναι, καὶ σελήνης, καὶ ἀστέρων; Ε Lib. iv., Περὶ ἀρχῶν. citat. Justiniano.

the seventh, is partly a narrative of things already done, and partly a prediction of what has not yet taken place.1 Understanding a day of the Lord as a thousand years, he considers this present state as destined to last six thousand years, but at the same time throws out a hint that he regarded the whole time as after all only the one day that was made at the first. He shows that the sentence, "In the day that thou eatest thou shalt surely die," was verified in several ways: disobedience itself is a state of death; from that day forth man became subject to death; according to the circle and course of the week days it was the same day, namely the sixth, for on this day our Saviour died, and as he summed up in himself mankind from first to last, so did he recapitulate man's death; some supposed that it was the same day, regarded as a day of the Lord, for he died within a thousand years; and it was on one and the same day, as the one day of creation, according to the words, "There was evening and there was morning one day."2 This one day of creation thus distinguished from the same day of the week and from a day of a thousand years, plainly implies the whole period of creation to the final consummation, a day repeated in conception, not in time, according to the varying nature of the works of God.

These references of Irenæus bring us back nearly to the period when the Christian Church received the Old Testament Scriptures at the hands of the Jewish. The notions of the Jewish doctors respecting the Mosaic account of creation may be gathered from the More Nebochim, or Guide of the Simple, of Maimonides, who has embodied their traditional teaching in this work. In the Preface of it he tells us that in order to

¹ Consummavit Deus in die sexto omnia opera sua quæ fecit, et requievit in die septimo ab omnibus operibus suis quæ fecit. Hoc autem est et antefactorum narratio quemadmodum facta sunt, et futurorum prophetia.—Et propter hoc in omni tempore plasmatus in initio homo per manus Dei, id est Fillii et Spiritus, fit secundùm imaginem et similitudinem Dei. Adv. Hær. v. 28.
² In ipså itaque die mortui sunt, in quâ et manducaverunt et debitores facti sunt proptis avaitate qua die mortui sunt.

² In ipså itaque die mortui sunt, in quâ et manducaverunt et debitores facti sunt mortis, quoniam conditionis dies unus. Factum est enim (inquit) vespere et mane dies unus. In ipså autem hâc die manducaverunt, in ipså autem et mortui sunt. Adv. Hær. v. 23.

produce an apprehension of the Creator in the minds of men, suited to their capacity, He prefixed to his laws an account of the creation, but that by reason of our incapacity to comprehend fully such profound matters as it would be needful to advert to, these were expressed in parables, enigmas and very abstruse ways of speaking. He quotes the Rabbis of pious memory as having said that it was not possible to explain to flesh and blood the nature of the work of creation, for which reason the Scriptures say absolutely, "In the beginning God created," by which words they meant to intimate that these matters are shut up and not openly explained. He adds that words of ambiguous meaning are often used in order that the vulgar, according to their weak ability, might understand them in one sense and the more enlightened in another. Then, when he comes to treat more particularly of the work of creation, he lays down as a preliminary, that everything that is said in the account of it given by Moses is not to be understood in the literal acceptation, according to vulgar apprehension, and again quotes the Rabbis as saying, at the conclusion of the account of the sixth day's work, "From the commencement of the book down to this, it is the glory of God to conceal a matter." While, therefore, those who have acquired an insight into such matters are bound to communicate their knowledge to others, they should not do so openly and plainly, but by hints and indications such as the Rabbis were wont to give. And he adds accordingly that, in what he is about to say on the subject himself, he frequently makes use of some one word or expression which is, as it were, the hinge on which the whole matter turns, leaving all further explanation to those whose proper business it is.1 In the course of his remarks on the particulars described by Moses, he blames some for supposing that time existed before the creation of the world—an absurdity to which they were led by understanding the enumeration of the days literally, while they could not conceive how days could else be measured before the surrounding

¹ Pp. 273-4. Ed. Buxtorf, 1629.

sphere and the sun were created.1 He further intimates, as a point of some moment, that the particle eth prefixed to the heavens and the earth, in the first verse implies the creation with them of all things contained therein. The conclusion he draws from this is that all things were created simultaneously and afterwards successively separated one from another. This the Rabbis likened to the sowing of divers seeds together, which afterwards germinated at different times.² On this principle he explains the difficulties arising from the enumeration of the first, second, and third days, and quotes the Rabbis as saying of the light created on the first day, that it denoted the luminaries created on the first day but not suspended until the fourth.3 That he thought the successive separation above mentioned was one of description and not of creation, and the suspending of the luminaries on the fourth day merely the representation of the narrative, may be gathered not only from his afterwards saying that the dividing between the waters mentioned in the seventh verse is not to be understood of a distinction or division of place, but of nature and form,4 but also from his insisting on another saying of the Rabbis that "all the works of creation were created in their stature, in their science, in their grace and ornament." This he thinks was meant to signify that, in their aggregate and severally, they were created in their most perfect quantity, their most perfect form and their most beautiful accidents. And this, he says, should be kept in mind as a fundamental principle of no small moment. Doubtless it was one of those cardinal sayings which he said he threw out from time to time without entering into a fuller explanation.⁵

¹ P. 275. ² Pp. 275-6.

³ Expresse scribunt in Bereschith Rabbah Sapientes nostri de luce quæ primo die in lege dicitur creata esse; Ista sunt luminaria, quæ creata fuerunt primo die, sed non suspendit ea usque ad diem quartum. p. 276.

⁴ P. 277.

⁵ Scitu porrò tibi necessarium in hoc negotio est illud quod Rabbini nostri inquiunt, omnia opera creationis creata sunt in staturâ suâ, creata sunt in scientiâ suâ, creata sunt in decore suo: quo innuere volunt, quòd, universa et singula, quæ Deus creavit, in perfectissimâ suâ quantitate, iu perfectissimâ suâ formâ, et in elegantissimis suis accidentibus creata sint. Diligenter itaque et hoc retine, quia non exiguum quoque est fundamentum. P. 279.

In addition to these rabbinical notions one might adduce the opinion of Philo, if he were not such a noted allegorizer. The remarks of Josephus, to the same effect, will have more weight. At the close of the Preface to the Antiquities, he tells us why Moses had prefixed to his laws an account of the creation, namely, that he might induce men by the contemplation of God and of his most excellent works to endeavour to imitate Him as far as it was possible for man to do. He says that in this account the entire representation is conformed to the nature of the universe, though in respect to somethings Moses had wisely spoken enigmatically, and in regard to others had allegorized with becoming reverence, while he had in express terms set forth such things as required to be directly explained. He adds that those who would enquire into the reasons of each particular should enter upon a very extensive and philosophical speculation, such as he promises to engage in on some other occasion. That he regarded the first chapter of Genesis as embracing some of the particulars expressed enigmatically or allegorically may be gathered from his remarking, as has been noticed, that the first day is described as one day and not the first, for which he intimates that there was a particular reason, which he reserves for the promised philosophical survey just mentioned, and also from his remarking that after the seventh day Moses began to speak physiologically, or according to the truth of nature.2

To this retrospect of opinion as regards the interpretation of the Mosaic Genesis, it remains only to add that the Jewish translator Aquila appears to have favoured the notion of a simultaneous creation of all things, from his translating by $\dot{\epsilon}\nu$ $\kappa\epsilon\phi a\lambda al\varphi$ the expression ordinarily rendered "in the beginning;" as if it were in one sum that God created the heavens and the earth.

κατασκευής λέγων ούτως-κ.τ.λ., i., 1.1.

Πάντα γὰρ τῆ τῶν ὅλων φύσει σύμφωνον ἔχει τὴν διάθεσιν τὰ μὲν, αἰνιττομένου τοῦ νομοθέτου ἀξίως τὰ δὲ, ἀλληγοροῦντος μετὰ σεμνότητος ὅσα δὲ ἐξ εὐθείας λέγεσθαι συνέφερεν, ταῦτα ἐητῶς ἐμφανίζοντος. Sub fine Proemii.
 Καὶ δἢ καὶ Φυσιολογεῖν Μωϋσῆς μετά τὴν ἐβδόμην ἥρξατο, περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου

Enough has now been done to show that long before geology, or even modern astronomy, presented the difficulties that of late years have perplexed believers, and afforded a fancied triumph to the infidel, for which believers have very much to blame themselves, there were those who saw abundant difficulties in the way of a literal acceptation of the Mosaic statements, who could yet be profound believers in the divine inspiration of Holy Scripture and of this part in particular,—Jewish doctors, Christian fathers, burning and shining lights of the Church.

VII. We are now in a position to return to the document itself, which, as has been already shown, affords numerous indications that it was not intended to be taken in the strict historical and literal acceptation of its statements. Putting aside for the present the question of time, and looking only at the works themselves as successively enumerated, it will be seen that they are described according to a principle of classification. But for the idea of temporal succession produced by the reckoning of days, this classification could scarcely have escaped the notice of any intelligent and observant reader. A very simple but comprehensive and complete classification of material creatures, from a terrestrial point of view and in accordance with sensible qualities and appearances, is presented to us under the form of a successive development, the succession being expressive of the order in which the series is arranged. It is resolvable into two parts, the successive particulars enumerated in the second having severally, in the order in which they are placed, a special relation to the successive particulars in the first. This former part is in fact an enumeration of the so called Elements, to which as a classification of material creatures the ancients attached so much importance; and these, according to the assumed character of the entire passage, are presented in their concrete form, the progression being from the most subtle and impalpable to the densest and most substantial.¹

¹ That one, by understanding the Spirit of God in verse 2 to denote the air, might see the four elements in the heaven, earth, spirit or air, and waters, of the two first

First, light is specified, or, according to the dramatic character of the representation, called into existence. Light and heat were intimately associated in the conceptions of the ancients, being naturally regarded as only different modifications of the same element. Accordingly the word here used to designate light is in several instances also used to denote heat and even artificial fire, (Is. xviii. 4, xxxi. 9, xliv. 16, xlvii. 14, Ezek. v. 2); and it is the light which constitutes day, and which, therefore, as coming from the sun, is identified in men's ordinary conceptions with the heat of the sun, that stands as the representation of this element in the Mosaic description.

From this, the most subtle and imponderable, the sacred writer proceeds to the denser but still subtle elements of air and water. These, like the chaotic aggregate of creation which at the commencement, with reference, as may be supposed, to the subsequent orderly classification, is represented as existing in a state of confused combination, are at first represented as mingled and united together. In other words they are classed together as possessed of common properties. The transparency of air and water, the permeability of both by solid bodies, the free motion of their parts amongst themselves, and the ready conversion of water into an aerial substance in the form of vapour would naturally lead to their being classified together; while their separation into the firmament or expanse of the atmosphere, and the waters, above the firmament, as rain or clouds, and below it, as the water on the earth's surface, presents these substances as different and distinct elements, though thus classed together.

verses, we learn from the Liber Imperfectus of St. Augustine, De Gen. ad Lit., § 18:— Tertia opinio de hoe spiritu oriri potest, ut credatur Spiritus nomine, aeris elementum enuntiatum; ut ita quatuor elementa insinuata sint, quibus mundus iste visibilis surgit, cœlum scilicet et terra et aqua et aer: non quia jam erant distincta et ordinata; sed quia in illius materiae quamvis informi eonfusione, tamen exortura præsignabantur, quæ informis confusio tenebrarum et abyssi nomine commendata est. Of this unformed and confused material, as compared with the several creatures afterwards separately brought into existence, he remarks in his unretracted work, De Gen. ad Lit. Lib. V., v. 13,—Non temporali sed caussali ordiue prius facta est informis formabilisque materies, et spiritalis et corporalis, de quâ fieret quod faciendum esset.

And then from these fluid and elastic elements we are led to the most solid and substantial. Earth, as the dry land, appears and is covered with its vegetable clothing as a part of itself. And thus we have an orderly classification of the elements,—just what Josephus calls in the heading of his account of the contents of this chapter, $\dot{\eta}$ διάταξις τῶν στοιχείων,—as it were a marshalling of the elements.

And now from this triad of light, of fluids aerial and liquid, and of solid earth, the writer proceeds in the same order, as it were to people each with its proper occupants, habitatores corum, as Thomas Aquinas says. First, light becomes occupied by the heavenly luminaries, which may be regarded as dwelling in light. Next in order, the waters and the air are respectively peopled with the fishes and creeping things of the seas, and the fowls that fly above along the face of heaven. It is only the former which the waters are represented as producing; according to the true rendering the fowls are not produced by the waters but simply bid to fly aloft in the firmament. The similarity of their motions in their respective elements, so different from those of the terrestrial animals, and not the relation merely of the seabirds to the waters, causes these to be classed together in correlation to the waters and the atmosphere, which the likeness of their physical properties had caused to be classed together previously. And then, at last, appear the inhabitants of the solid earth, which was already provided with its vegetable clothing serving for their sustenance but treated as part of the earth itself as directly growing from it. Thus the three last terms of the series successively correspond with the three first, as the second group of a comprehensive classification which includes all parts of the visible and material creation. We have seen already how this mutual correspondence of the three terms of each portion of the series was slightly intimated by Thomas Aquinas, and more distinctly by Mr. MacDonald, and how it has been strikingly

^{1 &}quot;With equal truth and acuteness this natural philosopher places the creatures of air and water in one class." Herder, as quoted by Mr. Rorison, in note p. 337.

displayed by Mr. Rorison as evincing the artificial structure of the parallelism,—what might be called the antiphonal arrangement of the strophes or stanzas of the composition. This view of the poetical structure of the passage, so beautifully illustrated by Mr. Rorison, is not incompatible with the more prosaic notion of a classification based on the primitive and universal resolution of material things into the four elements, here arranged according to their order of density, and followed by what the Vulgate calls ornatus eorum in corresponding order. This classification of all material creatures is complete and natural as to the things classified according to their apparent qualities and relations, but still artificial in its arrangement as to both its parts. And this artificial character of the arrangement, according to the gradations of density in the first, and according to a certain relation of the several members in the second successively to those of the first, together with the reservation of the second until the completion of the first, instead of a joint enumeration of the particulars respectively related to one another, is so unlike anything we know of the order and succession of the works of God as manifested in the actual rerum concordia discors, that of itself it leads us away from the notion that these things were successively created in the same order in which they are thus classified and marshalled by the sacred writer.2

¹ This notion of classification appears in the extract from Herder, quoted by Mr. Rorison in the note (k) of p. 336, which will be referred to again presently. But the view of this classification which Herder gives in his Alteste Urkünde des Menschengeschlechts is in the highest degree artificial and devoid of simplicity. To present it in an intelligible English dress would be almost impossible.

present it in an intelligible English dress would be almost impossible.

2 This elemental classification, and the relation of the two successive series of creatures, are implied, though with some indistinctness, in the following summary of the six days' work by St. Augustine, in reference to which it is to be remarked that the light of the first day was, according to what he regarded as the most probable signification, lux rationalis, the faculty in general of reason and intelligence, whether angelic or human:—In his verò quæ jam ex informitate formata sunt, evidentiùsque appellantur creata vel facta vel condita, primum factus est dies. Oportebat enim ut primatum creaturæ obtineret illa natura quæ creaturam per creatorem, non creatorem per creaturam posset agnoscere. Secundò firmamentum unde corporeus incipit mundus. Tertiò species maris et terræ, atque in terrâ potentialiter, ut ita dicam natura herbarum atque lignorum. Sic enim terra ad Dei verbum ea produxit antequàm exorta essent, accipiens omnes numeros corum quos per tempora exserert secundum suum genus. Deinde posteaquam hec velut habitatio rerum condita est, quarto die luminaria et sidera creata sunt, ut priùs pars mundi superior, rebus quæ intra muudum moventur visibilibus ornaretur. Quinto aquarum natura, quia cœlo

VIII. But if we are not to regard the succession of works as a succession in respect of time, but simply of order in the nature of the things enumerated, they being described in the widest generality as kinds, and so inclusive not merely of the creatures now existing according to the present order of nature, but of all, extinct or varied or now existing, through whatever progress of development, or manner of change, or course of succession they may have passed into their present condition or may pass hereafter, it is to be enquired what is the import of the simultaneous enumeration of the several days reckoned along with them? It has been already noticed that there is a peculiarity in the mode in which these days are specified, the first reckoned being simply called one day, and the others indefinitely a second, a third, and so on until the sixth,—a peculiarity which it might be thought perhaps was intended to indicate, but at any rate does not express more than, number irrespective of order; the order in which they are actually placed being that in which for another cause, namely that of classification, they happen to be reckoned. It was also observed that, as regards the six days of creation the writer abstains from, at any rate, expressly saying that the works were actually accomplished on the respective days reckoned along with them; while the most that is implied in the words of the Fourth Commandment—"six days God made heaven and earth, the sea and all that in them is "-amounts to the assertion that the aggregate of the days occupied was six. In fact, in the enumeration of the works and days, one of each is simply set over against the other respectively. Works which in their actual formation may have taken place wholly, or in part, either simultaneously or successively, and in the latter case in any order of succession, are, when separated and classified according

aerique conjungitur, produxit ad Dei verbum indigenas suos, omnia scilicet natatilia et volatilia; et hac potentialiter in numeris, qui per congruos temporum motus exsererentur. Sexto terrestria similiter animalia tamquam ex ultimo elemento mundi ultima; nihilominus potentialiter, quorum numeros tempus postea visibilitur explicaret. De Gen. ad Lit. V. v. 14. The elemental classification is here implied, only St. Augustine regards the narrative as describing a potential creation before the actual creation of time, while the view above given supposes a representation of things as actually created in the order and succession in which they are classified.

to their several natures and kinds, represented as so many separate days' work of the great artificer. We might almost think that this was a purely metaphorical use of the day for the work, if it were not for the statement at the close that God rested on the seventh day from all his work. Mr. Rorison indeed, relying on the poetical character and structure of the composition, regards the days as not indicating any relation of time whatever. "The days themselves are transfigured from registers of time into definitives of strophes or stanzas,—lamps and landmarks of a creative sequence,—a mystic drapery, a parabolic setting,—shadowing by the sacred cycle of seven the truths of an ordered progress, a foreknown finality, an achieved perfection, and a divine repose." And then in reference to the use made of the Mosaic Heptameron in the Fourth Commandment, he says, that this symbolism "becomes, in turn, to the Jewish nation at the Exodus, the platform of the law of the Sabbath. God's week is mystical, man's week is literal. But the spiritual homology assumed is not disturbed by the inevitable disparity of scale." But why inevitable? Plainly the days may indicate real time just as much as the operations a real creative work, that in fact had some real relation to time, whether expressed or not in the narrative. Here is his weakest point and our greatest difficulty. God's resting on the seventh day from all his work, coupled with the words of the Fourth Commandment-"six days God made heaven and earth, the sea and all that in them is,"—does seem to point to a closer relation between the several works and the specified times, than that of mere poetic figure or symbolism.

¹ P. 336. In a note he extracts some passages from Herder, from which are taken the following:—"To remove the false notion of days, let me observe what is obvious to every one on a bare inspection, that the whole system of this representation rests on a comparison by means of which the separations do not take place physically but symbolically. As one eye is incapable of comprehending at one view the whole creation, it was necessary to form classes, and it was most natural to distinguish in the first place the heavens from the earth. . . . Thus this ancient document is the first simple table of a natural order, in which the term "days," while it is subservient to another purpose of the author, is employed only as a nominal scale for the division."

But then, at any rate, it is to be observed in the first place, that it is by no means clear that it is not with the issuing of God's commandments, "Let there be light," and so forth, instead of with the actual genesis of the creatures, that the specification of time is intended to be connected, especially as the creatures, at any rate the plants and animals, are described in the widest generality of kinds, rather than as individual specimens of each kind. Now the ascription to God of the utterance of such commands is only a human manner of representing the determining will of God, just as the resting from his work can only signify that there existed no such will to create any other material beings, beyond those included in the comprehensive enumeration of the six days' work. God's relation to time is wholly different from ours. But even in ourselves a resolute purpose kept steadily in view may with equal truth be assigned to any one point as to another of the entire period during which it is thus kept in view. Still more is this true in the case of the Almighty, whose thoughts and purposes are ever present, and to whom yesterday, to-day and for ever are but one constant now. His determining will to create a world, all whose parts are resolvable into the sixfold division we have presented to us in the Mosaic Genesis, may with equal truth be assigned by him to six several days as to one, and these in any order, all being alike one to him. Assuming therefore this account to be a divine product, as written under the inspiration of God,—and on any other supposition we have no concern to vindicate the truthfulness of the document,—we may perhaps reasonably conceive that, for a special reason, Moses may have been led by the divine Spirit to assign God's determining will to create the several kinds of creatures enumerated to the several days reckoned along with them, such an accommodation not being likely to mislead those who are capable of forming right conceptions of the Deity in relation to time, while those who are incapable of such conceptions must needs be dealt with in some manner of accommodation.1

¹ Such an accommodation to weaker minds is suggested by St. Augustine in the Lib. Imperf. de Gen. ad Lit. § 28, as well as in a passage already quoted.

The nearer proximity, however, in the narrative of the specifications of time to the mention of the manifestation of the creatures in their concrete state, may seem to some rather to indicate that we should connect the mention of the days with the realisation of God's will in the actual creation of the world, and with his will itself only as exerted in that realisation in time. But then it is to be considered that the creatures, though described in their concrete state, are still described as kinds in a very wide and comprehensive generalisation, and that notwithstanding the impression which the narrative produces of an immediate fulfilment of the divine commands, we yet have represented to us the growth of vegetables as produced from the ground, and of the living beings as if bred from the waters and from the earth,-a manner of production which suggests according to our experience a slow and gradual process.1 If then we are not by this representation of a gradual process in the fulfilment brought back to the purpose and will as existing in God rather than as manifested in time, we are certainly not warranted in supposing that the specified days denote the full and exact space

Referring to the already noticed words of the son of Sirach expressive of a simultaneous creation of all things, he says, "In ipså ratione operationem contemplatus est in Spiritu Sancto qui dixit, Qui manet in æternum creavit omnia simul: sed commodissime in illo libro, quasi morarum per intervalla factarum à Deo rerum digesta narratio est, ut ipsa dispositio, quæ ab infirmioribus animis contemplatione stabili videri non poterat, per hujusmodi ordinem sermonis exposita quasi istis oculis cerneretur." He had just before said, "Ubi est quod scriptum est, Subest enim tibi cùm voles posse, si opus est, Deo productione temporis, ut aliquid perficiat? An omnia quidem tamquam in arte atque ratione perfecta sunt Deo, non in productione temporis, sed in ipså vi quâ illas etiam res, quas non stare sed transire cernimus, stabiliter efficit?"

1 St. Augustine, De Gen, ad Lit. Lib. Imperf., \$ 51, seems to have read at the

¹ St. Augustine, De Gen. ad Lit. Lib. Imperf., § 51, seems to have read at the conclusion of the command to be fruitful and multiply, in v. 22, and immediately before the mention of the fifth day, the words occurring after the mention of some of the divine operations, et factum est sic. On this he remarks,—Hîc planè quivis tardus jam evigilare debet ut intelligat quales isti dies enumerentur. Cùm enim certos seminum numeros Deus animantibus dederit, servantes miram certo ordine constantiam, ut certo dierum numero, pro suo quoque genere, et concepta utero gerant, et edita ova calefaciant; cujus natura institutio Dei sapientiâ conservatur, que tendit à fine usque ad finem fortiter, et disponat omnia suaviter: quomodo uno die potuerunt et concipere, et utero gravescere, et parta vaporare atque nutrire, et implere aquas maris et multiplicari super terram? Though this is grounded apparently on the place in which the words et factum est sie were read by St. Augustine in this verse, yet the question which he asks is equally pertinent in reference to the germination of the vegetable productions and the derivation of the living creatures from the earth and waters, by some process of generation.

of time actually occupied in the production of each class of creatures, only one, namely that of light, consisting of a singular effect of creative power. Rather these days should be taken as indicating days on which the several classes of creatures had virtually begun to exist, or had fully attained their existence as such. Some of the particulars comprised in any of these classes may have been in existence longer than others, and some simultaneously growing into their proper condition but unequal in their degrees of contemporaneous development; yet there must have been some one day on which each of these classes might be more truly said to have virtually come into existence, or else to have been completed and so pronounced good in respect to that virtual existence or completeness, as in other respects, than at any other time. Some of these days may have been separated from others by indeterminate intervals, but these intervals are overlooked, as periods during which the classes in their comprehensive entireness did not yet exist; they may have been all several, or some of them may have been concurrent, but, in respect of the diversity of operations, treated as different, the object not being to date any one of these operations from any particular epoch; and even we might suppose that all took place simultaneously, and that only one actual day was repeated six times as diverse in the sixfold diversity of the creatures enumerated, as we have seen St. Augustine thought. In our conception there would be a real diversity and succession in the same actual time thus severally repeated in connexion with several distinctly conceived things supposed to have happened in it. This diversity in conception seems to have been the idea embodied by St. Augustine in the extracts which are subjoined underneath.1

¹ Ita fortassè dictum est, et fueta est vespera et factum est mane, dies unus, sicut ratione prospicitur, ita fieri debere aut posse, non ita ut fit temporalibus tractibus. De Gen. ad Lit. Lib. Imperfect., § 28. Dies ergo ille quem Deus primitus fecit si spiritalis rationalisque ereatura est, id est angelorum supercœlestium atque virtutum, præsentatus est omnibus operibus Dei hoe ordine præsentiæ, quo ordine scientiæ quâ et in verbo Dei facienda prænoseeret, et in creaturâ factā cognosecret, non per intervallorum temporalium moras, sed prius et posterius habens in connexione

And here too it must be remarked in regard to God's resting from his works on the seventh day, that this was not a cessation from work on that particular day, to be followed by a resumption of work at its expiration, but a cessation from work in the same sense for all time to come. That cessation was certainly not a suspension of the exercise of Almighty power in respect to the material world. It is as true that on every day in all time God says of each of his works, and of every class of them, Let it be, and it is, as this was true at the first creation of each. It was only therefore a cessation from work in respect of the virtual existence or completeness already, in their comprehensive character, of those classes which embrace the whole material creation in all its diversity of kinds and under all the variations to which it either has been or may hereafter be subjected. Hence it is not said in Gen. ii. 1, 2, that God rested from working, but from the works as completed, not ab operationibus, but ab operatis. The word used (מֵלֵאבָה) does not denote the doing, but the work done, and is therefore used to express goods, and cattle in particular, as a man's acquisitions. As this rest-a rest to extend to all subsequent time and consistent with the continued exercise of creative power within the limits of those comprehensive classes, which had virtually and in the completeness of their classification already come into existence—is yet determined to the particular day on which it might be said by reason of that completeness to have commenced, so also the determining each several class to the day when it might more strictly be said to have virtually begun, or been completed in its character as a class, is consistent with a previous or subsequent exercise of creative power within its own particular limits. And if we may suppose these several classes to have occupied unequal periods of duration in arriving at the state assigned to each particular day, or in the subsequent

creaturarum, in efficacia verò Creatoris omnia simul. Gen. ad Lit. iv. 34. To understand this difficult passage we must know that St. Augustine considered, as the most probable supposition, that the light first created and distinguished from the corporeal light of the luminaries, was spiritual light as existing in the cognitions of Angelic Intelligences, to whose conceptions he here refers. The principle involved holds equally good however in regard to the conceptions of men.

development summed up therein, there is the more reason for treating as several the days which virtually sum up these diverse ages, however in point of actual time any of them may have been concurrent with others. Days that potentially represent various and unequal periods are, without respect to their possible concurrence, treated as if they were as diverse and several as are the works assigned to them—works which in their potentiality sum up and represent the continued operations of those different periods. And this seems to be quite a natural proceeding, though its justification may lead us, as often happens in such cases, into this somewhat abstruse discussion.

IX. It will be well now just briefly to re-state the conclusions at which we have arrived. The creation of the material universe is represented in the form of a cosmogony, but the formation of its several parts, though described in this form, is set forth not in the order and succession in which they were actually brought into existence, but according to the principle and in the order and subdivisions of a simple and comprehensive classification. All things being thus resolved into six classes, these classes, as severally enumerated, are respectively followed by the enumeration of six days. And these days, up to the last, being numbered not in a manner necessarily denoting the succession of time, but in such a manner as might be consistent with any order of temporal succession, if not standing metaphorically merely to denote so many days' work as it were of the great artificer, represent days to which the divine purposes or commands for the creation of each class are determined, or the days on which each began virtually to exist as a class, or was completed in its character as such; there being good and sufficient reasons, as will be presently shown, for adopting this form of representation.

It is to be observed that the view which has been now presented not only sets us free from any difficulties arising from astronomical science or the successions of organic creatures brought to light by geological discoveries, but also exempts us from all anxiety in respect to any theories of the formation or transmutation of species by development or selection, or arising from any future possible discovery of a greater antiquity of the human species than has hitherto been assigned to it. The principle of classification and of days reckoned according to the order of that, and not of the succession of time, renders us indifferent to the actual priority or subsequence of any particular creatures to any others, and embraces in its comprehensive generality the creatures of all periods, whether newly created or derived from those that preceded them, the kinds enumerated being still the same in their generality, however different the species have become.

Professor Challis agrees as to the necessity of abandoning the strictly historical view. But he substitutes for it, as we have already seen, the supposition of what he calls a prophetical account of creation. He supposes that the order of epochs is not in accordance with the historic epochs of first appearances, but with those of maximum developments. These he says must embrace the ascending steps by which the maximum is reached and the descending steps by which it declines. He is evidently thinking of a mathematical formula which, if it includes the maximum, must equally apply to the variable quantity in its increasing and decreasing stages. But just as in such a mathematical formula, when it is made to express the maximum by supposing the increment of the variable to become evanescent, the increasing and decreasing values of the variable are thus excluded; so also the mere mention of the culminating point in a series of progressing and then declining events of the same kind, does not necessarily include, but rather excludes, the ascending and descending steps, especially where we are not informed that it is the point of maximum development of such Supposing however that the third, fifth and sixth days works thus specially refer to the organisations of the carboniferous, secondary, and tertiary geological periods, he says the intervals over which their unfoldings were spread over-

lapped each other. This under an historical form is in effect a classification, the principle of which is to group together the like organisations of whatever period, and to arrange them in the order of the periods in which these attained their maximum developments. Some of the difficulties he has to contend with in this supposition have already been noticed, and it is necessary now only to observe that having thus adopted a principle of classification according to geological periods, he is not able to adhere to it. He is obliged to admit amongst the plants of the carboniferous period, fruit trees, that do not belong to it, which he justifies on the ground of similarity of nature; and to include in the secondary period feathered fowl, which barely belong to it as far as we know, cetaceans, which do not belong to it at all, and fishes which belong alike to all periods. Thus having first adopted one principle of classification, that of geological periods according to maximum developments, he violates this by including in his groups creatures classed with them on a different principle altogether, that of similarity of nature and habits. Driven to this by the exigencies of the case, it is strange he did not perceive that as a scheme the Mosaic account agrees no better with geology than as a history, while the classification, in the several groups of creatures out of their proper periods, falsifies the indications of time as denoting the order of succession on this supposition of a proleptic scheme, just as much as it does the same indications regarded as representing the actual periods of creation on the supposition of a literal history. This view is therefore encumbered with quite as serious difficulties as those which beset the historical interpretation; while sending us back to the conceptions of the divine mind, it presents those conceptions in a form which, as regards the third, the fifth, and the sixth days, is in effect a classification, the principle of which, however, is not adhered to. It is not necessary to examine the fanciful supposition of physical possibilities by which he endeavours to account for the other days. But if we are to explain any part on the principle of a classification, let it be one

that is consistent with itself and applies to the entire, as the unity of character in the whole passage would lead us to expect. We have seen that such a classification, formed in accordance with the recognised principles of early times, and not drawing on the scientific discoveries of later ages, is visible on the surface of the narrative, if men would be content to look at that surface before they begin to dig beneath it in search of geological formations and organic remains.

It remains only further to consider whether there was any reason why the account of the creation should have been thrown into this particular form. We have already seen that a statement which should be conformed to the absolute truth of nature, or to any particular stage of subsequent scientific discovery, was not to be expected nor likely to answer any useful purpose; while it will appear that the representation actually given was well calculated to answer ends that the sacred writer must have had in view.

X. The first and greatest design, which one cannot but believe that Moses at the outset would have had in view, was to give the children of Israel just notions of God, and guard them from the prevalent idolatry, to which, from the force of example on every side, they were so prone, notwithstanding the divine interpositions on their behalf coupled with the most stringent injunctions to avoid it in every form and degree. The great particular of divine truth with which he sets out, is therefore the creation of the world at large, heaven and earth, the sea and all that in them is, by the one living and true God, acting as a single being, while the name by which he is described in its plural form is expressive of the concentration in that one God of all power, might, majesty and dominion, those several powers which, as separately personified, were worshipped as distinct divinities by the heathen being combined in him, and the several creatures, which were likewise objects of religious worship, being all the work of that same God. However this truth may be regarded as a deduction possible to human reason, and so

might be considered as not falling properly within the province of revelation, it is certain that the people for whom Moses more immediately wrote, surrounded as they were by universally prevalent idolatry, would find reason of itself practically insufficient to maintain the truth. Under existing circumstances, at any rate, it was necessary to make it an article of faith; and so it comes to pass that in the New Testament we are told that the creation of the world by the word of God is understood by faith, the truth which it was needful to reveal not being the order or manner of creation, but the fact that the worlds were made by the word of God. And to impress the unity of God the more forcibly on the minds of the people, in opposition to the prevalent idolatry, which consisted so largely of the worship of natural objects, it was desirable not only to set forth the ereation of the world in its aggregate as the work of God, but also to exhibit the several parts as each the result of the same creative power. This is done by a simple, natural and complete enumeration of all kinds of creatures, each of which, with all its varieties and in all its properties, is the work of God severally wrought by him. And as the ancients, and more especially the Eastern nations, with whom the Israelites were in contact, delighted to exercise their imaginations in speculating on the origin and relations of natural objects, their cosmogony being blent with theogony and forming part of their religious systems, so Moses also represents the process of creation and the enumeration of its parts under the form of a cosmogony, that might supplant or exclude the notions which else the Israelites might borrow from their neighbours, corrupt and debasing as such notions of the Gentiles mostly were. In giving his description of creation this form, he uses much poetic imagery, and in an impressive and dramatic manner represents the immediate and personal agency of God. And while this dramatic character of the representation involved the appearance of succession in the works performed as it were one by one, the erroneous impression that might be caused by this dramatic representation of successive acts, would be counteracted in the minds of those whose advancing knowledge would make this correction needful, by the assertion of the creation of all in the aggregate first. And we have seen how in fact it was thus counteracted. And as it was part of the poetic form of the description to represent the works of nature as thus successively formed with dramatic action, instead of presenting a simple enumeration of the classified creatures, so the aggregate from which the several particulars are to be distinguished is with like poetic imagery described as a dark and indistinguished mass, over which, in keeping with the dramatic character, a Spirit or breathing of God moves preparatory to the subsequent division.

How needful it was thus to set forth the formation of the heavens and the earth as the first effect of God's creative power, we may judge from the fact that in the ancient systems of theosophy, heaven and earth appear generally as the first existing deities or as a self-existing mass of unshaped and chaotic matter. We need not more than remind the reader of the Cœlum and Terra of the Greek and Roman mythologies, derived no doubt from Oriental sources, and of the personified $X\acute{a}os^2$ or inanimate rudis indigestaque moles of Ovid. This primitive $i\lambda\eta$, or matter, was itself regarded as a deity by Greeian philosophers, as well as the elements derived from it. In this they borrowed from the Egyptians, who, as Diogenes Laertius informs us, on the authority of Hecatæus, Aristagoras and others, considered matter to be the principle of all things, from which the elements were separated. These elements appear as deities not only by their

¹ Thus Apollodorus begins his Bibliotheca by saying, 'Ουρανδε πρώτοε τοῦ πάντος εδυνάστευσε κόσμου' γήμας δὲ γῆν ἐτέκνωσε—κ.τ.λ.

² The word translated "the deep" in Gen. i. 1, תְהוֹם, has invariably the grammatical character of a proper name.

³ Thus Clement of Alexandria, Admon. ad Gentes, p. 42, B. Ed. Sylburg. tells us, φιλοσοφίαν αὐτην, κενοδοξίας ἕνεκεν ἀνειδωλοποιοῦσαν τὴν ὕλην ἐφεύρωμεν. It is plain that this is said not of the formation of material objects of worship, such as statues or other images, an operation with which the philosophers had nothing to do, but of the deification of matter in general. The words idol and idolatry in the Jewish and Christian usage were not confined to images, but extended to false gods in general.

in general.

4 Diog. Laert. de Vitis Philosophorum lib. i. Proem. He says the Chaldeans also

identification with Vulcan and other mythological personages, but also by their personification and treatment as deities in the systems of the philosophers.

If we turn now to the particulars of the creation, as subsequently enumerated, we shall see how well calculated they were, as thus exhibited, to counteract the prevailing idolatrous tendencies. Light which, with its kindred heat, doubtless identified with it in the popular apprehension, was worshipped as elemental fire, is here represented as called into existence separately by the word of God. Appearing ordinarily as an accident of luminous bodies, a description of creation might well represent it as created conjointly with the sun, or overlook it altogether as implied in the sun's creation and that of the other heavenly bodies. It is described separately to guard men's minds against the reverence which was attached to it by the fire-worshippers of the East. Instead of a self-existing principle of a divine nature, it is called into being by the word of God. Light and darkness, night and day, the objects of joyful adoration and of superstitious dread in their personifications as deities, are themselves mere effects of God's power. From Him they receive their names, according to the poetical and dramatic character of the narrative; in plain words they derived from God their specific character. Then the idolaters of old had peopled the storms and seas, the winds and the clouds with gods, which were in fact these natural objects themselves assuming to the superstitious apprehension of men's minds a personal existence. Every river and mountain stream and rising spring possessed, or was itself, a personal deity. The sky or firmament had its special Numen, or rather was itself a god. And so when according to the words of the Psalmist,—"in the morning I will direct my prayer unto thee, and will look up,"—the worshippers of the

regarded fire, earth and water as their gods. Clement, ubi supra, tell us that some of the philosophers regarded one, and some another, of the elements as gods, but that Empedocles so regarded the four elements, adding $\nu\epsilon\hat{\iota}kos$ and $\phi\iota\lambda la$ to the number. Empedocles was a disciple of Pythagoras, who derived much of his philosophy from Egypt. To the Egyptian notions we purpose to revert.

true God lifted up their eyes to heaven in prayer, the heathen poet had no other interpretation for their uplifted looks than this,—

"Nil præter nubes et eæli numen adorant."

These, as likewise the work of God, lose their reputed character as deities, or are freed from the occupation of the deities supposed to reside in them, and men's minds are directed to the worship of Him that made them, free from the superstitious terrors of idolatry. And then, when the dry land is called by the voice of God from beneath the waters, and by the same command clothed with its vegetable productions in all their variety, no longer may men dream that the mountains or the oaks are occupied by gods, or that God can be like to images, wrought of wood, or clay, or stone, or of gold and silver, that are but parts of the same work of God. So too the host of heaven, which men gave themselves up to worship, is here represented as subordinated to this lower world, and set in the heavens as if for the sole purpose of serving the uses of man, as "lights to rule the day and to rule the night, for signs, and for seasons, and for days and years." No doubt in the infinite multiplicity of design, and amongst the endless mutual adaptations of all creatures, this might be truly set down as one end of their creation. But evidently it is only from a terrestrial point of view, and with regard to the limited conceptions of the men of those days, and to guard against the undue exaltation of these creatures of God and unconscious benefactors of men into imagined deities, that they are here represented as if made for no other end than to serve the uses of mankind. And when by the same word of God the seas, and the air, and the dry land were peopled by their living inhabitants, men thus might learn not to think that God could be like to birds or fourfooted beasts, or creeping things of the earth. Of all, man alone is made in the image and likeness of God, while he too comes into existence by no other means than the rest, and so may not himself be deified; his likeness to God is

but imparted, and his dominion over the inferior creatures only a delegated authority.

While we may thus regard the view of the creation of the world presented to us by the Mosaic Genesis as designed to counteract idolatrous tendencies that might be occasioned amongst the children of Israel by the pagan systems in general of the ancient world, we might anticipate a more particular adaptation of the account to the counteraction of such notions as they were likely to have become imbued with during their sojourn in Egypt. Such a special adaptation will be quite apparent, if we may regard the account which Diodorus Siculus gives of the Egyptian physico-theology as a just representation of the ancient Egyptian doctrines. He tells us that the Egyptians believed that there were two eternal and primitive gods, the sun and the moon, of whom the former was called Osiris, and the latter Isis; that these order the whole world, nourishing all things, and making them to grow in three seasons that with an imperceptible motion complete their period, namely, the spring, the summer and the winter, which though most contrary in nature to each other yet complete the year with a most excellent harmony; but that for the production of all living things each of these gods, the sun and the moon, most largely contribute their nature, the one of the fiery and of spirit, the other of dry and moist, and both in common of air, by which all things are produced and nourished. Hence the entire body of the nature of the universe is made up of the sun and the moon, the five elements of which are the aforesaid spirit, and fire, and dry, and moist, and aerial, while they regard each of these also as itself a god.1 Now though there can perhaps be little

¹ Diodorus, I. ιά. 'Υπολαβείν είναι δύο θεούς αϊδίους τε και πρώτους, τόντε ήλιον και την σελήνην, ὧν τὸν μὲν Όσιριν, την δὲ Ίσιν ὀνομάσαι ἀπό τινος ἐτύμου τεθείσης ἐκατέρας τῆς προσηγορίας τάντης.—τούτους δὲ θεούς ὑφίστανται τὸν σύμπαντα κοσμον διοικεῖν τρέφοντάς τε και αὔξοντας πάντα τριμερέσιν ὥραις ἀοράτφ κινήσει την περίοδον ἀπαρτιζούσαις, τῆ τε ἐαρινῆ καὶ θερινῆ καὶ χειμερινῆ, ταύτας δ'ἐναντιωτάτην τὴν φύσιν αλλήλαις ἐχούσας ἀπαρτιζειν τὸν ἐνιαντὸν ἀρίστη συμφωνία, φύσιν δὲ συμβάλλεσθαι πλεῖστα εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀπάντων ζωογονίαν τῶν θεῶν τούτων, τὸν μὲν πυρώδους καὶ πνεύματος, τὴν δὲ ὑγροῦ καὶ ξηροῦ, κοινῆ δ'ἀμφοτέρους ἀέρος' καὶ διὰ τούτων πάντα γεννᾶσθαι καὶ τρέφεσθαι. διὸ καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄπαν σῶμα τῆς τῶν ὅλων φύσεως

doubt that the informants of Diodorus may have wished to identify these elemental gods with some of the Grecian deities,and accordingly Diodorus tells us that of the five just mentioned, spirit was Zeus, fire Hephæstus, earth Demeter, water Oceanus, and air Athene,—still the subordination of these to the sun and moon, and the fivefold enumeration, are certainly not Grecian. Regarding this ancient Egyptian tradition, we observe a marked contrast between it and the Mosaic Genesis. This latter separates spirit from the cosmical elements, and treats it not as a separate god, but as the operating energy of the one supreme Creator, and then it places the elements as inanimate creations called into existence by the word of God; while it is not until after these elements have been thus called into being, that the sun and moon, from which, as the supreme gods, the elements are derived according to the Egyptian system, first appear on the scene; and then they appear not as the source of existence to all creatures, but as serving the subordinate purpose of marking those times and seasons which result from their motions, ruling not the universe but the day and the night. Supposing the Egyptians to have had the notions described by Diodorus previous to the time of the Exodus, we can hardly think that a manner of representing the creation in such marked contrast with them, was not designedly

έξ ήλίου και σελήνης ἀπαρτίζεσθαι τὰ δὲ τούτων μέρη πέντε τὰ προειρημένα, τό τε πνεθμα και το πθρ, και το ξηρον έτι δε και το όγρον, και το τελευταίον το άερωδες.
—ιβ΄. τούτων δε έκαστον θεον νομίσαι, και προσηγορίαν ιδίαν εκάστω θείναι κατά το οἰκεῖον τοὺς πρώτους διαλέκτω χρησαμένους διηρθρωμένη τῶν κατ ᾿Αιγυπτον

ὰνθρώπων.

י Sir J. G. Wilkinson, ap. Rawlinson's "Herodotus," vol. ii., p. 243, second edition, remarks,—"There is a striking resemblance between the Senitic nef, 'breath,' and the Coptic nibe, nifi, nouf, 'spiritus;' and between the hieroglyphic num (with the article pnum), and the πνεῦμα, spirit, which Diodorus says was the name of the Egyptian Jupiter. He was 'the soul of the world' (compare mens agitat molem et magno se corpore miseet)." Again p. 251, he says that on the tombs of the kings there are few direct indications of the creation of the world "beyond some mysterious allusions to the agency of Pthah (the Creator), or the representation of Noum (nef), the divine Spirit, passing in his boat 'on the waters,' or fashioning the clay on a potter's wheel." The Spirit of God moving on the face of the waters in the Biblical account, seems to have a striking relation to this representation of the Spirit passing in his boat on the waters. The idea of the potter fashioning the clay, is presented to us in the second chapter, where the formation of man and of the inferior animals is described by the verb "Σ". described by the verb יַצֵר

adopted by the Hebrew Legislator with a view to counteract such an idolatrous view of the nature of the material world.¹

XI. We may likewise find sufficient reason for connecting with these sixfold operations of God's creative power the enumeration of the six days, the import of which has been sufficiently dwelt on already. This reason we shall find in the prevalence of the hebdomadal division of time, and in the institution of the Sabbath. Though, as we shall presently see, there is no evidence of the observance of the Sabbath amongst the Gentiles, there is evidence of a prevalent observance of the week as a division of time, an observance which originated in natural causes. Macrobius, Somn. Scip. i, 6, dwells largely on the importance and prevalence in nature of the septenary number, and amongst many examples, instances the period of human gestation and many circumstances connected with it as measured by weeks, and the variations of the tides concurrently with the quarters of the moon as taking place in weekly periods. Mr. MacDonald, Creation and the Fall, p. 317, in order to connect the observance of the week with a Sabbatical tradition supposed to have been derived from the creation, and to have been anterior to the Mosaic institution, objects to our supposing that the hebdomadal reckoning was derived from the subdivision of the moon's period into four parts. Certainly such a subdivision of the full period of a lunation would not be likely to suggest itself naturally, this period being nearly thirty days. But though the period of the moon's return to the sun would not suggest such a subdivision, that of her return to the same place in the zodiac, which is as naturally observable as her return to the sun, and not affected by the apparent simultaneous motion of the sun in

^{1 &}quot;We have abundant evidence that the Egyptian theology had its origin in the personification of the powers of nature, under male and female attributes, and that this conception took a sensible form, such as the mental state of the people required, by the identification of these powers with the elements and the heavenly bodies, fire, earth, water, the sun and moon, and the Nile. Such appears everywhere to be the origin of the objective form of polytheism, and it is especially evident among the nations most closely allied to the Egyptians by position and general character—the Phœnicians, the Babylonians, and in remoter connexion, the Indians on the one side and the Greeks on the other."—Kenrick, Ancient Egypt, vol. i., p. 435.

the zodiac, would suggest such a division; and more particularly as the phases of the moon, though depending on the joint motion of sun and moon, and so connected with the monthly period, present nevertheless at each quarter a visible mark by which only seven full days are measured. And thus the hebdomadal division of time would naturally have suggested itself, notwithstanding the speedy separation that would take place between the recurring weeks and the lunar phases, until the completion of a cycle of which the ancients were not unobservant. He thinks the division of the month into decads would have been more natural, as indeed it would if regard were only had to the period of a lunation; and he argues from the non-observance of such a decimal division in favour of the Sabbatical origin of what he considers the purely traditional observance of the week. He seems not to be aware that this decimal division was observed in historical times by the Athenians, the days of each decad being numbered as first, second and so forth, μηνὸς ἱσταμένου, μεσοῦντος, or φθίνοντος, the same division at an earlier period being found in the 'Ημέραι of Hesiod, who speaks of ή πρώτη έκτη, έκτη ή μέσση, τετράς μέσση, φθίνοντός θ' ισταμένου τε, πρωτίστη είνας, είνας ή μέσση and τρισεινας μηνός.1 This, though a likely, was an arbitrary division of the month, while the weekly reckoning was, as we have seen, suggested by natural causes, and therefore was more generally prevalent.

The evidences which have been adduced to show that the Gentile nations attached any particular sanctity to one day in seven are quite worthless. Clement of Alexandria indeed has given a number of verses attributed to Hesiod, Homer and Callimachus, to show that the seventh was considered a sacred day. But Valckenaer, Diatribe de Aristobulo Judæo, has shown that Clement copied from Aristobulus, a Jew, who no doubt fabri-

¹ When Hesiod mentions μηνδε δ'ἰσταμένου τρισκαιδεκάτην, he evidently extends the reckoning beyond the decad merely for the sake of metrical convenience. The decimal division was also observed in Egypt. This division of the month into decads must have been subsequent to the adoption of the solar year, as remarked by Sir J. G. Wilkinson, who says that all the Egyptian monuments are later than the division by decads.—See Rawlinson's "Herodotus," vol. ii., p. 253, second edition.

cated the most of them. Of the verses attributed to Hesiod, one indeed is to be found in the "Works and Days,"-

πρώτον ένη τετράς τε και έβδόμη ίερον ήμαρ,

only that Clement, or his author, incorrectly reads ἔβδομον, as if agreeing with $\hat{\eta}\mu\alpha\rho$. Hesiod, however, is speaking of days of the month, not of the week. Of the pretended Homeric verses none is Homeric except one, in which ἔβδομον is substituted for τέτρατον. It is from Od. v. 262,—

τέτρατον ήμαρ έην, και τῷ τετελέστο ἄπαντα.

Such barefaced forgeries in regard to the well-known poets Homer and Hesiod render it highly probable that this worthy also forged the verses ascribed to Callimachus, or Linus as the name appears in the quotation of the same passage by Eusebius. At any rate Selden has shown that, whether forged or not, they relate to the septenary number, to which the ancients attached great importance for the various reasons enumerated by Macrobius and others, and not to the seventh day. Yet it would be hard to tell how many writers of character ever since Clement's day down to Mr. MacDonald 1 have referred to these verses as proofs of the universality of a Sabbatical tradition, although one had only to refer to Hesiod for the verse above quoted, to see that it had nothing to do with the seventh day of the week. The familiarity of educated men with the writings of Homer might have led them to suspect the rest. The passage of Josephus against Apion,² to which Mr. MacDonald

¹ Creation and Fall, p. 315. epithet holy to the seventh day." "Hesiod, Homer, and Callimachus, apply the

epithet holy to the seventh day."

2 Joseph. cont. Ap. ii. 40. Οὐδ' ἔστιν οὐ πόλις Ἑλλήνων οὐδητισοῦν οὐδὲ βάρβαρος, οὐδε ἐν ἔθνος, ἔνθα μὴ τὸ τῆς ἑβδομάδος, ἡν ἀργοῦμεν ἡμεῖς, τὸ ἔθος οὐ πεφοίτηκεν. It is evident from the whole passage that Josephus is speaking of an imitation of Jewish customs, and this imitation is only asserted to have extended to all countries, not to have been universally prevalent in the places to which it had reached. The wide dissemination of the Jews in foreign countries would account for occasional instances of imitation, if we suppose the author to have intended not merely the hebdomadal division of time, but even a weekly rest, which, however, he only expressly attributes to the Jews. The triccssima sabbata of Horace, shows how widely spread the knowledge of Jewish customs had become. Philo indeed, Περί Κοσμοποιτας, speaks of the Sabbath as ἑορτὴ οὐ μιᾶς πόλεως, ἡ χώρας, ὰλλὰ πάντος. But he is manifestly speaking of the fitness of its sanctification, as the birthday of the world, τοῦ κόσμου γενέσιον, not of its actual observance as such.

also refers, does not assert more than the observance of the week by the Gentiles, and implies rather an imitation of Jewish customs than any remnant of a primitive Sabbatical tradition.

The hebdomadal was, however, rather a religious than a civil division of time, and that in respect of all the days of the week, instead of one in particular as in the case of the Mosaic institution. The Egyptians named each day of the week after one of the seven planetary bodies, or after the god that presided over or was supposed to animate each. Dion Cassius informs us that the dedication of the days to the seven planets originated with the Egyptians, but was in his day prevalent everywhere. This, however, he concludes was not anciently the case, inasmuch as the ancient Greeks, as far as he was aware, had been wholly unacquainted with the custom. He says, however, that it had now not only extended to all other nations, but had become so firmly established amongst the Romans themselves, that it seemed in some measure a native custom.2 It is impossible, however, that such a general prevalence as Dion

¹ Thus in Egypt, the feast of Apis lasted seven days, as we learn from Pliny, viii.
46. De Api Bove. He says that at Memphis there was a part of the Nile, into which every year golden and silver cups were cast diebus quot habet natales Apis: septem hi sunt. Sir J. G. Wilkinson, in Rawlinson's "Herodotus," vol. ii., p. 283, second edition, mentions also, to the same effect, the days of mourning for the dead in Egypt, which were ten weeks or seventy days, the seven days which the head took to float from Egypt to Byblus, as mentioned by Lucian, De Deâ Syrâ, and the period of the mortification of the Egyptian priests, which, according to Porphyry, varied from seven to forty-two days, that is from one to six weeks.

2 To δὲ δὴ ἐs τοὺς ἀπτερας τοὺς ἐπτὰ, τοὺς πλανήτας ἀνομασμένους, τὰς ἡμέρας ἀνακεῖσθαι, κατέστη μὲν ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων, πάρεστι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους, οὐ πάλαι ποτὲ, ὡς λόγω εἰπεῖν, ἀρξάμενον. Οἱ γοῦν ἀρχαῖοι "Ελληγες οὐδαμῆ αὐτὸ, δασγε ἐμὲ εἰδέναι, ἡπίσταντο. 'Αλλ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ πάνν νῦν τοῖς τέ ἄλλοις ἄπασι, καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς τοῖς 'Ρωμαίοις ἐπιχωριάζει καὶ ἥδη καὶ τοῦτο σφίσι πάτριον τρόπον τινά ἐστι, κ.τ.λ. Epitome Xiphlini e Dionis Libro xxxviii. Ed. H. Steph. 1592, p. 7. When Herodotus, Euterpe, Ixxxii, says that the Egyptians were the first that determined what month or day should be consecrated to each deity, he probably had in view the naming of the days of the week after the seven planetary gods. If this is what he refers to, it is evident the custom had extended beyond the Egyptians in his time. He speaks of a custom generally prevalent which had originated with the Egyptians, who would not have been spoken of as the first, if others had not followed the practice. His mention also of the art of predicting from the days of nativity, seems to confirm the supposition that he refers to the planetary names. Kenrick's note, Egypt of Herod., p. 108, is as follows:—"The number of the gods was twelve, and to each of them probably a month was assigned; and as the subdivision of the month into periods of se god."

describes, extending as we know to the nations of northern Europe, with whom neither the Egyptians nor the Greeks and Romans had much intercourse, could have been of very recent origin. Joseph Scaliger, De Emend. Tempp. Prolegg, p. xlvi., adduces an ancient oracle, to be subjoined presently, as evidence of the very great antiquity of the use of the planetary names of the days of the week amongst the Greeks, and also cites in proof of the same antiquity these following verses ascribed to Orpheus:—

Πρῶτα μὲν εἰ πρώτφ ἐνὶ ἤματι φαίνεται ᾿Αρης, Μήνη δ' ἐs τ' ϶Αρην ἐπιτέλλεται, ἴσχεο δ' ἔργων.

He says it was vulgarly supposed that the planets appeared on their proper days, and that these verses plainly express the occurrence of the new moon on Tuesday. The irregularity of the order of the planetary names of the week days is accounted for by supposing that they commenced with planetary hours, beginning with Saturn as the most distant, and reckoning in the order of the planets' distances to the moon as the nearest. If we go over the twenty-four hours thus named after the planets in succession, and repeat this proceeding continually, each day will commence with one in the order in which the days of the week are named. However this may have been, the ancient oracle just referred to, which Scaliger cites from Porphyry, shows that a

¹ See Dion, I.c., who says that the order might also have been derived from the arrangement of the musical notes in the tetrachord. It may have been occasioned in a more simple way than either of these accounts indicates. The planets in their order from the earth outwards are resolvable into two series, depending respectively on the two greater lights, the moon and the sun. If the first day was named from the sun as the greater, and the second from the moon as next in importance, and then a day in succession named after the planets in each series alternately, according to the order of the planets, we should have the existing order of the names of the week days. Thus:—

The Earth.
2. The Moon.
4. Mereury.
6. Venus.

The Sun.
 Mars.
 Jupiter.
 Saturn

Scaliger, De Emend. Tempp., i. p. 8, arranges the planets in their order round the periphery of a circle, and draws on the intervals a series of seven inscribed isosceles triangles. From the sun at the right-hand angle at the base of one, proceed to its vertex, where the moon will be found. From thence return to the other angle at the base, and Mars will be reached. Similarly proceed from Mars to the vertex of the next, and Mercury is arrived at, Jupiter being then reached by returning to the base of the same, and so on. [Mercury was supposed by many of the ancient astronomers to be placed between the Moon and Venus.]—See Note B., p. 248.

special act of worship, addressed to each of the deities by whose names the days of the week were distinguished, was to be offered on the day appropriated to him or called by his name. The oracle is as follows:—

Κληΐζειν 'Ερμῆν, ἠδ' ἠέλιον κατὰ ταυτὰ 'Ημέρη ἠελίου. μήνην δ' ὅτε τῆσδε παρείη 'Ημέρη, ἠδὲ Κρόνον, ἠδ' ἐξείης 'Αφροδίτην, Κλήσεσιν ἀφθέγκτοις, ἃς εὖρε μάγων ὅχ'ἀριστος Τῆς ἑπταφθόγγου βασιλεὺς, ὃν πάντες ἴσασιν, Καὶ σφόδρα καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἀεὶ θεὸν ἑπτακιφώνην.

It may not be as universally known as the oracle supposed, that the king of the city of seven letters was Ostanes, a king of Babylon; the god of the seven tones was Apollo, the god of music, who as the god of the sun was to be worshipped on every day, while each of the others was to be invoked on his own particular day. Thus every day of the week was sanctified by a special dedication to a heathen deity; and as this custom appears to have originated in Egypt, where, at any rate, the planetary names were given to the days of the week, we might expect that Moses would endeavour to break off all association of the week days with this idolatrous worship. Accordingly, he as it were consecrates each working day to the glory of God by connecting it with one of the great works of creation, according to the sixfold partition which he adopts; while he devotes the seventh to the exclusive worship of God, ordaining with this view the Sabbatical rest, and enforcing that rest by the rest of God himself, which followed the works of creation. I

¹ The words of our Lord recorded by St. John, vii. 22, 23, seem plainly to imply that, in his view, the Sabbath was not of pre-Mosaic institution. He says, "Moses gave you circumcision, not because it is of Moses, but of the fathers, and" (Illud καὶ est rationale; quasi dicat, propterea reverentiα patrii instituti opus facitis Sabbato, Grot. in loc.) "ye on the Sabbath-day circumcise a man. If a man on the Sabbath-day receive circumcision, that the law of Moses should not be broken" (without breaking the law of Moses, Margin, Eng. Vers.) "are ye angry with me because I have made a man every whit whole on the Sabbath-day?" Evidently our Lord's argument is founded on the priority of the institution of circumcision to that of the Sabbath. As the prior institution of circumcision on the eighth day was observed at the expense of the observance of the Sabbath, a fortiori, should an act of benevolence be performed as obligatory by a still prior law, the law of nature; quod opus continetur in naturæ præceptis, quæ antiquiora sunt ipsa circumcisione, sicut circumcisio est antiquior rigido otio Sabbati per Mosem imperatum, ac propterea Sabbato præfertur. Si lex ritualis cedit rituali antiquiori, quanto magis legi per naturam cordibus inscriptæ. Grot. in loc. In using the words rigido otio, Grotius does not merely

When God is said to have "blessed the seventh day and sanctified it, because," according to the English version, "that in it he had rested from all his works," it may be remarked that the particle rendered because does not necessarily signify more than as; while in the fourth commandment, the like particles there used do not of necessity signify more than according as, followed by so: "according as God made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, six days, and rested on the seventh day, so God blessed the Sabbath day." 1 The Sabbath is enforced by the example, rather than ordained in consequence of the six days' work of creation followed by a day of rest. Hence when the commandment is repeated, this consideration is dropped and another substituted. Nor can we justly impute to this use of the description of the creation, understood according to the principle of interpretation which has been now applied to it, anything like a pious fraud. The great stress of the example, as enforcing the observance of the Sabbath, must after all be laid, according to any interpretation of the passage, upon the sixfold partition of the works, and the completeness of their enumeration in the six divisions set forth therein. For anything like a real rest on God's part after the creation, as distinguished from his active operation during it, is quite out of the question, as we have already seen. When our Lord was accused of breaking the Sabbath, his defence was, "My Father worketh hitherto and I work." Ever since the Creation he and his Father had worked just as much in the sustaining of the world,

mean the superstitious observance of the Jews, but the law as given by Moses. And our Lord plainly assumes for the argument, that except for the precept respecting the our Lord plainly assumes for the argument, that except for the precept respecting the performance of circumcision on the eighth day, the Sabbath would have been broken by their circumcising a man on it. The reading of the margin of the English version is founded on the supposition that in "δια μὴ λυθῆ, the conjunction is not used in a telic sense, but echatically, so as merely to denote the effect. This is more consistent with the import of the passage in general, but the telic sense is admissible, as Moses, according to the words of the Lord, adopted the prior law of circumcision.

1 [When the particle '¬] is used to express simple likeness, it is usually abbreviated into the prefix ¬]. But in many eaces the full form is a supposed to the supposed to the

into the prefix . But in many cases the full form is used in this sense, sometimes with 13 and sometimes with 1 in an Apodosis. - See in the original Ps. lii. 11,

Prov. i. 17, 19, xxiii. 27, xxx. 33.]

and on the first and each succeeding seventh day, as on all other days, as in its first creation. God's only work therein was to speak and it was so. It would be absurd, St. Augustine says, to call that labour, in speaking of a man, and how much more in respect to God. His work was only to will, which is all that is meant by his speaking the word. His rest consisted only in the completeness of the works,2-a completeness as described and enumerated, rather than a completion as accomplished, the works themselves having ever since been in a state of progress and development, individuals decaying and being superseded by new, if not species becoming extinct and new ones coming into existence in their place as in the succession of the geological periods, which some, however, would put before the seventh day's rest. But, at any rate, in all the ordinary changes that we see taking place around us, in all the processes of nature, God, in whom we live, and move, and have our being, is still a present and acting power; for we cannot exclude from our notion of the operation of general laws the present activity of God. To suppose that inanimate creatures, once for all impressed with certain powers, continue thenceforward of themselves, blindly and insentiently, to act and re-act, is inconsistent with all our conceptions of power and activity, which are derived entirely from what we experience in ourselves—the conscious action of thinking and willing beings.3

¹ Numquid enim dici vel credi fas est, Deum laborasse in operando, cùm ea quæ supra scripta sunt condidit, quando dicebat et fiebant.—Nimis absurdi deliramenti est istum vel hominis, nedum Dei, laborem putare. Gen. ad Lit. iv. 8.

² Hence, with reference to the well-known belief of the ancients regarding the

perfection of the septenary number, St. Augustine says, —In septime autem die, id est, eodem die septies repetito, qui numerus etiam ipse alia ratione perfectus est, Dei requies commendatur. De Cicitate Dei, xi. 31.

3 Sir Isaac Newton in the third of his Letters to Bentley remarks, "It is inconceivable the trivial in the service of t

able that inanimate brute matter should, without the mediation of something else, which is not material, operate upon and affect other matter without mutual contact, as it must be, if gravitation, in the sense of Epicurus, be essential and inherent in it. And this is one reason why I desired you would not ascribe innate gravity to me. That gravity should be innate, indepent, and essential to matter, so that one body may act upon another at a distance through a vacuum, without the mediation of anything else, by and through which their action and force may be conveyed from one to another, is to me so great an absurdity, that I believe no man, who has in philosophical matters a competent faculty of thinking, can ever fall into it."

If, as the physical properties of matter seem plainly to show, there is no actual

Hence the assigning of a day to each of the six works enumerated, on any such principle as has been suggested, even if done with special view to the institution of the Sabbath, would be quite as real a ground on which to rest the Sabbatical observance of the seventh day, as the attributing a cessation from work to God, which, after the manner of God's work, could have had no real existence at all, his work being, as we have seen, a perpetual rest, and his rest a perpetual work. And even if no mention of days had been made at all, the six-fold partition into which, as we have seen, the entire material creation naturally resolves itself would have afforded as real a ground of enforcing a seventh day's rest, after six days' work, as the enumeration of what, according to the preponderating opinion of the reconcilers of Moses with modern science, were really not days at all, but indefinite periods—periods of vast and unequal extent, not separated from one another by any clear distinguishing mark, but running on in an unbroken lapse of ages, by reason of the absence of any decided break of continuity in the gradual transition of the works of creation from one condition to another. These lengthened spaces of time, not distinguishable by recurring epochs of uniform and equable periodicity, are really only distinguished by the diversity of the successive operations, which, as such, in any order of succession, can only be resolved into six, to correspond with the six days' works of Moses, by the most forced and arbitrary suppositions, diversified according to the ingenuity of different interpreters. On the other hand, it has been shown that the narrative itself, viewed in connexion with that of the second chapter, presents ample indications—indications observed by interpreters of all

confact between its ultimate particles, or points of attraction and repulsion, into whichever of these it may be resolvable, these ultimate particles or points must mutually operate through a real vacuum. Hence all the operations of matter would be involved in the inconceivable absurdity Newton speaks of, except on the supposition of the constant action of an immaterial agent. At any rate, the continued will of God that things should go on to act in their settled laws and order, is as much his immediate operation, as the will that they should begin to exist and act was at their first creation.

ages—that it was not intended to be taken in the strictly literal and historical acceptation. The fact that such indications are afforded suffices to repel any imputation of deception, as involved in the use of it to enforce on the Israelites the observance of the Sabbath.

XII. If the views now put forward be correct, the first chapter of Genesis ceases to be the occasion of anxiety to the advocates of the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, or of attack on the part of unbelievers. We may fearlessly allow Science to pursue her course in a province wholly different from that with which revelation is concerned; and our views of the authenticity or genuineness of this part of the sacred writings, or its Divine inspiration, will be formed solely on considerations afforded by an enlightened criticism and an honest interpretation of the testimonies on which its claim to be a part of the Holy Scripture rests, together with a due estimate of the weight to be attached to such testimonies. For the result of such a criticism and weighing of evidences there is no need of fear. There is every cause to fear for the consequences of forced interpretations and multiplied hypotheses to effect what, after all, must be but a conjectural and provisional reconciliation between the ever progressing results of scientific investigation and the statements of a document written, as far as human authorship is concerned, in total ignorance of such discoveries as science has recently made, and primarily for a people who lived ages before those discoveries were dreamed of. To suppose that because, as we firmly believe, the spirit of inspiration presided over the composition of this document, it must, contrary to what we find in any other part of the Bible, anticipate the discoveries of future ages in a province wholly foreign to that with which revelation is properly concerned, would, as has been already shown, be contrary to all antecedent probability. It would also, as we have seen, render its statements subjectively false to the people of its own and many succeeding ages, who could not possibly understand them in their true sense, and who have, in fact, up to nearly the

present day, understood them in a sense wholly at variance with the modern revelations of science. And this would have been done in the interest of some favoured age of scientific activity, the present alone, of course, being deemed worthy of such a privilege; while beyond this favoured age, if its supposed discoveries should in turn be superseded by more extended inductions and larger views of physical operations past and present, the narrative must again become similarly untrue to all future readers, as such a narrative must necessarily be to the readers of any age either subjectively or actually, according as its statements might be conformed to actual truth as yet undiscovered, or to the existing imperfect or mistaken views of nature which the men of any age have formed for themselves. While such an anticipation of scientific conclusions would be thus not only beforehand unlikely, but practically useless, except for the scientific men of some particular age, those very scientific men in general, in whose interest this anticipation of their investigations is supposed to have been made, are only likely to be disgusted by the futile attempts that have been resorted to in order to show the conformity of the sacred narrative with their discoveries. It is a dangerous thing to stake the character of the Bible at large, and the whole doctrine of inspiration, on such futile attempts, and such forced and shifting interpretations of this portion of it. The least evil likely to result from persevering in such attempts is the abandoning altogether of this particular portion as a part of the Sacred Scriptures, and its relegation to the ranks of apocryphal and supposititious writings. The foregoing attempt to withdraw the passage entirely from the operation of such efforts is made in the hope of contributing to maintain this noble representation of the Genesis of Creation in its time-honoured and hallowed place, as the sublime and befitting Exordium of the Sacred Volume.

^{**} Before passing from this part of our subject, it will be

well to subjoin one or two remarks on a few expressions in this passage, for the most part not already noticed, which in some measure bear on the foregoing discussion.

Gen. i. 1. The word בראשית, commonly rendered "In the beginning," has been the occasion of much discussion, especially amongst the earlier interpreters. It would be useless to state the several opinions that have been given of its meaning; but that of Philo may be instanced, as it falls in with views already set out in full. In his work, Περὶ Κοσμοποιίας, he first remarks, in respect to the six days, that God had no need of time for the performance of his works, which would be accomplished instantly on his commanding, or even willing them to be; but that things having once been made, required orderly arrangement, and that number is akin to order, —τοις γινομένοις έδει τάξεως, τάξει δ'ἀριθμὸς οἰκεῖον. After discussing this and other particulars, he comes to the question,-Why it is said that God made the heavens and the earth $\partial \nu \partial \rho \chi \hat{\eta}$? and he says that this cannot mean the kind of beginning some suppose, τὴν κατὰ χρόνον, inasmuch as time did not exist before the world, but either began with it, or after its creation. If then, he says, "the beginning" is not to be understood in respect of time, it is probably to be understood in regard to number,— $\epsilon i \delta' \dot{a} \rho \chi \dot{\eta} \mu \dot{\eta}$ παραλαμβάνεται τανθν ή κατά χρόνον, είκδς αν είη μηνύεσθαι την κατ'ἀριθμόν. Thus in his view the heavens and the earth stand first in numerical order, at the head of a classified enumeration of created things.

Maimonides takes a different view of the meaning. He says that a beginning is spoken of in respect to something of which it is the beginning, or which commences with it, though it does not precede it in time. Hence the word *Reshith* is used, which is derived from *Rosh*, a head, this being, in regard to position, the beginning, or first part of living things. The world, he, like Philo, says, was not created in the beginning in regard of time, as time itself is of the number of created things. Hence the expression *Bereshith* is adopted, in which the proposition 2 is *Beth*

vasis seu instrumenti, and the true meaning of the sentence is, In, or with, a beginning God created the heavens and the earth,—an explanation suited to indicate the newness of the world.¹ Plainly he takes the word in its indefinite form as without the article, and supposes the meaning to be that the world was not eternal, but had a beginning,—a sense which we have already seen, p. 37, was attributed to it by Origen, namely, quòd ex certo tempore creata sunt omnia quæ videntur. The two particulars, it is to be observed, which are essential to the explanation of Maimonides, and are plainly implied in his words, are that the beginning meant by Reshith is the early or commencing part of the thing of which it is the beginning, and that the beginning here spoken of is to be understood indefinitely as a beginning. This it was not easy to express in the Latin of Buxtorf's translation; but it is manifestly implied.

Dr. M'Caul, Aids to Faith, p. 200, lays great stress on this absence of the article, as the word is written with the Masoretic vocalisation. He says, "Here it is necessary to observe that Reshith, the Hebrew word for 'beginning,' is in the original without the definite article. The antiquity and correctness of this reading are proved by the Septuagint, Chaldee, and Syriac versions. The uniformity of the reading, and the care with which it had been preserved for centuries—notwithstanding the natural temptation to supply the article—testify that there was an uniform traditional meaning attached to it, different from that possible, if the word had the article." The absence of the article is no doubt singular, as the only other instance where the word has not a pronominal suffix, or a genitive after it to which it transfers the article when it will bear it, and yet

¹ Scito ante omnia, quòd differentia magna sit inter Primum et Principium. Nam Principium dicitur de re, cujus est principium, vel cum quâ incipit, licet tempore illam non præcedat; verùm Primum dicitur propriè de eo tantùm quod tempore præcedat. De Principio autem docet vocabulum Reschith, quod derivatur à Rosch Caput, quod situs ratione principium est animantium. Mundus non creatus est in Principio temporali (temporis) sicuti declaravimus; tempus enim est ex numero creaturarum. Ideò dicitur, Bereschith creavit Deus; ubi præpositio inseparabilis ⊋ Beth est Beth vasis seu instrumenti; et vera illius loci expositio est hæc: In principio creavit Deus superiora et inferiora: Expositio conveniens novitati Mundi. More Nebochim, iii. 30.

wants the article itself as here, is Is. xlvi. 10. And there the absence of it is probably due to the poetical character of the composition. He supposes the absence of the article here renders it equivalent to the בקדמין by which Onkelos represents it, the meaning being in antiquities, in former times, or as Dr. M'Caul will have it, on account of the abstract form of the word, in anteriority; the design of this form of expression having been, as he thinks, to avoid any reference to the order in which things were created. But then it is to be observed, that though abstract in its form, this word is always used in a concrete sense, as Maimonides teaches us above, to denote the earlier part of anything, as of a year, a series of events, a person's life, or the produce of the ground. Though it has a seeming abstract use in Isaiah xlvi. 10-" Declaring the end from the beginning," מראשית yet even here the sense is really concrete. As אָהַרִית does not mean simply posterior time, but the events of a future time, the latter part of the history referred to, so Reshith even here denotes the earlier part. If the word in Gen. i. 1 had the article, it would denote the earlier part of the world's existence; without it, the acceptation, as a note of simple anterior duration, is quite conjectural. And it was probably this which made Aquila, a Jew by birth, who professed to translate with scrupulous exactness, render the word by the expression already mentioned, ἐν κεφαλαίω, in one sum. Regarding the unusual manner in which the word is employed as indicating an unusual signification, he had this not infrequent signification of the concrete visit in Hebrew, which appears as in the Chaldee of Dan. vii. 1, to suggest a like meaning for Bereshith here. Translating thus according to the abstract form of the word, and without the definite article, we should render it, "In a totality God created the heavens and the earth." And it may have been with an allusion to this passage, similarly understood, that the son of Sirach, in a sentence already quoted, and so much relied on by some of the writers whose notions have been laid before the reader, said, ὁ ζῶν εἰς αἴωνα ἔκτισε τὰ

πάντα κοιν $\hat{\eta}$, the adverb κοιν $\hat{\eta}$ being used in the sense of conjointly.

It is to be remembered, however, that the absence of the article from Bereshith is purely traditional. The word without the vowel points gives no indication whether it should be read with or without it. But while Dr. M'Caul correctly speaks of the indefinite reading as traditional, he is wrong in citing the $\dot{\epsilon}\nu$ $\dot{a}\rho\chi\hat{\eta}$ of the LXX. as an evidence of the antiquity of the tradition. The forms $d\pi' d\rho \chi \hat{\eta}_S$, $\vec{\epsilon} \nu d\rho \chi \hat{\eta}$, $\vec{\epsilon} \xi d\rho \chi \hat{\eta}_S$, $\kappa \alpha \tau' d\rho \chi \hat{\eta} \nu$, used as adverbs, habitually reject the article, as $\partial \rho \chi \dot{\eta} \nu$ by itself also sometimes does. Hence, even if the LXX. had read the Hebrew with the article, they would as naturally have used $\partial \nu \, d\rho \chi \hat{\eta}$ without it, as if they had supposed it absent from the Hebrew. We may, therefore, take the LXX. as probably representing the definite reading, from their rendering by $\dot{a}\rho\chi\dot{\eta}$, and Aquila as following the indefinite reading, and so adopting a different sense of the word Reshith. Grotius translates as if the first clause was the protasis and the second the apodosis of a compound sentence: "When first God created the heavens and the earth, the earth was without form and void." But the position of the noun before the verb in the second clause negatives the supposition that it is to be thus connected with the first.

The use of the particle *eth*, as a sign of the accusative, prefixed to the words "heavens" and "earth" in this verse, and to so many other of the objects of creation in this account, may, perhaps, be not without significance here, though possibly often employed in cases where it can add no force to the expression. This particle, in its primitive meaning, denotes the very existence of that to which it is prefixed, whence the word to which it is prefixed is used not only as an accusative, but as the subject to a neuter or passive verb. Thus Fuerst, in his Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon, says it is properly a substantive, denoting "existence, being, essence, body." Hence it gives the article to the word following, even when that would else be indefinite, as governing it in the construct state.

Instances of this frequently occur; but as we shall have occasion to discuss this matter more fully hereafter, it will be unnecessary to dwell on it here.

Another word occurs in this verse which never, at least in the singular number, has the article prefixed. The deep or abyss, הַהְהֹשׁ, has thus the character of a proper name, which the word probably originally was, representing the personal Chaos of the ancients. Here, however, it appears as a part of the created heavens and earth. The divine influence which moves on the face of the waters, whether expressing an immediate agency of God, or a physical wind produced by him, is also without the article. Thus the בְּלְהֵיִם here mentioned is not the personal Spirit of God, as in that case the article would have passed over to Elohim, which takes the article regularly when governed in stat. constr. by a definite noun.

The form of the verb הַנְהָה in the clause, "the earth was without form and void," seems opposed to the notion that, after a first orderly creation, the relics of which are contained in the rocks, the earth was reduced to a state of confusion, out of which the present order of things was produced by a new creation. Dr. M'Caul, Aids to Faith, p. 208, seems to favour this notion. He says, "If Dathius's translation, 'The earth had become desolation and emptiness,' be correct, it would follow that this was not the earth's original state." In a note he says that this is supported by the fact that several times in this chapter the same verb has the force of yivopai, fio. But surely the pluperfect tense, had become, could only denote some time previous to the only particular already mentioned, namely, the creation itself; while, on the other hand, a subsequent reduction to a state of desolation would be properly expressed by a future with the vau conversive.1 Plainly the natural meaning is that the state described by the words tohu vabohu was simultaneous with

¹ Mr. J. J. Stewart Perowne has also just shewn in a very satisfactory manner the invalidity of Dr. Pusey's reasons for adopting this interpretation, in the "Contemporary Review," No. I, Art. "Dr. Pusey on Daviel the Prophet."

the creation itself of the heavens and the earth. This state was not one of desolation produced by destruction, but by the negation of light, and of the living things that dwell upon the earth. Hence the LXX. render the words tohu vabohu by ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος. In whatever way the light and the other creatures came into existence, however the vegetable and animal creatures were produced, whether simultaneously or progressively, by development or independently, in a long period or a momentary space of time, plainly in the order of things the earth itself was prior to the creatures upon it, the heavenly bodies to the light proceeding from them whether by emanation or by transmitted motion. The same creative power which brought the heavens and earth into existence was needed to superadd to them the light, the plants, and the animals by which they are occupied. Thus, in this striking and highly dramatic representation there is an historic basis even in regard to time, as we have already seen there is in respect to the six days' work, however different that relation to time may have been from the orderly progress of events as represented by the operations of successive days.

(v. 6.) The χτη, expanse or firmament of v. 6, we have treated as denoting the atmosphere. A difficulty has been felt in understanding it thus, from the fact that the LXX. have translated the word by $\sigma \tau \epsilon \rho \epsilon \omega \mu a$, this rendering having in turn become the firmamentum of the Vulgate; and it has been supposed that a solid sphere, by which the heavenly bodies were supported, was thus expressed. But the difficulty has arisen from a misconception of what the LXX. intended by $\sigma \tau \epsilon \rho \epsilon \omega \mu a$. They certainly did understand something solid; but it was solid in the mathematical sense of the word, as expressed regularly by the adjective $\sigma \tau \epsilon \rho \epsilon \delta s$ denoting the possession of the three dimensions of length, breadth, and thickness or height, and opposed to a mere surface. Here the word $\sigma \tau \epsilon \rho \epsilon \delta \omega \mu a$ signifies an expanse spread into these three dimensions, as distinguished from the face of the waters previously men-

tioned. For thus understanding the στερέωμα of the LXX. we have the authority of another Alexandrian Jew. Philo, $\Pi \epsilon \rho i$ Κοσμοποιίας, tells us that, as the first and most excellent part of the world, the Creator made the heavens, which he properly called στερέωμα, as being corporeal; for body is naturally solid, as having three dimensions, the notion of a solid or body being nothing else but what is extended in every direction. Properly, therefore, the corporeal and sensible, as contrasted with the incorporeal and mental, is called στερέωμα—Καὶ πρῶτον αὐτοῦ τῶν μερών, δ δή καὶ πάντων ἄριστον, ἐποίει τὸν οὐρανὸν ὁ Δημιουργὸς, δυ έτύμως στερέωμα προσηγόρευκευ, άτε σωματικου όντα το γάρ σῶμα φύσει στερεον, ὅτιπερ καὶ τριχῆ διαστατόν. στερεοῦ δὲ καὶ σώματος ἔννοια τὶς ἐτέρα πλην τὸ πάντη διεστηκός; εἰκότως οὖν αντιτιθείς τώ νοητώ και ασωμάτω τον αισθητον και σωματοειδή, τοῦτον στερέωμα ἐκάλεσεν. The Vulgate rendering of firmamentum is due, of course, to this misapprehension of the meaning of στερέωμα as thus used by the LXX.

(v. 14.) It has been alleged that in verse 14 there is a change of tense in the second verb, intended to hinder the notion that the sun had not been created previously. This is an instance of the means by which the difficulties attending the prevalent mode of interpretation are got over, whether due to imperfect knowledge, or the necessity of making some desperate effort. In the description of the actual fulfilment of the Divine command respecting the heavenly bodies, there is no such change of tense. The work succeeds the command in its due historical sequence according to the manner of representation adopted throughout, the sequence being properly expressed by the use of the future with the conversive vau. The change of tense is only in the Divine command. The first verb is in the future

¹ Thus a writer in the Athenœum for October 7, 1865, signing himself "A Suffolk Incumbent," says,—"In the first chapter of Genesis, the Seventy have done us a serious mischief. They have made the Bible square with their own views, and as their views were ours till lately, we have followed in their wake, and done the same; and the consequence is that we make the sun and moon begin to serve for days and years only on the fourth day, when the original Bible changes the tense here to assure us that this had been so before."

jussive, "Let there be light." Then the succeeding verbs, as commonly takes place in jussive and predictive sentences, are in the preterite with the vau conversivum preteriti. These verbs, thus connected, cannot have a pluperfect sense. It would be absurd to translate "Let there be lights, and let them have been," etc., the latter verbs denoting time already passed; and to limit the command to the first clause of v. 14, making the remainder historical, is plainly rendered impossible by the final clause of v. 15, "and it was so," apart from all grammatical considerations.

(v. 19.) The שׁרֵץ of this verse plainly includes all the living creatures of the waters, being divided in v. 20 into התנינם, and the living thing הַלְמָשֵׂת. The former denotes the greater seamonsters, the latter those creatures which being smaller have a creeping motion. The word sheretz is applied also to animals that go on the belly on land, while in Lev. xi. 10 it is applied, as here, to creatures that live in the waters. Plainly it is the similarity in the manner of moving, with a wavy or serpentine action of the body, that gives rise to the double use of the word, while the signification which the verb שָׁרֵץ has, to swarm or produce abundantly, is plainly derived from the abundant offspring of such creatures, the numerous fry of fishes, or young of worms, being, perhaps, the chief ground of this use of the word. It is employed here for the sake of the alliteration, which cannot be preserved in a translation without departing from the sense of either the verb or the noun.1

As the waters produced these creatures as if by spontaneous generation, so a like manner of production, which indeed is that represented in the case of the living things generally down to man, is manifestly implied in the parallel clause of v. 19,—"Let the flying thing fly along the face of the expanse of heaven." This manner of spontaneous production of each

¹ Thus the Bishop of Natal, Pentateuch Critically Examined, Pt. v. p. 197, translates—"Let the waters swarm with swarming things." Swarming is here incorrect.

creature from its proper element is quite different, at any rate as regards the fowl, from the manner of the formation of these out of the ground, together with the other land animals, as represented in ch. ii.

(v. 26.) The plural form of the words "Let us make man" is not due to the plural form of Elohim, since a like manner of expression is adopted in connexion with Jehovah in xi. 7. Unless the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity had been fully and distinctly made known, to indicate anything like a plurality of persons in the Godhead would have been quite inconsistent with the intent of this passage, as designed to counteract polytheistic notions. Indeed, Elohim being treated as one, with a singular verb, the plural in "Let us make" could only naturally have arisen from the tendency, when one takes counsel with himself, to imagine a double personality, as being both speaker and spoken to. The Christian doctrine of the Trinity naturally caused Christian writers to look for another cause.

(v. 27.) The absence of the article from the word "image," in v. 27, has already been noticed, as indicating a less absolute likeness to God than the word used definitely might be thought to express. It is to be observed, however, that in fact the word in no instance of its occurrence has an article prefixed. This seems, at the same time, to have been only accidental. In all cases where the word occurs, it is either naturally used in an indefinite sense, or it has a pronominal suffix, or there is some other grammatical reason for its not having the article. The fact, therefore, that it never happens to have the article prefixed in any instance of its occurrence, in no way destroys the inference drawn from the use of the word without it in this place.

¹ Mr. Rogers, who has done good service to the cause of religion by his "Eclipse of Faith," in the number of "Good Words" for May 1865, says, in reference to the recently discovered evidences of the antiquity of man,—"I by no means deny that there may have been (for aught you and I know), and it may be hereafter proved that there was, a species of animal amidst the numberless varieties that have appeared, still more like man, than any of the existing ape tribes; more like him in general organisation, and with keener instincts and more intelligence than any of those tribes now possess; and yet not man,—having none of man's higher intellectual, nor a vestige of his distinctive moral endowments." The respected writer might have

(v. 28-30.) The very wide generality in which all the creatures are described in this account of the Creation, and the general absence of everything temporary, local, or in anywise particular, would render the restriction of mankind to vegetable food, commonly supposed to be indicated in these verses, and especially in connexion with the commencement of ch. ix., quite out of place and character. Such a temporary and merely positive restriction, so much at variance with the characteristic generality of description that prevails throughout, has really no existence, whether these verses be considered by themselves, or compared with the reference to them in ch. ix. The unlimited grant of "dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth," clearly implies man's natural right to employ these creatures for all the uses to which he can possibly turn them in accordance with his own nature. The principal and most general uses to which man thus turns the living creatures are for carriage, clothing and food, the omnivorous nature of man making animal food as proper to him as any other kind of diet. Indeed there is no general and important use to which the fish of the sea can be turned except for food. If, therefore, v. 28 stood alone, no one could doubt that the grant for food was included in the universal dominion which it conveys without any restriction whatsoever. But if we consider attentively the succeeding verses, we shall perceive that the grant of the fruits of the earth for food to man, in v. 29, does not stand in opposition to v. 28, but as an addition to it, the contrast being not between these two verses, but between v. 29 and v. 30. Besides the dominion over all living things for all uses, food no less than

perceived that in thus imagining a class of animals exactly suited to meet the emergency of the case he has to establish, he is supplying the missing link, the absence of which has been one of the greatest difficulties in the way of the Darwinian or development theory, to which he is, at the same time, greatly opposed. The probabilities are that an approximation to man's mental endowments would be attended with some approach also to his moral nature, faint traces of which have been thought by some to be perceptible in certain of the lower animals. The views put forward in this work render us indifferent to all such speculations or possible discoveries.

others, man receives, by virtue of his superior intelligence and of his ability to till the ground, grain and other fruits capable of cultivation; while to the inferior animals only the green herb as naturally produced is given. And as this last verse does not, of course, exclude the animal food of carnivorous animals, so neither does the former exclude the animal food of man. Moreover, throughout this account, the speaking, and naming, and consulting with himself in words, as attributed to God, can only be understood of God's will expressed in the actual existence and nature of the things created. Hence, by parity of interpretation, and to preserve the unity of character in the entire piece, we can only understand the words attributed to God in these verses as the indications of his will expressed in man's nature, which as truly implies the right to animal food as to vegetable. So far, therefore, as these verses are considered by themselves, they give no countenance to this supposed restriction.

If, however, there is no ground for supposing the restriction to have existed in these verses of ch. i., there is as little for thinking that its previous existence is implied in the grant of animal food made in ix. 3. In ix. 1 the command to be fruitful and multiply is repeated in the words of ch. i. Then the command to subdue and have dominion over all living creatures is represented by a promise that the fear of man should prevail over all these creatures, with the additional clause, "Into your hand they have been given," 1313. clause makes the new form fully equivalent to that contained in i. 28. Then, not as an additional grant, joined as it would probably have been in such case by a copulative, but as if an explanatory addition, without a conjunction, God adds, "Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you; as green herb I have given you all." Now, except we were to understand this latter clause as a reference to i. 29, it would give no colour to the supposition of a previous restriction. But if we turn to ch. i., we find that the green herb, ירק עשב, was not mentioned in v. 29 at all, but in contrast with it was the food granted in v. 30 to the inferior animals; and so if there is any reference at all, it must be to this latter grant, which is impossible. The reference being thus disproved, the supposition of a previous restriction falls with it. The whole is only a renewal of the original grant. But there is a special reason for mentioning the use of animal food here, namely, that the restriction from its use with "the life, which is the blood," might be subjoined. The grant of animal food is here expressly mentioned, instead of being merely implied as before, not with any reference to the absence of a previous right to use it, but with a view to a restriction to be newly introduced, rendered necessary, perhaps, by the prevalence of savage habits in the use of animal food degrading to human nature, and tending to sanguinary violence towards men. The prevalent notion, therefore, of the unlawfulness of animal food before the deluge, or of the first grant of it after that event, has no real foundation in the first and ninth chapters. The seeming countenance which exists for such a supposition vanishes on a careful consideration of the sacred text.1

CH. II. 2. The first verse of this chapter having stated that the heavens and the earth with their inhabitants were completed, with manifest reference to the previous description of the six days' works, and the second verse stating that God rested on the seventh day from all his works, the intervening clause, which says that God finished his works which he had made on the seventh day, has caused great perplexity to interpreters. The LXX., Samaritan and Syriac present, indeed, a different

¹ In support of the original grant of the use of flesh, reference may be made to Rivetus, Exercitationes in Genesin, 1633, p. 289, and to Heidegger, Rashe Avoth, Exercit. xv. The latter mentions as authorities in favour of the same view, amongst the unreformed, Cajetan, F. de S. Victoria, De Soto, and Vatablus; and of the reformed, Calvin, Paræus, J. Capellus, and Bochart, with others. The following from Rivetus may be quoted with advantage:—Cùm plena dominatio ipsi concessa fuisset, videtur etiam concedendum, potuisse hominem vesci carnibus.—Quòd si quis quærat, cur jam hoc loco (scil. Gen. ix. 3) illius rei mentio fiat? Respondeo, id factum ideò fuisse, quia Deus voluit legem sancire de sanguine et suffocato non comedendo, quae cùm exceptio fuerit apposita concessioni generali, priùs voluit concessionem illam repetere, ut meliùs intelligeretur sequens prohibitio.

reading, the sixth, which, however, has probably been produced by the perplexity occasioned by the Hebrew reading. Keil has suggested that the resting and blessing the seventh day were themselves the completing intended, these latter clauses being explanatory of the former. This is a hard way of understanding the words, which may be explained in a simpler manner by supposing the word finished in this place to have the same signification as in Daniel ix. 24,—"to finish the transgression,"—where the same verb, with a simple accusative, is used likewise. In this latter case, the finish-. ing consisted not in doing the last act of transgression, but in causing the transgression to cease. So here too the finishing of God's work consists in ceasing to do any more. Nor is this a superfluous addition to v. 1. We could easily understand the works of the six days to have been completed, and yet God to have proceeded to some new work on the seventh. But not so; the six days' works, the heavens and earth and all the host of them being completed, he then, on the seventh day, finishes all his works by doing no more. The completeness of the previous enumeration, as embracing all the works of the material creation, not a cessation ab operando, is what is thus taught us. And this is further implied, not only in the word rendered works, which denotes the things done, not the doing of them, but also by the pluperfect verb subjoined. God finished all his works which he had made, not was making; they were finished by his doing no more, and so he rests, and in like manner bids the Children of Israel rest on the seventh day.

It may be remarked, in conclusion, that this entire passage is distinguished in a striking manner by a character of iteration. The repetition of the formula "And God said," of the phrase "And it was so," as well as of the sentences enumerating the several days, and the recapitulation of the several works of creation mentioned in the divine commands in the subsequent statements of the fulfilment of those commands, give the whole piece the air of the tales and spoken narratives of the East, and

indeed, of the young and simple everywhere. This character, so like the *ambages* of storytellers, may have been adopted with a view to frequent recitation. It also seems to suggest, and may have been intended to indicate, that under this form—

obscurum verborum ambage novorum carmen—

was veiled something different from the literal and historical acceptation of the narrative, as it presents itself at first to our notice. We shall have to remark a similar character of iteration in two or three other instances.

CHAPTER II. 4.—IV.

THE GENERATIONS OF HEAVENS AND EARTH. I. PARADISE AND THE FALL.

I. In reviewing the account of creation presented to us in the document which is prefixed to the First Book of Moses, and which forms a meet introduction not only to that book but to the Sacred Canon at large, it was urged that one could not well conceive that a writer engaged in setting forth a strictly literal history of the order and progress of creation in its several steps as they actually took place, could have passed from this opening portion to the account contained in the second chapter, as a continuous part of the same narrative. The several points of disagreement between these two representations of events, the same in part, were pointed out, and adduced in evidence of the impossibility of such a supposition, and in proof that both at any rate were not intended to be taken as literal history. Even if we supposed the two accounts, distinguished from one another as they are by these marks of disagreement, to have proceeded from different authors, and either one or both to have been adopted by a subsequent writer and attached to his own work as an integral part of it, the conclusion would be the same as regards the light in which such a later writer must have viewed the documents, and the sense in which he intended them to be understood in thus attaching them to his own work or compilation. Indeed it may be looked on as certain that a writer, who knew these two accounts, thus inconsistent with one another, to have proceeded from different authors, would never have dreamed of connecting them as successive parts of the same continuous

narrative. And it is to be observed that it is on the authority of the writer who had thus adopted and compiled these documents, and not of their original authors, that they would have in such case been transmitted to us as parts of the sacred canon, and claiming the same reverence that is due to the other parts of the work to which they are attached. However these statements originated, they have come to us as part and parcel of the book of Genesis, and for the present enquiry must be treated as such. If, then, a writer such as the author of the latter portion of the book of Genesis must have been-one who, if he was not Moses, was at any rate, like Moses, οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν άνηρ—if such a writer presents successively inconsistent accounts of the same events in whole or in part, not as different versions of the same events according to different authorities, but as alike his own original or adopted representations of the facts, it is plain that he intended one or both to be taken in a sense not strictly historical, at least as regards the literal acceptation of their statements. The same may be said of a mere compiler, if all were put together by a subsequent author, and of the community which accepted and transmitted the whole as one authoritative document. It is only the finding them together by those who are possessed with the notion that all must be strictly literal history, that has led to the attempt to reconcile the statements, or caused men to shut their eyes to the differences between them, which could not fail to have been noticed if the two accounts had been handed down as separate and unconnected writings. When, however, the incompatability of the two accounts has once been recognised, while they are connected together, with the same historical form in kind and degree, and without any expressed indication of the light in which either was intended to be viewed, the natural conclusion would be that both were intended to be understood in the same nonhistorical acceptation. The slight indication which the mere circumstance of its priority might be thought to afford, in favour of the strictly historical character of the first, is neutralised by

the proofs already exhibited at length, that that is not to be taken in its strictly literal and historical acceptation. It is now proposed to analyse the second document with the view to ascertain if it affords any internal evidence of the light in which it should be regarded, whether as an exact and literal history, or framed on some principle of symbolical representation.

The document which is thus to form the principal subject of the present part of our enquiry extends from the commencement of the fourth verse of the second chapter to the close of the third. It is severed from the preceding portion by the regular introductory formula, "These are the generations of the heavens and the earth, when they were created." It has already been shewn that this formula cannot be separated from the sequel and connected with the preceding account as a recapitulatory conclusion; and it may be added to what was then said, that it is not the generation of the heavens and the earth in the active sense of their production, the generating of them, that is referred to in these words, as might be expected in the case of such a supposed recapitulation. It is the generations (תוֹלְרוֹת), the products derived from the heavens and earth when already created, that these words denote, and the manner of their production which is represented. And this is done in such a way as to shew that, while both the earthly material from which the animals and plants were formed, and the celestial influences employed in their production and con-

[&]quot;The words, 'These are the tholedoth of the heavens and the earth when they were created,' form the heading to what follows. This would never have been disputed had not preconceived opinions as to the composition of Genesis obscured the vision of commentators. The fact that in this passage the true meaning of necessary precludes the possibility of its being an appendix to what precedes, fully decides the question. The word אוכרות which is only used in the plural, and never occurs except in the construct state or with suffixes, is a Hiphil noun from and signifies literally the generation or posterity of any one, then the development of these generations, or of his descendants; in other words, the history of those who are begotten, or the account of what happened to them and what they performed. In no instance whatever is it the history of the birth or origin of the person named in the genitive, but always the account of his family and life.—Keil, Biblical Commentary, vol. i., pp. 70-1. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

ducive to their perpetuation, are implied in the designation of them as the generations of the heavens and the earth, their production was not the result of a spontaneous or natural generation, as in the heathen cosmogonies, in which Heaven and Earth appear as the personal parents of all other creatures, but was owing to the immediate operation of the Supreme Creator, himself the maker of the heavens and the earth no less than of the generations derived from them. "These are the generations of heavens and earth when they were created, in the day that the Lord God made earth and heavens." And while the heavens and the earth are thus set forth as God's creatures, in the production of each of their generations, as successively described, it is the same Lord God that is the operating and immediate agent in all.

While the document now more immediately under consideration is thus marked off from the preceding portion, which has its own proper recapitulation in the commencing verses of the second chapter, as this has its proper introductory formula in the fourth verse of the same chapter, and while it is distinguished in the entire character of its representations from

¹ The Greek and Latin fathers were often misled by their ignorance of Hebrew into mistakes which they would not otherwise have måde. Thus St. Augustine translates ii. 4, Hic est liber creature cœli et terræ, cûm factus est dies, fecit Deus cœlum et terram. This is founded on a misreading of the Greek; instead of reading as the Hebrew requires, —δτε ἐγένετο ἡ ἡμέρα, ἐποίησε κ.τ.λ.. By this mistaken interpretation he confirms the notion, already supported on other grounds, that the several days of the creative week were only repetitions of the one first day. Nunc certè firmior fit illa sententia, qua intelligitur unum diem fecisse Deum, unde jam illi sex vel septem dies unius hujus repetitione numerari potuerint.—De Gen. ad Lit. V. i. 1. Such are the traps which are laid in translations for those who cannot refer to the originals from which they are derived. It may be remarked here that "earth" and "heavens" in the latter clause are without the article. In the first clause the article prefixed to these words is due to the stat. constr. being the article of "generations," and is only, as transferred to "heavens" and "earth," the sign of the genitive. No argument can therefore be founded on the absence of the article in the second clause and its presence in the first, inasmuch as in such a case the words in the genitive may be definite or indefinite according to circumstances. As there is ample reason in other respects for counceting the two clauses, the indefiniteness of the words in the latter determines their indefiniteness in the former also. Yet it will be seen hereafter that some critics, whose theories require the connection of the first clause with the preceding passage as its recapitulatory conclusion, rely on the existence of the article in it, before the words "heavens" and "earth," and its absence from these words in the second clause.

the account of the creation given in that preceding passage, it is also distinguished from it by a marked peculiarity in the names of God as employed throughout. In the first God is exclusively called Elohim, the generic term for Deity, expressing through its etymology and plural form the concentration of all powers in the Godhead, and so peculiarly appropriate to the first and introductory representation of the divine operations in the creation of the world; while in this second account of creation, and throughout the entire document of which it forms a part, God is described by the combination of the proper name Jehovah and the generic Elohim in every instance in which the narrator speaks in his own person, it being only in the case of interlocutors represented as speaking that the simple Elohim appears. God being represented in this narrative in a highly anthropomorphic character, and entering into personal converse with the newly created human pair, a proper and personal name would seem more appropriate; while at the outset of a narrative describing the commencement of things it would also not be inappropriate to signify by such a combination as is here used, that Jehovah, the personal agent in the transactions recorded, was Elohim, and that not as one of many Elohim, but as the one only God, Jehovah Elohim. And this would be the more natural, if the author was as yet only proleptically using a newly introduced substitute for the proper name or names that had previously been in use, as some suppose to be intimated by Exod. vi. 3,-"I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob by El Shaddai, but (as to) my name Jehovah I was not known to them." The true meaning of this passage will be more fully discussed on another occasion; but if, as is probable, it does not indicate the first introduction of the name, it plainly does introduce it with new significance. Its import was then fully manifested, and if the name was not wholly new, it was revived after having been in abevance. This seems clear from the enquiry of Moses, by what name he should describe to the people the Being who had

appeared to him in the burning bush, and by the reply, "I am that I am," which, in the first person, lays the foundation for the name Jehovah in the third person, by which Moses is presently after bid to announce him to the people. However this name might have been known to the patriarchs, nothing is more likely than that it should have gone out of use amongst the children of Israel during their sojourn in Egypt, where, as we find by Joshua xxiv. 14, they served strange gods. To turn the people effectually from these strange gods, and to guard them against worshipping the false gods of their future neighbours in Palestine, nothing would more conduce than the adoption of a special proper name of God not used by the other nations, and appropriated to the Israelites, as the name of the one living and true God, and, as the name of their national God, for those who could not yet rise to the conception of the divine unity. Whether the name chosen for this end was wholly new, or, as seems more probable, was revived by Moses, it was natural that on the first occasion of its use, at the commencement of the writings which were to embody his legislative and religious systems, he should in some striking manner identify this God, Jehovah, with the generic Elohim. would have been the more needful, if the name had never been in previous use, but was a newly introduced substitute for the proper name or names that had previously been in actual use, as supposed by some to be intimated in Exod. vi. 3. In this case the exceptions to the use of this combination would not only be attributable to a religious dislike to put the sacred name Jehovah into the mouth of the tempter, whose use of Elohim is followed by Eve in her conversation with him, but to a sense of dramatic propriety, which on some other occasions also influenced the writer, and which is likewise very noticeable in the usage of the book of Job. In that book, Job, whether as representing the Jewish people, or on historical grounds, appears as a worshipper of Jehovah. Accordingly, not only in the words of the narrator, but of Job himself when he

soliloquises in i. 21, this personal name of God is used; "Jehovah gave and Jehovah hath taken away; blessed be the name of Jehovah." On the other hand, the friends of Job, who are non-Israelites, and Job himself in conversing with them, invariably use a different proper name, Shaddai, by which name combined with El, and not by that of Jehovah, God is represented in Exod. vi. 3, as telling Moses he was known to the patriarchs, and which was doubtless in use amongst other Shemites also.¹

This document, thus distinguished both in substance and form from that which precedes it, is also marked off from its sequel. the fourth chapter, which forms a second subdivision of the section headed "The generations of the heavens and the earth," not only by the completeness of its narrative terminating with the expulsion of man from Paradise, but also by a similar difference in the use of the names of God. As the first portion uses only Elohim, and the second, with the exceptions noted. only Jehovah Elohim, so in the sequel of this, the fourth chapter, Elohim is dropped and only Jehovah used, except in one instance to be noticed on a subsequent occasion. The identity of Jehovah and Elohim having been made clear in the one passage by the combination, Jehovah by itself might then be used in the other without occasioning any uncertainty in the minds of readers, who might not have been sufficiently familiar with this name owing to its recent introduction or revival.

In thus referring to the peculiarity of usage in regard to the divine designations by which these commencing passages of the book of Genesis are characterised, the use made of it is not the same as that on which have been grounded the speculations of some writers as to difference of authorship or the interpolation of different parts of this book. The peculiarity is here only relied

¹ The non-Israelite Balaam uses the name Jehovah, evidently because it was not simply as a magician of note that Balak resorted to him, but as one who affected the worship of Jehovah, and who was therefore thought likely to have had some special influence in obtaining a curse on the children of Israel from their own national God, whose power had hitherto been exerted on their behalf.

on as marking, in connexion with a distinction of subject matter, the limits of certain portions which, standing separate and complete in themselves, may be subjected to a manner of interpretation which may not be applicable to other parts of the book, especially as these portions do not occur in the heart of the book, surrounded by passages of plainly historical character and intended to be taken in their literal acceptation, but forming the introductory chapters of a history which imitates the profane histories of other nations by going back to the origin of all things. As these histories proceed from myth to more authentic narrative, so the sacred history proceeds, not from myth, but from allegorical representations shadowing out the earlier historical facts, in their moral aspect, under the veil of figurative representations of the deepest significance. In limiting the application of this manner of interpretation with any degree of confidence to the two first passages, which contain within themselves, whether considered separately or viewed in comparison with one another, plain indications that they are of the character here represented, one cannot be charged with throwing doubt on the historical character of subsequent portions, which seem as plainly intended to be taken literally, as these, marked off as separate documents, seem intended to be taken in an allegorical acceptation.

II. The first particular that claims to be noticed in this entire passage is the tentative and suppletory character of the order and progress of the divine operations as represented therein. Each succeeding step seems to be taken with the view of supplying some defect found to exist in the preceding work, or of providing for some want arising out of its creation. Even the momentous subject of the Fall seems to be introduced in a manner subsidiary to this way of representing the divine proceedings. It will be well to exhibit this peculiar manner of representation in detail.

The introductory sentence, the poetical structure of which,

as exhibited in its parallelism and in the inverted repetition of its ideas, has already been noticed,—

"These are the generations of heavens and earth when they were created,' In the day that Jehovah Elohim made earth and heavens,"—

assumes the cosmical creation, and announces the production of the vegetables and animals derived from thence by creative power. Before any of these are generated, the new-made earth is represented as devoid of vegetation:—

"No plant of the field was yet in the earth,
And no herb of the field had yet grown."2

This deficiency is ascribed to the existence of a twofold want, namely, of rain and of a man to till the ground:—

"For Jehovah Elohim had not caused it to rain upon the earth, And there was not a man to till the ground."

Accordingly, the supply of these two wants is immediately provided. As regards the first,—

"A mist went up from the earth,
And watered the face of the whole ground."3

Here we have a true and exact account of the production of rain, which is represented as taking place naturally, while the operation of God in its production is implied in the statement of the previous verse that God had not as yet caused it to rain upon the earth. And then, no sooner is this necessity provided for, than the other want, to which the absence of vegetation

¹ Literally, "In the creating of them." But the preposition I thus used "may be resolved by conjunctions in connexion with prepositions, according as one thinks of time, place, or circumstance along with the action, so that I may be translated by while, after that, when," etc.—Fuerst, Heb. and Chald. Lexicon. The "generations," though succeeding, were potentially comprised in the creation of the heavens and the earth.

² The correct rendering of this passage was shown on a former occasion; see p. 24.

³ The "but" of the English version (δè, LXX.; sed, Vulgate), implies that this mist was a temporary substitute during the period when there was no rain. This is quite wrong. The copulative of the original (never to be translated but except in the clearest cases of an adversative use), and the future form of the verb, implying succession, plainly show that this was the way in which God proceeded to supply the deficiency just found to exist. The "earth" of the first clause is cosmical; including its seas, it sends up its vapour to water the ground. The distinction of earth and ground is duly observed throughout.

is attributed, is also supplied, by the formation of a man to tilk the ground:—

"Jehovah Elohim formed a man,¹ dust from the ground, And breathed into his nostrils breath of life; And the man became a living soul."

And in this formation of man the same tentative character which distinguishes the whole is observable. At first the man is only a lifeless figure, moulded and shaped as it were by a gradual process, after the manner of a potter or of one who moulds (הֹצֶּיִ") an image of plastic clay. Life is yet wanting, but the want is immediately supplied. God breathes into his nostrils breath of life, and the inanimate figure becomes a living person. The two requisites for the fruitfulness of the ground have been supplied; the barren earth is watered, and there is now a man to till the ground.

Still the ground is as yet unfurnished with the plants needful for man's sustenance, and the man now formed and animated with the breath of life needs some better dwelling than the bare earth unclothed as yet with grass, some spot prepared for his pains to till it. The want thus felt is according next supplied. A garden is provided for him:—

"Jehovah Elohim planted a garden in Eden eastward,

And there he put the man whom he had formed.

And from the ground Jehovah Elohim caused to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food;

And the tree of life in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil."

Here is provided a dwelling-place furnished with all trees needful for ornament and for man's sustenance; while, under the veil of the two mystical trees, a provision for his moral probation is likewise indicated, as we shall hereafter more fully see. And then to secure the fertility of the garden thus amply furnished, it is not left merely to enjoy the benefit of the mist

¹ The article here prefixed to "man," is due to the stat. constr. with the particle Eth. This usage will be fully discussed hereafter. The instances of it are frequent. It will suffice for the present to refer to Gen. vi. 17, "a deluge," not "the deluge;" viii. 7, 8, "a raven" and "a dove," not "the raven" and "the dove."

already mentioned; a stream is likewise caused to spring up in Eden, and to flow through the garden, copious enough to form, at its emergence from the garden, the heads of four of the chief rivers of the earth:—

"And a river went from Eden to water the garden, And from thence it parted and became four heads."

And now that the garden is laid out and furnished with trees and provided with a fertilising stream, the man already placed there receives it in charge to dress and to keep it, with permission to use the fruit of all its trees but one. That v. 15 is not a mere repetition of the latter clause of v. 8, describing the first introduction of man into the garden seems plain, partly from the construction, the consecutiveness of the successive steps being indicated by the continued use of the future with the conversive vau, while the preterite with a pluperfect sense would properly have been used if this fifteenth verse went back to the time of v. 8. And it partly follows from the different import of the verbs used. In v. 8 the verb שִׁים denotes simple location; the verb used in v. 15 is the Hiphil הניה, a causative form signifying to cause to remain, leave behind, permit one to do something, or leave one in charge to do it, as when David left his concubines to keep the house (2 Sam. xvi. 21). So here God takes the man already in the garden, and leaves him in charge of it to dress and to keep it, all being now ready to

¹ ਜ਼ਜ਼ਾੜੇ). This leaving does not here imply a local departure of God, but simply the leaving of the care and management of the garden to the man,—a representation highly indicative of the way in which man is placed in the world, provided with what is needful for his welfare, but left to turn this provision to his own use, by the exercise of his own faculties and exertions. In xix. 16, the angels bring Lot and his family out of Sodom, and leave them (אַבְּלַהְדָּה) outside the city, not "set them" as in the English Version and posuerunt in the Vulgate. The conversation in the subsequent verses plainly took place while they were going along and up to the time of the departure of the angels. The English Version, "when they had brought them forth," is quite incorrect. The verb is a suffixed infinitive, and is properly to be translated "as they were bringing them out." The εξήγαγον of the LXX. is an imperfect, the preceding ἡνίκα not being incompatible with this tense, as in Soph. Ajax, 1144,—ἡνίκ' ἐν κακῷ χειμῶνος είχετ". The last clause of xix. 16, mistranslated by the English Version and the Vulgate, is not given at all by the LXX. The expression "and he took the man," does not of course mean more than guidance and direction. Cepit, i. flexit. Sic alibi, capit animas sapiens, quod exponunt flectit, allicit.—Rabbi Salomo, apud Crit. Sacr.

be given into his care. But one restriction is enjoined as regards the use of its productions. The man has a moral nature, and he is prohibited to eat the fruit of the mystic tree of knowledge of good and evil, with the threatened consequence of disobedience subjoined:—

"And Jehovah Elohim took the man,
And left him in the garden of Eden to dress and to keep it.
And Jehovah Elohim enjoined on the man, saying:
Of every tree of the garden thou shalt freely eat,
But of the tree of knowledge of good and evil thou shalt not eat of it;
For in the day that thou eatest of it thou shalt surely die."

The new-formed man has wants both physical and moral, and these wants are thus supplied.

But these are not his only wants. Man is a social being, and was made with instincts for the continuance of his kind. He needs a companion and a wife, and the supply of this need also is resolved on:—

"And Jehovah Elohim said, It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him an help meet for him."

And here the tentative manner in which God is represented as proceeding to accomplish this purpose is very remarkable. He does not all at once form a woman, as might have been expected, but first, as in the formation of the man himself, he produces from the ground various kinds of beasts and birds, and brings each in succession to the man, to see what he would call it:—

"And Jehovah Elohim formed out of the ground every beast of the field and every fowl of the air,

And brought them unto the man, to see what he would call them;

And whatsoever the man called every living thing, that was its name.

And the man called names for every beast, and for every fowl of the air, and every living thing of the field;

But for the man there was not found an help meet for him."

Both the grammatical construction, and the whole design of this proceeding, as here represented, plainly show that the formation of the animals was intended to be regarded as subsequent to that of the man. The verb is connected with the preceding part of the narrative by the vau conversivum futuri, indicating the consecutiveness of the historical order of the transaction, and not a mere resumed mention of a previous event.¹ Hence the LXX. translate thus: καὶ ἔπλασεν ὁ θεὸς ἔτι ἐκ τῆς γῆς πάντα τὰ θήρια. And this reading of the LXX. has at least one Hebrew authority in the τὶν which the Samaritan text supplies. It is true, Lightfoot, who is scandalized at the notion of a creation of other animals subsequent to the formation of the man, suggests that the Samaritans followed the Alexandrian Version on some occasions; and, in support of this suggestion, he adduces a rabbinical assertion that the reading of the sixth instead of the seventh day, as that on which God finished his works (Gen. ii. 2) was a change introduced by the LXX., the Samaritans agreeing with the Greek in that case also.² This is a

2 Horæ Hebraiæ, in Act. Apost. xxiii. 8. His remark on the agreement of these authorities in the present case, and on the meaning which they give to the passage, or rather the sense in which they understood it, is quite in accordance with the spirit of his day: Non quæremus hic, quis quem sequatur, querimur potius de audacia utriusque in additione vocis *\textit{\textit{t}}\textit{et} = \textit{TIV}: quæ persuadere videtur, Deum post creatos Adamum et Evam, aliquid porro insuperque de novo creasse. Quod mihi quidem adhuc inauditum; et cui non? This is to determine what a writer did say by what the

¹ Keil, who maintains the continuous unity of narration in the two first chapters, is driven to justify the use of the consecutive future here, by a reference to 1 Kings vii. 13–15, where it is said that Solomon "sent and fetched Hiram out of Tyre, and he cast the two pillars," etc., although the completion of the temple had been mentioned in vi. 38. But first, this instance seems quite irrelevant. After mentioning the completion of the building of the temple, the historian proceeds to mention the subsequent building of Solomon's house and other matters. After these particulars have been described he reverts to the temple, and mentions, not what had taken place during the progress of the works previously described, but something that followed the completion of the building itself. After this was finished, he sent for Hiram to make the two brazen pillars, the molten sea, and other brass work for the adorning and furnishing the temple itself as already finished. This seems evident, inasmuch as, though the temple itself had been finished in the eighth month of the eleventh year, it was not consecrated till the seventh month, plainly, of a subsequent year, the interval having doubtless been occupied in preparing these works in brass and other like arrangements. The consecutive future is here therefore quite proper, as denoting the next particular to that last mentioned in relation to the temple, the intervening matter being, as regards the grammatical construction, quite parenthetical. But secondly, even if the case referred to did present an instance of the irregular use of the future with vau conversive, the case of Gen. ii. 19 would still be quite different. The man being already created, God resolves to provide an help meet for him; and then with the converted future we are told that Jehovah Elohim formed every beast and bird, and brought them to the man, these two verbs having but the one nominative, Jehovah Elohim. They are thus plainly connected as immediately consecutive steps in the same transaction, and w

gratuitous and most uncritical assumption. The most natural and probable inference from the agreement in either case is that both followed some more ancient Hebrew authority, or formed an independent judgment on the grounds presented by the passages themselves.1 At any rate the design of the proceeding is conclusive against the supposition of a resumed mention of a previous creation. Plainly this design was to provide an help meet for the man, and the object of bringing the animals to him, to see what he would call them, was not merely that they might receive names from the man, but that he might see if any would suit him as the needed help meet for his society. The singular and distributive construction, instead of the collective form, indicates that this was done successively; as each is formed it is brought to the man.2 The name is significant of the nature, and in giving the name to each he pronounces its unfitness for himself. We are reminded of the well-known words of Plato, - os àv είδη τὰ ὀνόματα εἴσεται καὶ τὰ πράγματα. It can scarcely be thought that the writer's design was to give any information as to the origin of language. In the first chapter, when God calls the light day and the darkness night, and gives names to sea and land, this, at a time when, according to the representation, no articulate-voiced being yet existed, can only mean that God established the natural distinctions and relations expressed by these names. Here, too, the giving of names to the animals, at a time when no other human being existed, though language has its existence only in the exigencies of our social condition and the necessity of communication between

critic thinks he ought to have said. Lightfoot seems quite unconscious of the unwarrantableness of this proceeding, or of his own audacia in making the formation of Eve to precede the naming of the animals, whereas the narrative plainly makes it consequent on the failure to find an help meet for Adam amongst all the creatures brought to him, to see what he would call them.

brought to him, to see what he would can them.

1 Mr. Deutsch, Art. Sam. Pent., Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, says, "It must be stated that the Sam. and LXX. quite as often disagree with each other, and follow each the Masor. Text. Also, that the quotations in the N.T. from the LXX., where they coincide with the Sam. against the Hebr. Text, are so small in number and of so unimportant a nature that they cannot be adduced as any argument whatsoever."

² The English Version has substituted the plural "them," for the singular pronoun of the original in the second clause of v. 19.

human beings, and then the limitation of this process of naming to the animal creatures, taken in connexion with the occasion as represented by the writer, seem plainly only meant to indicate man's natural perception of the unfitness of any of these inferior creatures to be his helpmate. The naming according to the conceptions of a Hebrew writer, no less than of Plato's Cratylus, would afford a lively representation of this. But, even viewed as an arbitrary sign, the name stands for the thing signified, and sums in itself the ideas comprehended in the conception of its nature. And it is evidently with this in view that the naming is here described. The result of the whole proceeding is, that for the man there was not found an help meet for him. Accordingly, when the real help meet for him is afterwards brought, he in like manner immediately gives her a name also—a name significant of her nature and origin. The tentative character of the representation is in this particular specially observable. When a mate is to be provided for the man, the inferior animals are first tried one by one as they are formed, and are found unfitted for the purpose. The moral of such a representation may be found by a reference to the abominations practised by the nations with whom the children of Israel were in contact, and which the Hebrew Lawgiver found it needful to prohibit in the book of Leviticus. It was doubtless with a view to these abominations, that it stands as an introduction to the primitive institution of marriage.

The formation of all these creatures having failed in providing a suitable mate for the man, a different plan is then adopted; and, in accordance with the general character of the entire passage, the successive steps of a gradual process are here also presented—the deep sleep into which the man is east, the extraction of the rib, the closing up of the flesh again, and the transformation of the rib into a woman by a process which is itself also gradual, and in which God builds her up of the material supplied by the rib, אַרָּיָל בְּאָלָיִנְ , a process

issuing in the production of one whom he recognises at once as the needed help, and with whom he is henceforth to be one flesh, as partaker of his own nature, unlike the creatures of a different nature already brought to him and rejected. Hence he says, "This is now," (DUET) this time, as distinguished from the previous turns, "bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh;" and he names her accordingly.

"And Jehovah Elohim caused a sleep to fall upon the man, and he slept. And he took one of his ribs and closed up the flesh instead thereof. And Jehovah Elohim builded the rib, which he took from the man, into a woman, And he brought her to the man. And the man said, This is, this turn, bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh;

This shall be called woman, for out of man was this taken.

Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother,

And cleave to his wife, and they shall be one flesh."

These latter words are plainly ascribed to the man, standing as they do in grammatical connexion with his previous words; while it would be out of character with the whole passage for the writer to introduce a general remark or reflection of his own, nothing but what directly conduces to the narrative itself being elsewhere spoken by the writer in his own person.

The man and the new-made woman have now but one remaining want, and that is not yet a want, though soon to become one. And this circumstance is made the climax of the narrative, the very perfection of their condition being that this want was not felt. Up to this all is progress towards perfection; step after step has been taken, want after want supplied, till none remains but one, which they are too pure and innocent to feel to be a want;

> "And the two of them were naked, the man and his wife, And they were not ashamed."

But as up to this all was progress, so from this out in the sequel of the narrative there is a corresponding retrogression and decline. What is specially remarkable in this is

¹ Or, not taking the word adverbially, we might render exactly, "This is the time (or turn), bone of my bones," etc. Or even more literally, "This is the stroke,"—the successful hit, as one might say in a more familiar way of speaking.

that, while the way for the statement of the fall is prepared by the representation of innocence as evinced in the freedom from shame notwithstanding the want of clothing, so, on the other hand, according to the artificial peculiarity of the narrative, even this momentous subject of the fall seems introduced as if merely to explain how the want of clothing, at first not felt to be a want, came to be the occasion of shame, and so was felt to be a want, the supply of which, in accordance with the suppletory character of the narrative, is at once provided. The break occasioned by the division of the chapters renders this the less apparent, as does also the "now" with which, in the English Version, the third chapter is made to commence, as if entering on a new history. But this "now" only represents the same copulative \ which connects all the previous parts of the narrative. If "and" be substituted for "now," and the third chapter be read in connexion with the concluding verse of the second, it will be seen that the issue of the temptation and fall in v. 7, is set in manifest contrast with those concluding words of the second chapter,-

> "And the eyes of them both were opened, And they knew that they were naked."

The want has come to be felt, by reason of what has taken place they attempt to supply the want for themselves, but insufficiently; and, in the consciousness of this, they try to hide themselves when they hear the voice of the Lord God. When challenged by the Almighty, they allege the shame of their nakedness as the cause of their effort to hide themselves. The sense of shame becomes the proof of guilt; the sentence of condemnation is pronounced; another want arising from transgression is supplied in the promise of a triumph over the tempter by the seed of the woman; and then God himself supplies the need of clothing more effectually than they had been able to provide it for themselves. From the unconscious nakedness of innocence, they have thus receded through the fall to the sense of shame and the need of clothing. From the

abode of their innocence they are driven forth, its delights are lost, the approach to the tree of life is hindered by the flaming sword of the Cherubim, and they are brought back to the point from which the formation of man was represented to have arisen. There was not at the first a man to till the ground, and the man was formed to supply this want; now they are sent forth to till the ground from whence they were taken. This manner of introducing the account of the temptation and fall, as if to explain how the sense of shame came to be felt, and clothing to be required and provided, is highly artificial; but there is no trifling in it. The sense of shame consequent on sin is of the deepest moral significance; and the provision of clothing by God, in place of the ineffectual efforts of the transgressors themselves to hide the shame of their bodily nakedness, is no less deep in its mystical import.

III. When the representation of the order and progress of creation contained in these two chapters, as now surveyed, is compared with the representation of the divine operations as set forth in the first, one cannot fail to be struck by the remarkable difference. It is not merely that the order in which the works succeed one another is different; the gradual and tentative mode of proceeding, whereby wants are supplied and deficiencies provided for as they are found to arise, is wholly diverse in character. In the first, the operations are absolute and complete; the word is spoken and the work is done, in sublime conformity with the highest and grandest conception of the Godhead. In the second account the Creator appears, as regards the manner of his operations, in fashion as a man, and, like a human worker, plants and moulds and builds his materials into the intended form. This divine anthropism, as a general characteristic, pervades the entire of the second account of the creation, and is carried on through the history of the fall to the close of the document. In order more fully to estimate its character in this respect, it will be well to observe in detail the several instances of anthropomorphic representation which are to be noticed, in addition to the general tentative and suppletory manner of proceeding which has been just exhibited.

The moulding process of man's formation of the dust of the ground at once suggests a human workman moulding an image figured of plastic clay. And then, when this image is complete, he proceeds as one would endeavour to restore breath to a person half drowned, by breathing into the nostrils the breath of life. One can imagine a human artist thus vainly striving to animate the lifeless image he has formed; and thus it is, but not in vain, that the divine artificer imparts life to his workmanship, and man becomes a living soul.

Then, when the garden of Eden is to be provided, it is not by the command, "Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit after his kind; and it was so." Now, after the manner of a gardener, God first plants the garden generally, and then having thus planted it, causes to grow from the ground all trees useful for ornament or fruit.

The other animals, like the man, are moulded of the dust or clay. When the woman is to be formed, the man is cast into a deep sleep as if to render him insensible to a painful operation, the rib is extracted and the wound closed up, all after the manner in which a surgeon would perform some nice operation of his art. And the extracted rib is built into a woman; she does not start at once into existence, in all the perfection of her beauty, but is formed by a gradual process of handywork, as before in the case of the man.

Then we have the especially human representation of the Lord God walking in the garden, not in the heat of noontide, but in the cool or breeze of the day. And as one thus walking in the cool of the day might, in his musing and meditation, speak to himself aloud, so the voice of God is heard as he walks in the garden. In human fashion also he converses with the man and the woman, and instead of seeming to have known their transgression by divine omni-

science, he infers it from their profession of shame at being naked, as one man would infer the guilt of another from the indications of a guilty conscience. And as they have now come to feel the shame of nakedness, he himself makes them coats of skin, not simply a rude and unshaped covering, but regular coats or tunics, as the word used denotes.¹

But perhaps the most remarkable instance of anthropism in the entire narrative, is the seeming jealousy manifested at man's acquirement of the knowledge of good and evil by the eating of the forbidden fruit. The tempter had assigned, as the motive of the prohibition, the fear on God's part that this knowledge would be acquired, and that the privilege of the deity would thus be invaded:—

"For Elohim knoweth that in the day of your eating thereof, also your eyes shall be opened,

And ye shall become as Elohim, knowing good and evil."

Here the knowledge of good and evil is represented as a privilege from which God would exclude them, and which He jealously guards and reserves to himself. On the part of the tempter this suggestion is intelligible enough. That which God withholds from men is always imagined to be better than what he grants or permits; and men are always ready to murmur, as if God enviously grudged them advantages which they would fain enjoy. We are all conscious enough of some such feeling in our times of temptation, and it is quite natural that it should appear as a suggestion of the tempter on the occasion of man's first temptation. But what is very remarkable is that at the close, and after the guilty knowledge has been acquired, God himself is represented as expressing such a feeling of jealousy and, under its influence, taking steps to prevent

י הַּתְּלֵּוֹת from whence the Greeks derived their צְוֹדְשׁ, or tunic. The garment derived its name from cotton, the material of which it was commonly made. Tunic is only an anagrammatical congener of $\chi l \tau \omega \nu$, if not directly derived from it. This transposition of letters or syllables, especially in the adoption of foreign words, is very common. The ear has imperfectly retained the sound of the original, or the organs of speech more readily utter the transposed letters, than if the original position was retained. This is illustrated daily in the mis-pronunciation of children learning to speak, and takes place similarly in the naturalisation of foreign words.

a still nearer approach to the condition of Godhead by the further acquisition of immortality. It was too much that they had gained the knowledge of good and evil which God had reserved to himself, and now steps must be taken lest they become immortal also, and so still more like unto God than they had already become:—

"And Jehovah Elohim said, Behold, the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil;

And now, lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever."

He had already become like God by partaking of the tree of knowledge; he must not become more like him by partaking of the tree of life also. In the ancient systems of mythology, which were essentially anthropomorphic, this envious feeling in regard to human advantages was freely and naturally attributed to their gods. And so in Herodot. Pol. 46, Artabanus referring to the ills of life, which make death sometimes welcome, says,— ὁ δὲ θεὸς, γλυκὺν γεύσας τὸν αἰῶνα, φθονερὸς ἐν αὐτῷ εὐρίσκεται ἐών. Such a jealousy as this, wholly unlike that which is truly ascribed to God in respect to the degraded conceptions which men formed of the Divine Being, likening Him to birds and four footed beasts and creeping things, is quite alien to the Scriptural notion of God in general; and it must be regarded here as an unreal anthropomorphism, mystically veiling, however, an important truth. Essentially different must be God's knowledge of the distinctions of right and wrong, whether in their abstract nature, or as exemplified in human conduct, from the conscious and guilty knowledge which man acquired by transgression,-a knowledge which, in truth, made him far more unlike to God than the childlike ignorance of man's innocent state. Yet it is of the knowledge of good and evil, acquired by transgression, that God is represented as saying, "The man is become as one of us, to know good and evil." Unreal, however, as these words must be, if considered with reference to any sentiment existing in the mind of God, or actually uttered by him, they yet do express God's disapprobation of the craving to taste forbidden joys, the pride that dares to challenge the rectitude of the moral government of the world, the presumption that would intrude into mysteries which God has placed beyond the grasp of our intellect, and would bring down God to the measure of our understanding, as we cannot mount up to the heights of the divine intelligence, or comprehend the Infinite. And as this disapprobation is represented as a jealousy of man's invading the privileges of God in the acquirement of the knowledge of good and evil, so the punishment of the transgression, whereby this knowledge was acquired, is in like manner represented by a jealous care lest he should still further invade the divine privileges by acquiring immortality. Such a representation would present a real difficulty, if we were obliged to understand all this in its strict literal import, implying, as it would, very unworthy conceptions of God on the part of the writer. The difficulty vanishes, however, when it is perceived that this is only an instance of a prevailing anthropism which characterises the whole narrative. And this anthropism only forms one out of many indications of a symbolical and mystical character pervading the entire document.

IV. The instance of a purely mystical representation just considered leads to the observation, through the whole passage, of the occurrence of like particulars, which plainly cannot be accepted, in their strict literal sense, as indicating historical events in the actual mode of their occurrence. And while the whole wears exactly the same historical aspect, if it shall appear that a large proportion of the particulars narrated—undiscernible from the remainder by any distinction in the manner in which they are told—must be taken in a mystical acceptation, the conclusion is inevitable, that all must be regarded rather as a parabolical representation of important facts and principles, than as in any part a literal history of facts in the exact order and manner of their occurrence, which it is plainly

shown it cannot be in some. And accordingly, Hengstenberg, who adopts however the most literal and realistic interpretation, having mentioned the supposition of a symbolical serpent, well remarks, that one who adopts this view, must, to be at all consistent, also admit the allegorical character of the entire passage. For, in a connected passage like this, unity of interpretation must prevail; and it is not allowable to follow at one moment the allegorical or symbolical, and at another the proper and literal manner of explanation. Only it is to be observed that this unity of character is merely necessary in reference to the several successive particulars and the manner of their representation, which should be either all symbolical or all literal. The symbolical manner of representation may prevail throughout as regards these several particulars, and yet the whole, as a whole, may still be regarded as not a mere allegory, much less an unreal tale or fable. As a whole it may be not a mere apologue illustrating some true principles, but a true history setting forth under an allegorical form undoubted facts. The creation of man, his primeval innocence, the fall and its consequences, the promise of deliverance from those consequences, may be all undoubted historical facts, though in the manner in which these facts are presented to the view in their several details, and in regard to many important truths and principles involved in these facts, the allegorical and symbolical method of representation may have been adopted. And if it shall appear certain that in regard to some particulars this method has been adopted, then it seems necessary to understand the other particulars in like manner also.

As clear and unquestionable instances of mystical representation may be specified the tree of life and the tree of knowledge of good and evil planted in the midst of the garden of Eden. The natural impression produced by the description of these trees, it may be said without hesitation, would be that they were meant to be understood symbolically; and this impression

¹ See Christologie, Th. 1, Abth. i. p. 26. Ed. 1829.

a little consideration will confirm. And here it is first to be observed that man at his creation, even by the very evidence which this document supplies, was not naturally immortal in his bodily condition. The fact that he was to be sustained and preserved in life by bodily nourishment and the use of food shows this sufficiently. That such was the way in which his life was to be preserved is clear not only from the grant to man at his first creation of every herb bearing seed, and every tree bearing fruit, to be for food, as expressed in Gen. i. 29, but also from the planting of the garden, which was to be the abode of man's innocence, with every tree, not only pleasant to the sight, but also good for food, and the permission to use all but the fruit of one tree. If man's life was to be sustained and preserved by a contingent condition, such as the use of food, it is plain that he was not naturally immortal. Nor can it be supposed that the many conceivable accidents by which the vital organization might have been destroyed would not have destroyed life itself at the same time. Moreover, the apprehension expressed at the close,— "Lest he put forth his hand, and take of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever,"—seems to imply his natural mortality. It is as if, while he was naturally mortal, the tree of life was the means of preserving him from death, and exclusion from it became the means of carrying into effect the threatened punishment of death on account of his disobedience. Even the very sentence of mortality itself rather indicates the accomplishment of a natural tendency of man's original constitution, than any change from an immortal to a mortal nature :- "Dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return." And this seems evidently to have been the view of St. Paul in 1 Cor. xv. 45-50, where the first Adam, as made a living soul (the condition of his creation prior to the fall), is treated as being of the earth earthy, having the corruptible nature of flesh and blood, as opposed to the heavenly and immortal. Any bodily immortality, therefore, that unfallen

¹ This passage is quoted by St. Augustine, to show that Adam in his state of innocence had the animal as opposed to the spiritual body.—De Gen. ad Lit. VI., xix. 30.

man would have enjoyed, would have been the result of a special providential arrangement, and the reward of his continued obedience.1 It was remarked by Bishop Bull-"State of Man before the Fall "-that the promise of such a reward on the condition of obedience is implied in the threatening of death in case of disobedience. He also observes that "the prohibition given to Adam concerning the not eating of the tree of knowledge is ushered in (which very few interpreters take any exact notice of) with this express donation or grant of God that he might freely eat of all the rest of the trees of Paradise, the tree of life not excepted." And as, according to the representation of the matter made in iii. 22, the use of the tree of life would have secured immortality, and the transgression was, in pursuance of the sentence of mortality, followed by exclusion from resort to it, the inference clearly follows that immortality was conditional on obedience, as death was to be consequent on transgression; and that while the latter, in the mere exclusion from the tree, would take place naturally, the tree of life was a provision for the former.2 Now, however one might imagine a tree the fruit of which was of such wholesome qualities as that the use of it should tend to the prolongation of life, one whose fruit should naturally produce immortality is what no one would suppose to be here intended. Yet, as far as the literal import of the words extends, iii. 22 plainly implies that eternal

¹ Cum Adami immortalitas in statu suo primigenio ex principiis naturae internis nequaquam dependerit, sed ex solo et liberrimo Dei beneplacito, semotâ per peccatum nequaquam dependerit, sed ex solo et liberrimo Dei beneplacito, semotà per peccatum causà illà externà conservante, necesse erat, ut Adamus certo quodam tempore moreretur, atque vi feedoris è statu mortis naturalis ad judicium traheretur. Johannis Oweni Θεολογούμενα, Oxon., 1661, p. 19. St. Augustine remarks that St. Paul does not say (Rom. viii. 10), "The body is mortal because of sin," but "dead," inasmuch as it was death, not mortality, that was caused by the Fall. Denique non ait Apostolus, corpus quidem mortale propter peccatum; sed corpus mortuum propter peccatum. Illud quippe ante peccatum et mortale secundùm aliam, et immortale secundùm aliam caussam dici poterat: id est mortale, quia poterat mori, immortale quia poterat non mori.—De Gen. ad Lit., VI., xxv. 36.

2 Thus St. Augustine proceeds after the words last quoted: Aliud est enim non posse mori, sicut quasdam naturas immortales creavit Deus: aliud est antem posse non mori, secundùm quem modum primus creatus est homo immortalis; quod ei præstabatur de ligno vitæ, non de constitutione naturæ: à quo ligno separatus est cùm peccasset, ut posset mori, qui nisi peccasset posset non mori. Mortalis ergo erat conditione corporis animalis, immortalis autem beneficio conditoris.

life itself would be the consequence of eating, and that only once, of the tree of life; for this is the evident meaning of the apprehension expressed,—"Lest he put forth his hand, and take of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever;"—words that denote not a constant and repeated resort to a wholesome and in-. vigorating food, but the participation, once for all, of a food which should supersede the necessity of all other means of sustaining life, prevent all fatal accidents, all mortal disease, all effects of age or excess, and that too after the fall had let loose the reins of passion. It seems foolish thus to insist on the absurdity of imagining such a tree as could by the physical powers of its fruit produce such a result. Neither will this concluding passage of the third chapter allow of the supposition of some tree, which by an arbitrary appointment was invested with a sort of sacramental virtue in imparting the reward of eternal life,—unless on the further supposition that that sacramental virtue should be efficacious even in the failure of the very condition of the grace it was intended to confer. The very supposition of a sacramental virtue in the imparting the rewards of obedience would imply its failure in the absence of the obedience on which the rewards were made conditional: and in such case the Cherubim with flaming swords to guard the way of the tree of life would have been wholly unnecessary.1

But while the document itself thus supplies the means of disproving the realistic and literal meaning of the tree of life, the New Testament supplies a guide to its true meaning. As here, at the commencement of the Sacred Writings, the tree of life is planted in the earthly paradise, so at the close of the sacred canon it is found again in the heavenly:—"To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life that is in the

^{1 &}quot;And lest we should make a wrong inference from what we read, that immortal life was man's natural claim from the time of his creation; and not a free gift bestowed upon him on his entrance into Paradise; the historian tells us of the means employed to exclude him from the tree of life, which conferred immortality on the eater. The ideas which this language conveys are indeed allegorical; but they inform us of this, and of nothing but this, that immortal life was a thing extraneous to our nature; and not put into our paste or composition, when first fashioned by the forming hand of the Creator."—Warburton, Divine Legation, B. vii. ch. i., §. 1.

midst of the paradise of God," Apoc. ii. 7; "In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, was there a tree of life which bare twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month, and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations," Apoc. xxii. 2. And the right to this tree of life is also in this chapter, v. 14, made conditional on obedience, as in Eden:-"Blessed are they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life." Now, while this Apocalyptic tree of life is plainly the conterpart of that in Genesis, its allegorical nature cannot be disputed. Its twelve fruits correspond to the twelve foundations of the city on which are the names of the twelve Apostles, and it grows beside the river of life that proceedeth out of the throne of God and of the Lamb. Here is plainly a mystical representation of the provision made in the Gospel, as taught by the Apostles, for imparting eternal life. And, guided by this manifest allusion to the tree of life in Genesis, we should in like manner regard this as mystically representing the promise of eternal life conditional on man's obedience in Paradise. And then the precaution against his eating of its fruit after his transgression denotes the exclusion from participation in that reward consequent on disobedience.

But if the tree of life must thus be regarded as a mystical and not a real tree, the tree of knowledge of good and evil, coupled with it, must also be viewed in the same light. Common sense forbids the supposition of a tree whose fruit could have the physical property of opening the eyes to make one wise, and imparting the knowledge of good and evil by any direct operation. The only sense in which it can be imagined that the partaking of the forbidden fruit, as the fruit of a tree, or any material product, could have the effect ascribed to it, is that the use of it having been forbidden, the eating of it was a transgression, and as such produced the moral effects which must have followed the first transgression in a being constituted as man is. Before transgression there was no conscious know-

ledge of evil as distinguished from good. The evil act might have been contemplated as a possible occurrence, and as opposed to the command or the contrary duty. But that special feeling which would arise, not from conscience forbidding the act as yet untried, but from conscience condemning an offence committed, the consciousness of having done wrong, the loss of the sense of innocence, the experience and practical knowledge of evil as opposed to good, would be the natural consequence of any transgression, and might have followed the violation of an arbitrary prohibition of the fruit of any particular tree; and this might, no doubt, be rightly described, with reference to these consequences, as the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Warburton, in his Divine Legation, supposes that such an arbitrary prohibition was superadded to man's natural obligations, as the condition of immortality, in order to show that the gift of this did not follow as a matter of right on man's obedience to the law of nature. But the law of nature would enforce obedience to a positive or arbitrary commandment once given; while, on the other hand, in the absence of experience and of the knowledge of good and evil acquired by transgression, very many duties, now known to be moral, must have borne the semblance of positive precepts, if specially enjoined. Much also of man's moral duty being only arrived at, as such, by a process of reasoning of which only a few are capable, this must, to the bulk of mankind, at all times be presented in the form and character of positive precepts. Hence the most that the addition of a new positive command, with its accompanying threat, would effect, would be to bring it within the category of men's other duties and subject them to punishment in case of disobedience to it. At any rate, as there is abundant reason for regarding the tree of life as purely allegorical, there seems no reason for resorting to Warburton's ingenious mode of accounting for a mere arbitrary command superadded to man's natural obligations as regards the tree of knowledge; and all the moral consequences

¹ Book vii., ch. i. 2.

of the transgression, which must be regarded as the ground of the designation of the tree as the tree of knowledge of good and evil, would follow in a more full and decided manner from the violation of a moral, than of a mere positive and arbitrary command. More especially might the sense of shame, like that on account of bodily nakedness, be expected to follow the consciousness of impurity that would arise from a transgression which would more immediately loosen the control of conscience over the animal passions and appetites of our nature, than the eating a fruit tempting to the eye, but, mainly according to the representation of the letter, partaken of from a desire to gain forbidden knowledge. While therefore the tree of life and its permitted use must be understood to denote the promise of eternal life conditional on man's obedience, and the tree of knowledge must be taken in a like sort of mystical and allegorical sense, this will denote the undue and unlawful indulgence of man's propensions and impulses in general, both mental and bodily, entailing the loss of the gift of eternal life, and the moral consequences attributed to the use of the forbidden fruit—the conscious and guilty knowledge of evil experienced and good forsaken and lost, and the shame of conscious nakedness arising from inward feelings of conscious impurity.1

¹ It may perhaps be thought that St. Paul's reference to "the similitude of Adam's transgression," in Rom. v. 14, would enable us to form some notion as to that Apostles' conception of the nature of this transgression. Much light does not appear to be thrown on the subject by that reference. The design of the Apostle was to show that as sin and death came by one, namely Adam, so righteousness and life come by one, namely Christ. In order to make this resemblance more evident, he shows that in the interval between Adam and Moses some had undergone death, who had not sinned in such a way as would have brought death on themselves if it had not come by Adam. For though sin was in the world, it would not have been visited with a penalty which was not denounced by any specific law. Death was denounced against the offence of Adam; it was not denounced by any specific law against the many sins committed afterwards, which sins were not therefore visited with this penalty. Yet men died notwithstanding, and so must have died by reason of the sentence pronounced on Adam. The word $\lambda \lambda o_{\gamma} e i \tau a u$ is not used here to signify imputation in the sense of attributing to a person a righteous or sinful act or character; it is rather employed in its stricter and more literal sense of charging something against one for the exaction of payment. It is thus this verb is used in the other instance of its occurrence, in Philem. 18. 19 $(\tau o \bar{v} \tau o e i \omega) e \lambda \lambda \delta \gamma e i, -e i \gamma \omega e i v o$

V. But if these two trees are to be regarded as not real, but mystical and allegorical trees, there is another particular connected with the garden of Eden, which there is also a clear necessity of understanding in a like mystical acceptation, namely, the river which went out of Eden to water the garden, and after passing through it divided into four heads. These are thus described, as rivers well-known to the writer and his readers:—

"The name of the first is Phison,
That is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah,
Where there is gold, and the gold of that land is good;
There is bdellium and the onyx stone;
And the name of the second river is Gihon,
That is it which compasseth the whole land of Cush;
And the name of the third river is Hiddekel,
That is it which goeth to the east of Assyria;
And the fourth river, that is Euphrates."

Now here, at any rate, are the two great rivers of Mesopotamia, Hiddekel, mentioned also in the book of Daniel, being without doubt the Tigris. Its name has survived in the Aramaic Diglath, mentioned by Josephus, and Diglito, by Pliny (Nat. Hist. vi. 28), and in the modern Digil, by which name the Tigris is now designated. The name Gihon has by some been supposed to denote the Oxus, now known by the appellation Jihoun. There is reason, however, to believe that the Nile has been known by this name amongst the Abyssinians in recent times. Josephus says in reference to this river of Paradise, Γεων δὶ αὐτῆς Αἰγύπτου ῥέω, adding that the Greeks called it Nilus, as if it was known by the other name in Egypt, or amongst the Jews, in his time. But there is a more ancient authority, and one not likely to be mistaken in this matter, namely, the Alexandrian version. That the LXX., living in

the similitude of Adam's transgression was the absence of any law denouncing against them the specific penalty of death, as in the case of Adam's transgression. But this throws no light on the nature of the offence by which that penalty was incurred. It was not the nature of the offence, but the manner in which its consequences passed to others, that constituted the point of similitude, and made Adam to be $\tau \acute{\nu} \pi \sigma s \tau \sigma \hat{v} \mu \acute{\kappa} \lambda \lambda \sigma \tau \sigma s$. See on the subject of this note, "St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, with Notes," by Dr. Vaughan.

Egypt, should have adopted this name as the representative of a Hebrew word, which is plainly intended to designate the Nile, is a sufficient proof that this river was known by the name of Gihon in their time. In Jeremiah ii. 18 we read, "What hast thou to do in the way of Egypt to drink the waters of Sihor?" This name, Sihor, plainly used to denote the Nile, is rendered by the LXX. $\Gamma \in \hat{\omega} \nu$, in which form they give this name in Gen. ii. 13 also. Fuerst, in his Heb. and Chald. Lexicon, says, "According to Josephus (Ant. I., i. 3), Kinchi, and others, and as it appears also from the LXX., Jer. 2, 18, Ben-Sira 24, 37, it means the Nile, which flows through all the southern lands (2) that fall under the narrator's point of view. Hence the historian must have thought of the origin of the Nile in Asia, which is possible from the accounts in Strabo, Arrian and Pausanias." The supposition, however, of Alexander when he saw crocodiles in the Hydaspes, and Egyptian beans in the Acesines, flowing into the Indus, that he had arrived at the sources of the Nile, was soon perceived to have been a mistake, as great rivers and the ocean itself intervened.1 And the notion mentioned by Pausanias,2 that the Euphrates, disappearing in a marsh, rises again as the Nile, would not satisfy the description of the rivers of Paradise, the four of which are parted from one head. Instead of supposing the writer of Gen. ii. to have imagined the Nile to have its origin in Asia, it is more reasonable to regard the whole description as a mystical representation. At any rate, it is much more probable that the Nile was here intended than the Oxus. A people settled in Egypt for some centuries would scarcely have understood by the land of Cush any other country than the Cush adjacent to the Red Sea. Certainly any country such as Chusistan, near the Oxus, was not likely to be known to the Israelites in any of the earlier periods of their history. This name Gihon, in both its Hebrew and Arabic forms, signifies radically a stream or river, and would naturally

¹ Strabo, Geog. lxv., p. 696. Ed. Casaub. ² Lib. II. ch. v. p. 122. Ed. Kuhn.

be applied to the principal river of any particular country. A person brought up in Egypt would no doubt follow the Egyptian custom in thus speaking of the Nile, while yet we might find the same name in other countries also applied by their Shemitic inhabitants to other rivers. Gihon, or Geon, being a Shemitic word, if not naturalized in Egypt in the time of the LXX., must have been adopted by them to represent the native word used in Egypt, as more intelligible to their readers than the Sihor of Jeremiah.

What was intended by Phison, the remaining river, seems more doubtful. The land of Chavilah or Havilah, the gold of which is good, and where is bdellium and the onyx stone, is probably India. The name may still survive in Cabul, and Josephus says that Phison was the Ganges.

But whatever we may guess as to these rivers, Phison and Gihon, it is quite certain that no four rivers, of which Euphrates and Tigris are two, spring from one stream that divides into four. The Euphrates and Tigris now coalesce near the Persian Gulf, and some have imagined a subsequent division before entering the sea. But it is plain such a supposition does not accord with the description of the river of Paradise, which passed singly through the garden, and afterwards divided into four, evidently in its downward course. For it is well remarked by Mr. Wright, (Art. Eden, in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible), that the verb xx' is only used of the course of a river from its source downwards. If the confluent part of the Euphrates and Tigris was the river of Eden, then this verb would not only be applied to the progress of the supposed separate streams into which the confluent river was parted before entering the sea, but would also imply a course in the opposite direction before the confluence, which would be contrary to fact. Besides, the coalescing of the Euphrates and Tigris seems to have been an occurrence of comparatively recent date, and therefore not to be referred to the early period contemplated in the narrative now under consideration. Pliny, (Nat. Hist., vi. 27),

says it was occasioned by the long continued practice of irrigation, which caused the choking of the proper outlet of the Euphrates, and drove its waters over into the Tigris; 1 and he mentions, chap. 21,2 the place where the mouth of the Euphrates originally was, as if discernible in his day. Now it cannot be imagined that the writer really thought these four rivers had once a common source, though some of the old commentators, for whose imagination nothing was too monstrous, fancied that they had, and even that they were conveyed by some subterranean channels to their present courses; neither can it be believed that he expected his readers to think him in earnest in making such a statement. It is rather to be supposed that he considered the unreality of the representation so evident that he incurred no danger of being misunderstood, and, in order to magnify the importance of the stream by which he represented the garden of Eden to be watered, treated it as the source of the four greatest rivers known to his countrymen.3 And as

¹ Inter duorum amnium ostia, xxv. mil. pass. fuere, aut (ut alii tradunt) vii. m. utroque navigabili. Sed longo tempore Euphratem præclusere Orcheni, et accolæ agros rigantes. ² Locus ubi Euphratis ostium fuit.

'Ο ἐκφαίνων ώς φῶς (ὁ Ποταμός) παιδείαν, 'Ως Γηὼν ἐν ἡμέραις τρυγητοῦ.

The identity of the Nile and Gihon would thus be confirmed.

accola agros rigantes.

2 Locus ubi Euphratis ostium fuit.

3 These four rivers are enumerated with the Jordan, as well-known rivers in his day, by the son of Sirach:—"He filleth all things with wisdom, as Phison and Tigris in the time of the new fruits. He maketh the understanding to abound like Euphrates, and as Jordan in the time of harvest. He maketh the doctrine of knowledge appear as the light, and as Geon in the time of vintage." Ecclus. xxiv. 25-27. Bishop Lowth, in his re-translation of this into Hebrew, De Sacrà Poesi Hebreworum, Præl. xxiv., has river instead of "light," in the last clause but one. He supposes that the original Hebrew had אוא instead אוא instead אוא but that the jod had fallen out in the translator's copy. He says,—Vide enim quàm incongruè cum cæteris, Pison, Tigris, Euphrates, Jordanes, Lux, Gihon: loco Lucis desideratur Flumen aliquod, adeòque manifestò legendum erat אוא איז א δε δ Ποταμόs, ut Fluvius Ille, nimirum Nilus. He rightly says that the Nile was commonly known by this designation, and he quotes Bochart, Chanaan, i. 23, as saying that אול instell also was used to denote a river; א or est fluvius ut אול jeor. Ita occurrit Amos viii. 8, ubi de Nilo. Atque eodem sensu usurpaverat Sirachides Ecclesiast. xxiv. 35, ubi interpres perperàm pro lumine accepit. On the word א ס וו Amos viii. 8, Fuerst, Heb. and Chald. Lex., says "it is demonstrably א חול ווא or meaning of the son of Sirach, it would by no means follow that Geon was a different meaning of the son of Sirach, it would by no means follow that Geon was a different river. The last clause may have been added merely to make up the even number of parallel lines, and to explain the less explicit mention of "the river," in the preceding line. And that it is thus epexagetical may also be inferred from the fact that, while all the other clauses mentioning different rivers are joined by copulatives, these two are placed in apposition without one:—

in the case of the tree of life, so in regard to the river also, the non-historical character of the representation is confirmed by the Apocalyptic imitation of it in chap. xxii. 1. As the tree of life had its counterpart in the heavenly Jerusalem, so was this latter tree, in like manner, planted by the side of the river of life clear as crystal, that ran through the city from the throne of God and of the Lamb. There is a similar mystical representation of a river proceeding from the sanctuary, and of trees by its side producing fruit for meat, and healing leaves, in the vision of Ezekiel (ch. xlvii. 1-12).

And now as the garden of Eden had its mystical trees and its mystical river, just as in the visions of Ezekiel and St. John, must not the other trees with which it was planted, good for food and pleasant to the sight, and the garden itself also, be regarded as a mystical representation of the ample provision for the happiness of man in his state of innocence—a provision of all things needful for life and godliness, for bodily welfare and for moral probation? This is not the less probable because there was more than one real country known by the name of Eden—a name significant of the delightsomeness of the regions so called, and therefore chosen to describe the imagined situation of Paradise, as the names of the four great rivers of the ancient world are adopted to express those which are represented as springing from the stream that watered it.1

¹ What Eusebius says of the Mosaic Paradise shows that he perceived the necessity

^{&#}x27; What Eusebius says of the Mosaic Paradise shows that he perceived the necessity of understanding the garden mystically:—

"On the Mosaic Paradise.—Moses having said in certain mystical words that at the beginning of the creation of the world, a certain paradise of God was formed, and that in it the man through the woman was deceived by the serpant, hear what Plato, himself also allegorizing, hath put in the Symposium, all but translating word for word, having called the paradise of God, the garden of Jupiter."

Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Μωσέα παραδείσου. Μωσέως κατά τινας ἀποβρήπους λόγους ἐν ἀρχῆ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου συστάσεως θεοῦ τινα παράδεισον γεγονέναι φάντος, κὰν τούτφ τρυ κύθρωπου ἀπατῶσθαι διὰ τῆς χυναικὸς ποὺς τοῦ ὁψεως, ἀντικους μογορουν) τὰ

τον άνθρωπον ήπατήσθαι διὰ τής γυναικός πρός τοῦ όφεως, ἄντικρυς μονονουχί τὰ ρηματα μεταποιήσας ὁ Πλατων ἐπάκουσον οῖα ἐν Συμποσίω καὶ αὐτός ἀλληγορών τέθεικεν, ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ παραδείσου τοῦ θεοῦ, κῆπον διὸς δνομάσας, κ.τ.λ.—Εναης. Præp. xii. p. 343, Ed. Steph.

[&]quot;Eden," as Bishop Newton, Dissertation ii., 'On the History of the Creation and the Fall of our First Parents,' observes, "as the very name signifies, was a pleasant country, but Paradise was the garden of Eden. It contained 'every tree that was pleasant to the sight and good for food,' together with 'the tree of life in the midst

The object at present being rather to point out the instances in this narrative that are clearly of an allegorical nature, leaving those that have seemingly a more historical character to be interpreted from their connexion with these, it may perhaps be thought that the extraction of the rib and the formation of a woman from it, as one of the less clearly allegorical particulars, might be passed over here. Only it is to be observed that the name which Adam gave to the woman, when she was brought to him, is the name of the sex and not of the individual whose proper name was Eve. "She shall be called woman" (אשה), "because she was taken out of man" (אישה). It was manifestly assigned to her, in like manner as he gave names to the several species that had been previously brought to him, on his perceiving that she, unlike the other creatures, partook of his own nature. This now at last is bone of his bones and flesh of his flesh. Yet this, as referring to the literal extraction of the rib and the formation of the woman of it, only applied to the individual, and had no more special applicability to her female descendants than to men derived from her. All alike, male and female, as made of one flesh by descent from her, might be said thus to have been bone of the first man's bones, and flesh of his flesh; but not the female in any special sense by reason of the extraction of the rib, except the one woman formed of it. Hence when it is presently after said, as a law for mankind at large, that a man should therefore "leave his father and his mother and cleave to his wife, and they shall be one flesh," the force of this conclusion, and the consequent unity of the man and his wife as one flesh, as an inference from the formation of the first woman of the extracted rib regarded as a historical fact, wholly fails. Only in a mystical and allegorical sense, what is related here of the first pair becomes a foundation for the

of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil;' that is, as I understand it, the man had there the means of living in all true enjoyments, and attaining to a happy immortality, but yet with a capacity of swerving from his duty and degenerating from good to evil."

unity of man and wife as one flesh in all time to come. I thas not escaped the notice of commentators that our Lord, referring to the primitive institution of marriage, as mentioned in St. Matt. xix., ascribes the words "For this cause" etc. to God and not to Adam, whose words they appear in Genesis. It has been supposed by some that our Lord spoke in this way, because Adam was at the time he said these words speaking by divine inspiration. There is nothing to warrant this supposition; but a legitimate conclusion from our Lord's manner of referring to the words ascribed to Adam is that our Lord regarded the document as divinely inspired, and that these words, as part of it, and as intended to express the mind of God on the subject to which they relate, are therefore called the words of God; and as, according to the literal representation, Adam could as yet have had no conception of the descent of mankind, and of the circumstances of society under which a man was to leave his father and mother that he might cleave to his wife, perhaps the ascription of the words to Adam in Genesis, and to God by our Lord, may be taken as an indication that our Lord viewed the narrative rather in the light of an inspired allegorical representation than of an historical statement. That the unity of flesh between a man and his wife, which it has been shown could not have been founded on the formation of the woman from the extracted rib, except in the one single instance, was yet regarded

¹ Cajetan says that he is compelled both by the text itself (ii. 21), and the context, to regard this production of the woman, not according to the sound of the letter, but in a mystical and parabolical sense. He argues, first, from the consideration that if the rib was actually extracted, Adam must either have been a monster before, or maimed and defective after the operation; secondly, from the absurdity of supposing that any other creature, as, for instance, a bird, could be imagined as by any possibility an help meet for man; and, thirdly, from the previous statement, that God made them male and female on the sixth day. Hence he concludes that it agrees alike with reason and the context, that this formation of the woman of the rib of the man took place non corporaliter sed secundum similitudinem. To the objection that the narrative is in the form of history, he replies that in like manner it is said in an historical form that the world was created in six natural days with evening and morning, while it is necessarily to be understood that the works of creation were not formed in six natural days of this kind; and again, that the punishment of the serpent is thus historically described, while it would be puerile to understand that in a corporeal sense. Hence he concludes that his view is not contrary to the sober sense of Scripture, just as the sober sense of Scripture, which represents God as searching for a mate for the man and not finding one, is that of a description by similitude.—Comment. in Gen.

by St. Paul as implying something more than mere unity of feeling, and of mutual interests and social relation, may be gathered from his ascribing this unity of flesh not only to the permanent and duly ratified union of wedlock, but also to irregular, casual, and merely carnal connexions, as in 1 Cor. vi. 16. The extract from Clement of Alexandria which is subjoined below shews that he understood the extraction of the rib and the consequent assertion, "This is now bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh," as significant of something very different from what is verbally expressed in the narrative.

VI. The representation of the tempter as a serpent may be considered as an unquestionable instance of an allegorical character.² Hengstenberg, indeed, relies on this taken in its

the causative Aphel, , is used in the sense of attraxit, as it were, caused to flow, in St. John xii. 32.

^{1 &}quot;Ανθρωπος γὰρ ἐξ ἀνθρώπου ἐκφύεταί τε, καὶ ἀποσπαταί. ὅρα τὸ μέγεθος τῆς βλάβης ὅλος ἄνθρωπος ἀποσπαται κατὰ συνουσίας ἀπουσίαν. φησὶ γὰρ, Τοῦτο νῦν ὀστοῦν ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων μου καὶ σὰρξ ἐκ τῆς σαρκός μου. τοσοῦτον ἄρα ὁ ἄνθρωπος κενοῦται τῷ σπέρματι, ὅσος ὁρᾶται τῷ σματι. ἀρχὴ γὰρ γενέσεως τὸ ἀπαλλαττόμενον. Clem. Alex. Pædag. II., p. 193, Ed. Sylburg. Cajetan's note may be here subjoined:—Quod autem subdit: Os ex ossibus meis, et caro de carne med, mulieris manifestat naturam simul et productionem. Mulier enim quælibet, cùm sit vir læsus, est os ex ossibus virilibus, et caro de carne virili, quantum ad productionem: intendit enim virile semen ad producendum virum; sed defectu interveniente, impotens facere virum ex integro, efficit virum læsum, hoc est, mulierem: et sic mulier est os ex ossibus virilibus intentis, et caro de carne virili intentâ. Apart from the speculation that mulier est vir læsus, it is true that "the woman is of the man," bone of his bones and flesh of his flesh, in the ordinary course of generation, and so a help meet for him, as distinguished from the other creatures amongst which was found none meet to be his consort. The Targum of Jerusalem, op. F. Tayleri, 1649, explains v. 18,—Faciam ei consortem quasi in eam exiisset. In thus explaining the word rendered "meet for him," 1712, the Targumist had probably in view the Chaldee 121, manavit, fluxit, as in Dan. vii. 10: "A fiery stream issued (72) and came forth from before him." This sense is perhaps also to be traced in the Syriae

² So Cajetan remarks on Gen. iii. 1., Tum communibus locutionibus sacræ Scripturæ, tum propriis textus hujus quadrat, serpentis nomine non propriè intelligere illud brutum, sed metaphoricè Diabolum. Eusebius, in like manner, speaking of this part of the Mosaic narrative, tells us that there is a wicked spirit lying in wait for every one, beguiling and hating what is good, that from the commencement plotted against the salvation of men. He says that Moses calls this demon by the name of dragon and serpent, being black and akin to darkness, full of poison and malice. And he adds that by his deceit the first parents of our race fell from the happier lot in which they had originally been placed. His words are, Πάρεστί τις ἐκάστω πονηρὸς δαίμων ἔφεδρος, βάσκανος και μισόκαλος, και τῆς ἀνθρώπων ἀρχῆθεν ἐπίβουλος σωτηρίας. Αράκοντα δὲ τοῦτον καὶ κοινολός, μέλανά τε καὶ σκότους οἰκεῖον, ἰοῦ τε καὶ κακίας πλήρην.—τούτου δὲ ἀπάτη καὶ τοῦς προπάτορας ἡμῶν τοῦ γένους τῆς θειστέρας λήξεως ἐκπεσεῖν. Præp. Evang. i. 10. It is evident Eusebius did not suppose that a real serpent was intended.

realistic acceptation, which he adopts conjointly with the supposition of a Satanic tempter using the instrumentality of a real serpent, as a proof of the purely historical character of the entire representation, by virtue of the unity of character which he rightly thinks pervades the whole. The notion of a natural serpent being the real tempter, which is what the narrative literally implies, may be dismissed at once, as utterly inconsistent with the nature of a serpent. And accordingly, the New Testament plainly intimates that, according to the view of its writers, the real tempter was the devil. Thus we read in Apoc. xx. 2, "That old serpent the devil and Satan." The supposition that Satan for the occasion merely assumed the appearance of a serpent is also utterly untenable. That the evil spirit ever had the power of assuming any material form is what there is no sufficient reason to suppose. Even our Lord's temptation, as related in the Gospels, does not necessitate such a supposition of the tempter having appeared in a material form, or spoken with audible sounds. In every temptation which extends beyond a sudden impulse, the pretexts in favour of the act, and the reasons against it, are realised in the mind of the person under temptation in the form of words—words which, as respects the arguments of evil, may in a manner of speaking be regarded as the words of the tempter. Such a subjective argument with the tempter, in our Lord's case, is sufficient to satisfy the Gospel narrative; and, as an example for us, it is more instructive when thus viewed, as the counterpart of our own temptations.1 At any rate, if any weight attaches at all to the letter of the narrative in Gen. iii., it cannot be regarded as merely denoting the assumption of a serpentine form by Satan for this occasion.

¹ And so, in regard to the temptation of Eve, Cajetan remarks,—Non fait igitur sermo vocalis, sed sermo internæ suggestionis, quo Diabolus serpcre venenosa cogitatione incepit. Et eodem sermonis genere universus iste dialogus inter serpentem et mulierem intelligendus est. Sunt autem sensus isti metaphoriei non solùm sobrii secundum sacram Scripturam; sed non parùm utiles Christianæ fedei professioni, præcipuè coram sapientibus mundi hujus: percipientes enim quod hæc non ut litera sonat, sed metaphorieè dieta intelligimus, ac credimus, non horrent hæc de costa Adami, et serpente, tanquam fabellas; sed venerantur mysteria, et facilius ea quæ sunt fidei conplectuntur.—Ubi supra.

The serpent as a species is first described, and at the end the penalty has reference, in its literal form, only to the serpent as a species also. The alternative therefore is, that the entire reference to the serpent is purely symbolical, or else that Satan not merely assumed a serpentine form, but actually possessed a real animal serpent, if the animal itself was not the tempter.

But now, in the first place, as already remarked, there is no ground whatever for supposing that the evil spirit has ever had the power of possessing at will any living creature he might choose to employ for his wicked purposes. Even the demons in the gospel history, whatever was the nature of that dispensation under which they possessed mankind, ordinary or extraordinary as it may be thought, had not the power of going into the swine without the divine permission. Whether this demoniacal possession was really a possession by separate spirits with personal characteristics, or some form of disease in regard to which our Lord spoke and acted in accordance with the popular conceptions that were prevalent, certain it is that there is nothing to connect this possession with the immediate agency of the devil, except the words of our Lord in reply to the charge that he cast out the demons by Beelzebub the prince of the demons. But our Lord's words on that occasion, "If Satan east out Satan,"-"if Satan be divided against himself," have too much the character of an argument ad hominem, to prove anything as to his own view of this matter. He denies, indeed, his own employment of the agency of the devil, but it is doubtful if, by casting out Satan, he meant more than the spiritual efficacy of our Lord's work and teaching to undo the Satanic evils of the world, of which the casting out of the demons may have been significant. Only in this way would Satan be divided against himself; for it is plain that, if it were in his power, he might co-operate in the ejection of evil spirits for his own wicked ends. Moreover, the serpent, if possessed by Satan, not having the organization for articulate speech, the speaking of the serpent, as well as his possession, was clearly a miraculous

performance. And it is scarcely conceivable that God would have allowed such miraculous power to the evil spirit for the express purpose of deceiving the yet innocent and inexperienced human couple; especially when, as is devoutly to be believed, it was God's design to authenticate his revelations to mankind by miraculous interpositions. And even if we suppose that the ignorance of the first pair should as yet have made them incapable of perceiving that the speech of the serpent was miraculous, it is still impossible to believe that, at the opening of a series of documents intended to be received as divine on the strength of miraculous evidences, the very first miracle recorded, after the order of nature was once established, should be a miracle wrought by the evil one for the purpose of deceiving and betraying to their ruin the yet innocent parents of the human race, and with them their descendants also.¹

¹ If the arguments drawn in the present day from the invariableness of the order of nature, against the belief in divine miracles, are not sufficient, as doubtless they are not to disprove the reality of such performances, it can, however, scarcely be believed that the author of nature would suffer those laws, the uniformity of which is the expression of his own veracity, to be disturbed for the deception of mankind. It is true there are powers in nature of which most men at particular times may have been ignorant, by which pretended miracles may have been wrought. Juggling, and natural magic, and the other artifices of thaumaturgy, at times had so strongly created a belief in their supernatural character, that it became needful to warn men against being led astray by such signs and wonders. That God should interpose to frustrate these natural means of producing deception, is as little to be expected as that he should interpose in an extraordinary manner to counteract any other kind of wickedness. And similarly it is not to be expected that the course of providence should be altered to hinder those occasional coincidences, by which dreams and oracular sayings have received a remarkable fulfilment,—cases not more frequent in reality than the laws of probability would warrant men to expect, but remembered for their marvellousness, while the immense number of failures are forgotten. The fact, therefore, that there may be seeming miracles in connexion with some form of deadly error, of course renders the moral character of the doctrine, and its purifying efficacy, a grand element in the evidence of its truth. At the same time true miracles can never be relied on as testimonies to facts and truths not naturally discoverable or demonstrable, if any act having the character of a true miracle may be performed in attestation of a falsehood, or for the purposes of man's deception, would render them useless as attestations of truth. For we could never be perfectly sure that in any particular case the miracle was intended

But next it is to be observed that, on this realistic supposition, it is plainly the subtlety of the animal serpent, and not of the true tempter, that is referred to, as qualifying him for the temptation, and is brought into play in its accomplishment. It is clearly as an animal species that the serpent is said to have been more subtle than any beast of the field that the Lord God had made, by reason of that natural craftiness which became proverbial, as in our Lord's words, "Be ye wise as serpents, and harmless as doves." Hengstenberg's notion, indeed, is that this mention of the serpent's subtlety proves the realistic and literal character and meaning of the representation. No doubt it proves that a natural serpent is what is literally spoken of, but it as clearly proves that this natural serpent is only the symbol of the real tempter. The serpent's subtlety is plainly mentioned as that by which the success of the temptation was compassed. Its mention, on any other supposition, is wholly unmeaning and beside the subject in hand. This leaves us no alternative, so far as this particular is concerned, but to suppose either that a real serpent was the tempter by means of his natural craft, or that the serpent and its subtelty stand merely as the symbols of the real tempter and his Satanic craft. The supposition of a late learned writer, Dr. Donaldson, in his work on the book of Jashar, that the nakedness, not the craft of the serpent, is intended by the word ערום, could only have been made with a view to sustain the peculiar view which that divine adopted in regard to the forbidden fruit. As far as the narrative itself explains or suggests its own meaning, the idea of nakedness is quite irrelevant, while there are abundant instances of the use of the word in the sense of crafty, an interpretation adopted by the LXX., who render it φρονιμώτατος, and by St. Paul, who says that the

however, it is to be observed that we contend that the document has in itself sufficient indications that it was not intended to be understood in the literal acceptation of the several particulars set forth in it. And this one of a serpent speaking, introduced as it is without any allusion to a spiritual tempter, and then the penalty inflicted on the serpent in its animal nature, are relied on as amongst the clearest indications that the literal acceptation was not intended.—See Note C., p. 248.

serpent deceived Eve ἐν τῆ πανουργία αὐτοῦ. It is true, a word similar in sound, ערומים, is used in the sentence next preceding in the sense of naked. But it will be seen hereafter that this play on sounds and double senses is a striking characteristic of the entire book. Hengstenberg relies also on the penalty inflicted on the tempter, "On thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life," as indicating a real serpent. So also does the reference to the serpent's treachery in biting the traveller's heel, and the difficulty of killing a serpent except by a wound on the head. But then these evidences of the reality of the serpent, as represented in the text, only show that, as respects the manner of representation, a natural serpent is really intended; but, except on the supposition that this serpent was itself the tempter, they show that the natural serpent is adopted only as the symbol of the real tempter. Otherwise the innocent animal receives all the punishment; the really guilty being, the true tempter, is not even remotely alluded to. And thus the evil spirit would have accomplished his malignant designs without a symptom of the divine reprobation, or the faintest intimation that his triumph should not always prevail to man's destruction. This would be the plain consequence of the literal acceptation of the narrative in this particular. It cannot be too strongly insisted on that such an acceptation leaves no alternative, but the incredible supposition that a natural serpent was, by some miraculous exercise of unwonted powers, the sole and conscious tempter. The notion, therefore, of a natural serpent having been actually employed in man's first temptation, as this narrative describes it, must be wholly abandoned. The natural serpent in the narrative stands as the symbol of the real tempter.1 Whatever be the nature of Satan's influence in

^{1 &}quot;That was in ancient times the symbol or hieroglyphic, whereby he was usually represented; and under that, therefore, well-known emblem, he is spoken of in Scripture history; the language is adapted to the character, and yet in such a manner as to show that a figurative rather than a real serpent was intended. How the serpent came to be made the symbol of the tempter, Moses intimates in saying, that 'the

man's ordinary temptations, the means by which he suggests evil to the mind, excites the desires, or offers pretexts for their unlawful gratification, the first temptation as here described required nothing more. There is no apparent reason to doubt that these might have produced the effects ascribed to the suggestions of the tempter in this narrative without any visible appearance or audible sounds. A person under temptation will, as already observed, clothe in words, at least mentally, the arguments which an evil casuistry invents or suggests. Hence those arguments are, in the symbolical representation of the fall, clothed in words, as if spoken by the symbolical tempter, though only suggested by the real one. These suggestions are similar to those with which men are familiar in all their ordinary temptations:—the withholding of some supposed advantage, or object of desire, is made the occasion of discontent; the threatened consequences of transgression will not follow; God envies us the enjoyment

serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field,' and Aristotle and other naturalists, as well as Moses, extol the subtlety and insidiousness of the serpent, naturalists, as well as Moses, extol the subtlety and insidiousness of the serpent, which was therefore a proper emblem of the tempter and deceiver of mankind."—Bishop Newton, in the Dissertation above referred to. The Bishop supposes that in this narrative "the language is extremely figurative, being taken from the ancient pictures and hieroglyphics, wherein these transactions were first recorded. These images and symbols passed into common discourse and became a part of the current language. It is evidently from them, as things well known and readily apprehended, that Moses copies his descriptions; he represents things in words just as they were represented in figures; his style is a kind of picture and should be understood and explained accordingly."

explained accordingly."

The remarks of Bishop Sherlock on this subject, may also be quoted with advantage. As regards those who, without being altogether infidels, "are shocked with the circumstances of this history," he says, "I desire them to consider, that the speculations arising from the history of the fall, and the introduction of natural and moral evil into the world, are of all others the most abstruse, and farthest removed out of our reach: that this difficulty led men in the earliest time to imagine two independent Principles of Good and Evil, a notion destructive of the sovereignty of God, the maintenance of which is the principal end and design of the Mosaic history. Had the history of man's fall plainly introduced an invisible evil being to confound the works of God, and to be the author of iniquity, it might have given great countenance to this error of two Principles: and since this difficulty might in a great measure be avoided, by having recourse to the common usage of the eastern countries, which was to clothe history in parables and similitudes, it seems not improbable that for this reason the history of the fall was put into the dress in which we now find it. The serpent was remarkable for an insidious cunning, and therefore stood as a proper emblem of a deceiver; and yet, being one of the lowest of God's creatures, the emblem gave no suspicion of any power concerned that might pretend to rival the Creator." The remarks of Bishop Sherlock on this subject, may also be quoted with advantage. gave no suspicion of any power concerned that might pretend to rival the Creator."

—The Use and Intent of Prophecy, Dis. iii. The absence of a personal devil from the subsequent Biblical writings until we reach those of the latest period, if the book of Job be referred to that period, is in full accordance with the Bishop's supposition.

of the wished-for gratification, whether of sense or of intellect. Then these suggestions fall in with the natural appetites and inclinations, just as the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise. There is nothing in all this to require a visible and audible tempter; it takes place in our own minds without one, often without an external personal tempter at all, as far as there are any means of judging in such a matter.

As regards the transgression itself, that which constituted the corpus delicti, what has already been said in disproof of the supposition that the tree of knowledge of good and evil was a real tree goes equally to disprove that the transgression consisted in partaking of the natural fruit of that supposed real and natural tree. On the supposition that the tree was mystical and allegorical, there is nothing in the account to throw any light on the particular offence which was of such terrible consequences to mankind at large. That there must have been some one first overt act of sin is of course evident. That such overt act did not constitute the whole, much less the commencement, of the transgression is also plain. There must have been some internal sin, some point at which natural appetite passed into that stage of its progress when, as St. James says, lust has conceived, and at which the sin thus conceived, though yet unborn into an overt act, was quickened into mental transgression. That point, lost in the mystery that envelopes every beginning of existence, mental or material, of thought or of act or of substance, was the real fall, and is better represented by the mystical symbol of the participation of forbidden fruit, than by an historical narrative that should only specify the overt act in words to be taken in their literal acceptation.1

¹ Here again we may quote Bishop Newton: "What was the particular nature of the sin of our first parents, it is not an easy matter to determine. 'Eating forbidden fruit,' is nothing more than a continuation of the same hieroglyphic characters, wherein the history of the fall was recorded before the use of letters. It was plainly the violation of a divine prohibition; it was indulging an unlawful appetite; it was

VII.—The manner in which God is represented as walking in the garden in the cool of the day, and as it were talking to himself aloud so that his voice is heard by the guilty pair, who in consequence try to shun his observation and to hide themselves from his visible presence, has already been noticed as an instance of the divine anthropism which pervades the whole passage and forms a strong proof of its allegorical character. The sentences of condemnation pronounced on the offenders, therefore, next claim attention. And first, as regards the serpent1 and the condemnation of it to go upon the belly and to feed upon dust, this having respect only to the animal serpent, as such, and not at all to the real and guilty tempter, has just now been insisted on as an evidence of the symbolical character of the serpent as it appears in this narrative. It is further to be noted here, that such a change of habits as is implied in this sentence of condemnation would require a change of organization amounting to a virtual transmutation of species, and, so far as the name denotes the nature and is significant of the species, what would be properly called a serpent after such a transmutation would not have been a serpent at all before it. Nor would such a transformation, however it might be regarded by an intelligent observer as a degradation of nature, be to the animal itself any punishment whatever. All sentient creatures have their happiness in the habits for which they are formed and

aspiring after forbidden knowledge, and pretending to be wise above their condition. So much may be safely asserted in general; we bewilder and lose ourselves in search

Dissertation quoted already.

Justly, therefore, Cajetan remarks that it would be puerile to understand this corporeally. Puerile esse constat intelligere illam (sc. pœnam) corporaliter ut sonat.

—Comment. in Gen.

¹ While St. Augustine supposes that a real serpent was used as an instrument by

¹ While St. Augustine supposes that a real serpent was used as an instrument by the devil, he regards the entire sentence pronounced on the serpent as figurative: Tota ista sententia figurata est. Quod serpenti dicitur, et ad eum qui per serpentem operatus est utique refertur, procul dubio figuratum est.—De Gen. ad Lit. XI. xxxvi. 49.

"The sentence upon the serpent is no more to be understood of a real serpent than the same figure employed by Isaiah (lxv. 25), when, speaking of the triumphs of the Gospel, he saith, 'that dust shall be the serpent's meat.' It is to be understood in the same manner as when the prophet Micah (vi. 17), saith of the enemies of the Lord, that 'they shall lick the dust like a serpent.'"—Bishop Newton, in the Dissertation quoted already.

adapted by their nature, and a change of nature, which would necessitate a change of habits, would make the new and altered habits essential to the comfort of the creature, instead of a punishment to it. All creatures, too, but men, seem perfectly contented with the condition in which they exist, with habits and in circumstances perfectly adapted to their nature. It requires a degree of intelligence beyond that which is possessed by the brute animals—a power of comparing one condition and state of existence with another, and of estimating the real or supposed advantages of each—to be capable of feeling such a change from one state to another, as would still imply an adaptation of nature and habits and circumstances, to be a degradation or punishment. Moreover, the enmity which was to be established between the serpent and its seed and the woman and her seed, as here described, is a natural antipathy, grounded on the nature of the creature, and is not confined to the case of the serpent, or greater in its case than in that of any equally pernicious animal. The wounding of the heel and the crushing of the head are also founded in the nature of the animal, in its crawling and treacherous habits and the difficulty of inflicting a mortal wound except on its head. All this, as in its literal import it merely relates to the animal and leaves the real tempter out of view altogether, must for that reason be regarded as quite symbolical. The grovelling motion of the scrpent and the consequent mingling of dust with all its food are significant in a high degree of the grovelling and debasing nature of sin, and of the filthy and unsatisfying gratifications which it ministers, especially of the sin which designedly betrays the innocent into transgression. The conflict predicted between the serpent's and the woman's seed well describes the perpetual conflict between mankind and the principles of evil-a conflict that was to culminate and find its triumph in One who should be in a preeminent sense the woman's seed. And though this, as we now understand it, is a literal fulfilment of the prediction in that particular of special derivation from the woman,

the serpent and its seed are still figurative. It is only the mystery of Christ's incarnation that enables us to see in the words anything beyond the seed of the woman as naturally begotten in successive generations, however, as time rolled on, and the conflict was still waged without any decisive victory, the thoughtful might have been led to anticipate some particular person as the promised seed rendered more definite by subsequent predictions. And though in the fulfilling of this there was a realising of the words in their strictest and most literal significance, according to the Christian doctrine of the incarnation, yet even here the general allegorical character of the representation holds good in the most decided form. It is in accordance with the general nature of the entire piece that the persons, divine and human, that are introduced should be real persons, and yet that the acts and words attributed to them should be mystical and symbolical. As God, the man and the woman, so in like manner the woman's seed, whether the expression denote mankind in general or Christ in particular, was to be real and historical. Still the wounding of the heel of the woman's seed, and the bruising of the serpent's head are under any circumstances purely symbolical, as all must admit.

The sentence pronounced on the woman seems, no less, to describe circumstances pertaining to her natural condition as woman, rather than any directly penal consequences of her trans-

The only person that does not appear under his proper designation is the tempter. One can scarcely help connecting this with the absence of any other reference to the evil spirit in the early books of the Holy Scripture, as remarked in a former note. May not the veiling of the tempter, under the symbol of the serpent in this place, and the abstinence from any further reference to him, have proceeded, as Bishop Sherlock suggests, from an apprehension lest, in the state of religious development then existing amongst the children of Israel their superstitious and idolatrous tendencies might have led them to render him religious worship? The dualism, which in later times effloresced in the Gnostic and Manichæan heresics, had its root in the Eastern mind from a very remote antiquity. The idolatrous tendencies of the Jews were passing away when the notion of the devil or Satan was developed amongst them in later times. Of course this remark implies the late composition of the book of Job. But the fact that as a very early production it would stand singularly distinguished by the representation of a personal evil being under the designation of Ha-Satan, the adversary, may justly be regarded as strongly confirming the later origin of that book, now generally admitted by Biblical critics. In the absence of any belief of a personal evil spirit, the symbolical character of the representation and the subjective nature of the temptation would be readily perceived by intelligent readers.

IX. x. 18.

gression. In the words "I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception," if the conception is to be taken as distinguished from the pains consequent on it, its multiplication is certainly no punishment; it is only the carrying out of the original blessing, "Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth," and apart from the attendant sorrows, and even in spite of them, it is the joy of a woman. But even if the words be taken to denote only the sorrows of conception according to a customary manner of speaking, the increase of these seems to imply that they would have had some existence even if the fall had not taken place; and an argument may thus be derived even from the very words of the sentence against the notion of St. Augustine that, if the fall had not taken place, there would have been generation without passion, and parturition without pain. Doubtless, while the inferior animals do not bring forth without pain, it seems to be much greater in the case of women. This, however, seems to be the natural result of their finer and more delicate organization; and as this is increased by the refinements and artificial habits of civilised life, the effect is doubtless greater in that state than in the savage and uncivilised, or in the simpler habits of man's primitive innocence. And as the vices and follies of mankind have had a large share in deteriorating the human constitution through long succeeding generations, much of the ills to which the sentence on the woman refers may doubtless be the natural result of the fall. There are also anxieties and mental pains, which even in the moment of a woman's joy that a man is born into the world impair a mother's happiness,anxieties and sorrows occasioned by the forebodings of evil for her offspring in this sinful world, which are exemplified in the name Abel, by which Eve is represented as calling her secondborn son. But independently of these sorrows, the natural pains of child-birth seem, in accordance with the analogy of other viviparous animals, to belong to the human race also by its original physical constitution; and these are the sorrows ! Ut neque cum ardore seminaretur, neque cum dolore parerctur. De Gen. ad Lit.,

which seem specially intended in the purely physical part of the sentence. And then, in the less physical part of the sentence, the direction of the woman's desire towards that of the man, and the husband's dominion over the wife, seem proper to the natural and innocent state no less than to the fallen condition of mankind. The sexual impulses of the woman have in them more of the moral and less of the physical than in the case of the man, and the foundation of all purity in woman seems to be that her desire is rather to gratify the man than herself, and herself only in that way. And when in any instance the case is otherwise, the individual is of a lower and degraded type. So far therefore as the sentence refers to such impulses, it rather denotes the purer and finer, than the grosser and less pure, manifestations of this part of a woman's nature. The general subjection of the wife to the husband, and the prevalence of his will over her's, seems necessary to the happiness of the married state, irrespectively altogether of the fall. It was implied in the original design of the woman's formation as expressed in the previous part of the narrative, namely, that she should be an help meet for the man. When two persons naturally possessed of independence are united in such a relation as that of wedlock, one must of necessity have the right to prevail over the other; and the more morally perfect such a couple might be, the more completely would such a relation as that which is expressed in the sentence on the woman have been realised. And accordingly, in reference to this whole sentence, St. Augustine, who yet leans much to the realistic acceptation of the narrative in this as in other particulars, observes that it seems more conveniently to be understood figuratively; and in reference to the latter part of it, that it cannot be believed that even in the unfallen state the woman was otherwise constituted than that the man should rule over her, and she should serve him.2 But then, ac-

¹ Et mulieri dizit, multiplicans et cetera. Hæc quoque in mulierem Dei verba, figuratè ac propheticè multo commodius intelliguntur. De Gen. ad Lit. XI. xxxvii. 50.

² Neque enim et ante peccatum aliter factam fuisse decet credere mulierem, nisi ut

cording to the general character of this narrative, things natural and material stand as the types and symbols of what is moral and spiritual. And these natural conditions of the woman are the fitting symbols of that moral defect produced by transgression, and of its consequences, whereby what would else have been accepted and acquiesced in, as being the necessary conditions of her state and place in the economy of human nature, have become a real punishment through the discontent, the perverseness of will, and the rebelliousness of spirit which have by the fall been engendered in mankind. The entire economy of man's increase on the earth has thus become the occasion of the worst ills of life, ills in which it may safely be said woman has been the greatest sufferer as being the weaker vessel. What are the mere natural sorrows of her conception thus become the type of unspeakable woes, of which this economy has by sin become the occasion to her. The natural rule of her husband is suggestive of the dreadful tyranny which man has too often exercised over her, both in wedlock and out of it, while the reluctance to submit to it, which is part of the rebellious spirit that sin has introduced into the world, has been to herself the occasion of the greatest misery.

It is in this point of view also that the sentence on the man must be regarded. The curse of the ground for man's sake has its real existence in man's own fallen nature. The thorns and thistles it should bring forth for his punishment are natural productions, as good in their kind as the fruits on which man lives, useful as affording the natural food of other creatures, and in general filling a place in the economy of nature. Even in Eden there was need of counteracting by labour the spontaneous

vir ei dominaretur, et ad eum ipsa serviendo converteretur. *Ubi supra*, The service to be rendered by the woman in her innocence he compares with that recommended by St. Paul, Gal. v. 13, "By love serve one another;" that denounced by the sentence, to the servitude into which some men were brought to others as a penal consequence of sin. But then it will be perceived that this difference arises not from a change in the nature of the relation, but from a change in the moral state of the persons themselves.

Hence St. Augustine suggests that it is said, not simply pariet, but pariet tibi. He supposes that thorns and thistles existed before the fall, that they were useful as affording food to birds and beasts, and might have had uses for mankind also; but that they became a trouble to man after the fall, when he began to labour in cultivat-

growth of such natural productions as would else have been to the detriment of cultivated fruits. The man was placed in the garden to dress and to keep it. This manner of representing man's primitive state plainly implies that the ground naturally produces its fruits irrespectively of their use to man, who must use care to obtain such as are beneficial to himself, that a state of idleness was never contemplated, and that the toil, which in the sentence is presented as a penalty, was really a needful good in man's innocent as well as in his guilty state. Dislike to labour in due moderation is itself a sinful consequence of the fall; and the natural reluctance to excessive labour makes the necessity of it, which a state of society that is partly the result of sin has produced, a real punishment. The inequality in the amount of labour each has to perform, the differences in its kind, the discontent that each feels with the irksomeness of his own work, of which he is sensible, as compared with that of others, which he does not feel and therefore does not think as great as that of his own labour, the difficulty so many find by the utmost labour to maintain their existence in a selfish and rapacious world,-all these and many other effects of human sin have made the labour that would have been man's happiness in his innocence, and so often is his happiness now too in many ways, and at any rate conduces to or is necessary for his welfare, to be at the same time felt as a punishment, and actually to be so in many instances and in some respects. Still it is in man himself that the curse exists, and not in the labour, nor in the thorns and thistles which the ground brings forth and which make the labour necessary, nor in the ground itself, the naturally barren soil of which becomes fruitful by labour, while the fruitful soil becomes profitless for want of it. Doubtless there were barren places that labour might clothe with verdure, and there

ing the ground. Non quòd aliis in locis hæc antea nascerentur, et pòst in agris quos homo ad capiendas fruges coleret; sed et prius et postea in iisdem locis; prius tamen non homini, pòst autem homini, ut hoc significatur quod additum est, tibi: quia non est dictum, Spinas et tribulos pariet, sed pariet tibi; id est ut tibi jam ista nasci incipiant ad laborem, quæ ad pastum tantummodo aliis animalibus antea nascebantur. De Gen. ad Lit. III. xviii. 28.

was luxuriant vegetation that needed to be checked by labour, before the fall as after it. The labour of head and hand, which is able to effect so much in spite of all the obstacles to its beneficial exercise which sin has raised, would have had its blessed functions in an innocent world, as it has in a guilty one also, though in the latter man's sin has made it to be felt as a curse. In general it may be said that beings created with appetites and wants must of necessity incur some measure of trouble, if not of toil, that their wants may be satisfied and their desires fulfilled. All creatures not absolutely perfect and infinite must have defects, and at times find themselves in circumstances of inconvenience and disadvantage. Physical evil is therefore in some degree the necessary condition of existence in an imperfect state. Such a state must, to a being possessed of a moral nature, be the occasion of a moral probation, and impose the obligation of self-control, the denial of inclinations and propensions, and a cheerful submission to the necessary conditions of such an imperfect state of existence. There is nothing penal in its unavoidable ills, so long as the moral character remains unimpaired; once that has undergone a depravation, those ills become themselves the punishment of the sinful dispositions that rise up in opposition to them, while the indulgence in such dispositions has a baneful effect in their multiplication and the aggravation of their irksomeness. Even the last particular of the sentence on guilty man, his return to the dust from whence he was taken, is a natural condition of all animal existence. The observation of death in the inferior animals, coupled with the knowledge that man has himself a like animal nature, and with the instinct of self-preservation of which he is also conscious, would lead even innocent man to anticipate for himself at some time the dissolution of his mortal frame. However that might have been warded off by a special dispensation of providence, or in whatever way it might be deprived of its most repulsive physical characteristics, the removal of the older generations of men, as men would in course of time multiply and require room beyond

what the limits of this earth would afford, would independently of the fall have necessitated some kind of euthanasia or other means of withdrawal from this world.\(^1\) Even if that were to be strictly speaking death, it would in such case have wanted that sting of death which is sin, and which is what makes it so terrible a punishment to guilty men. It is not simply death, such as might be the peaceful transition of the innocent to a more perfect state, that is the real penalty in this sentence, but death with the unseen terrors of future retribution looming in the view of a guilty conscience. Whatever may be thought of the preservation of unfallen man from death in its present manner of dissolution and corruption, at any rate, in the sentence pronounced after the fall, as represented in this narrative, that which constitutes the chief part of the penalty, the future retribution and the sting which the apprehension of that future retribution gives to death in the case of the guilty, is wholly left out of view. It is true this omission is characteristic of the Old Testament generally, and in particular of the Mosaic part. Still not the less does physical death, in accordance with the symbolical character which pervades this entire passage, represent that which is the more terrible part, the real punishment. Even to fallen men, though they have through their lifetime been subject to bondage in fear of death, yet by the hope of a blessed immortality it is robbed of its terrors, and they can say with the Apostle, "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?" Death to innocent man, as the peaceful transition to a happier state, would certainly

¹ Donec post vitam bene gestam in melius mutari mererentur.—St. Augustin, De Gen. ad Lit., XI. xxviii. 50. Potuerunt homines genitis filiis, perfectâque humani officii justitiâ, hine ad meliora transferri, non per mortem, sed per aliquam commutationem.—IX. vi. 10. On the whole sentence inflicted on the man, the note of Cajetan may be here subjoined with advantage: Adverte prudens lector quòd quemadmodum mors, que snâpte naturâ consequebatur hominem, pœna est propter ademptum beneficinm ex peccato, ita impedimenta spinarum, dolores, sudores, ac labores inter pænas supputantur propter beneficium divinum præservativum hominis ab istis ademptum ex eodem peccato. Ita quòd non est mutata conditio terræ: sed est mutata conditio hominis ex statu privilegiato in sunm naturalem statum. This status privilegiatus, however, may have consisted only in his own virtue and the general blessing of God attendant on it. ['"And death by sin," that is, death which at first was the condition of Nature, became a punishment upon that account: just as it was to the serpent to creep upon his belly, and to the woman to be subject to her husband. These things were so before, and would have been so. But it had not been a curse.—Bp. Taylor. Unum Necessarium, ch. vi. sect. i. 7.]

have had no penal character, and would have been regarded only as one of the unavoidable ills of an earthly state, to be undergone with submission, preparatory to his entrance on the heavenly state clothed in the spiritual as distinguished from the natural And accordingly, St. Paul in contrasting the first Adam by whom death came with the second Adam by whom comes the resurrection of the dead, seems to refer the mortality of the first, not to the fall as the penal consequence of it, but to the original formation of man as of the earth earthy, and as made a living or natural soul by God breathing into him the breath of life. And at the close, when he speaks of the Christian's triumph over death, he intimates that it is not over death as a natural condition that this triumph is obtained, but over death as deriving a sting from sin which but for sin it would not have. This it is which converts a natural condition of our earthly existence into a penal infliction, and makes bodily death the fitting symbol of the retribution of man's transgression, of that second death which is the sequel of bodily death to the impenitent.

And then in connexion with this sentence of man's return to the dust from whence he was taken stands the concluding particular in the narrative, his exclusion from access to the tree of life which, as has been shown, symbolized the gift of eternal life to the innocent, but from which he is prohibited by the Cherubim and the flaming sword, that were placed to keep the way of the tree of life, lest the man should put forth his hand and take of it and eat and live for ever. Thus is well represented man's final exclusion from eternal life, as far as his own ability and the religion of nature could enable him to obtain it, and the barrier which the divine condemnation on the one hand, and a guilty conscience on the other, have raised between sinful man and his offended Maker.

VIII. This whole narrative has now been reviewed at length, its peculiarities have been noticed, and it has been found that a very large proportion must needs be taken in a mystical or allegorical sense. The tentative and suppletory character of the

order and progress of creation, as here represented, is so plainly conformed to the manner of human operations, and so unlike what we conceive must be the absolute nature of the divine operations, that of itself it might suggest to us the probability that a mystical representation was intended. The divine anthropism that has been shown to prevail also in other particulars tends to the same conclusion. This, at any rate, cannot be taken in its downright literal acceptation, but must be regarded as a manner of representation widely differing from the reality it symbolizes. And then it has been found that each particular of the narrative is presented in the same historical form, while a large proportion of the particulars thus indicated can only be regarded as mystical representations of facts that must have been far different as actual events, though truly such as here represented in their moral aspect. These particulars of allegorical import being thus blended indiscriminately in the same historical form with others, the mystical character of which is equally possible, though not so necessary when they are viewed by themselves, the natural conclusion is that these latter, as well as the others, are alike mystical. And thus the whole narrative is to be regarded as a parabolical representation, setting forth under a veil certain important facts, and inculcating great moral principles, which when thus presented, are more likely to impress the minds for which this account was more immediately intended, than if those principles were set forth in their naked abstract form. There is a stage in the progress of the human mind at which everything must be presented in this concrete form. Children must have tales and fables to impress a moral on their minds with practical conviction. The oriental mind seems in some important respects to have never advanced beyond this stage. Hence arose the prevalence of apologue and parable and mystical representation in the entire literature of the East. This method of conveying instruction was adopted by the prophetic teachers of the Old Testament, and was stamped with a still more immediate divine sanction by the practice of our

blessed Lord himself. And there is this important difference between a literal narrative of historical facts and a mystical representation in an historical form, that the former cannot be logically generalised, while the latter being designed to exemplify general truths, which are embodied in a particular concrete form, the arrival at the implied generalities is that to which the narrative was itself intended to lead. The concrete form suits the weaker apprehension of the more simple stages of human intelligence. The air of ideality which the narrative, with all its historical aspect, still bears about it naturally suggests that something more is meant than meets the eye or reaches the ear; the mind is thus drawn into an effort to penetrate the veil, and the truth, when once attained, impresses the mind more forcibly by means of the effort that was necessary to reach it. The necessity of the same effort becomes to the thoughtless the occasion of their missing the designed instruction, and thus their thoughtlessness is punished by the very form in which the truth is presented, while the thoughtful are by the same means rewarded. Hence our Lord said to the disciples, "Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God, but to others in parables, that seeing they may not see, and hearing they may not understand." And so as regards the narrative contained in the second and third chapters of Genesis, everything of practical importance which would be taught by it, if viewed as a downright historical account of events as they actually happened, may perhaps be regarded as more effectually conveyed by it, when considered as a parabolical representation. It sets forth no less strikingly, and with greater generality, the happiness of man in his state of innocence, and the fact that that happiness was dependent on the conduct of man, as even in his innocence placed in a state of probation. In the literal narrative these things are represented in a more physical and material form, while the mystical acceptation introduces the reader to the spiritual realities thus shadowed forth. With special reference to prevailing vices, the fitting conditions of the marriage union are

represented, and the permanency and purity of the tie inculcated. Then the nature and sources of temptation in general are strikingly exhibited, and the special weakness of woman when exposed to it, with the peril that arises when she becomes a tempter to man. These are presented with a wider generality by the story viewed as a mystical adumbration, than as a statement of what actually took place in one particular instance; though doubtless what is thus common to all temptations virtually took place in the instance of the first. The tremendous fact of the fall of man from his first innocence is no less clearly presented in the one form than in the other, while the consequences of that event in turning even the common conditions of humanity, and the natural circumstances of the earthly state of man's existence, into a curse, are no less strikingly manifested, and with a wider generality. The constant strife that man should ever maintain with the principles of evil and the authors of it, the conflict between the law of the mind and the law in the members warring against it, the partial success of evil, and the final triumph of good over the powers of darkness, through what seems with special significance to be designated as the woman's seed, stand out with equal distinctness, as if the particulars of the statement were to be taken in their historical literality as here described. And far more instructive and of more general significance is the mystical import of the Cherubim with the flaming sword which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life against the offenders expelled from Paradise, as representing the loss of that eternal life which was to reward man's unsinning obedience,—the sword of divine justice uplifted against him, prohibiting the hope of regaining for himself the lost inheritance,—that sword which, sharper than any two-edged sword of man's making, pierces to the dividing asunder the soul and spirit, is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart, probes the conscience and

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¹ This figure in the Epistle to the Hebrews of a two-edged sword piercing to the dividing asunder the soul and spirit, and discerning the thoughts and intents of the

rankles in it with the torments of remorse; far more instructive is all this than the mere local expulsion of a guilty pair from an earthly garden, and the hindrance of their return to it even by the flaming sword of visible Cherubim, according to the literal representation of this narrative. Though the historical reality of the commencement of human sin in the first actual transgression, and of its fatal consequences, underlies this representation, yet the ideality of the manner of representation makes it no less applicable to the case of all temptation issuing in sin, at all times and under all circumstances, and to the consequences and effects of such transgression in general.

Such a mode of representation, which, as has now been shown, will serve for its religious uses in all respects equally well as, and in some respects even better than a purely historical statement of literal facts, is free from many difficulties which have made this narrative, on the supposition that it should be understood in the latter sense, a stumbling block to the sceptical, and an occasion of ridicule to scoffers. And it is not those particulars which at first sight might be thought encumbered with the greatest difficulty that chiefly have had this effect. Such as bear more immediately on the face of them the marks of allegory and symbolical representation afford less scruple for this very reason, as they are more readily perceived to be such, and are consequently taken at once in their true acceptation. It is the particulars which are more capable, as considered in themselves, of being regarded as historical in their literal acceptation that create the chief difficulty. Some of these particulars, which, taken allegorically, stand in accordance with the nature of all symbolism as the fitting representations of what is concealed under the veil of a simple naturalism, have a childish

heart, seems to be employed with a manifest allusion to the flaming sword that turned every way to keep the way of the tree of life. If the writer had this in his view, the allusion is another instance of mystical import recognised in the New Testament as pertaining to the representations in which the circumstances of man's creation and fall are presented in this narrative of the book of Genesis, such as those already noticed in the case of the river of Paradise and the tree of life and the tree of knowledge of good and evil.

air about them as historical realities, and would seem even ludicrous in any document not invested in our conceptions with a sacred character. The making the destiny of the world to depend on the eating of an apple, as it is commonly said; the effort to find amongst the inferior animals an help meet for man; the extraction of the rib for the formation of the woman; the sewing of the fig leaves by the man and the woman to make themselves aprons, together with the stress laid on the absence of shame in their previous state of nakedness, and the subsequent provision of garments by God himself; the hearing of the voice of God walking in the garden in the cool of the day, and the hiding amongst the trees for shame of their nakedness; these particulars, let it be said with reverence, would seem simply ludicrous and silly, if presented to us as things to be literally understood in any production not supposed to be sacred, and could scarcely fail to produce a similar impression if now read for the first time even in a document believed to be of divine authority.1 Our familiarity with them in childhood, when their childishness as matters of historical fact did not of course attract the notice of our childish apprehension, the subsequent retaining of the sentiments of our childhood, and the unbroken reverence with which we have ever since regarded this sacred document, have saved these particulars from being viewed in such an unpleasant light by men of devout and religious minds; and even with those who are not religious, this early habit has largely prevailed to the same effect. With the profane and the sceptical they are doubtless either an occasion of ridicule or an obstacle to faith. No less difficulty is presented by some of the other particulars

^{1 &}quot;Magna vis est consuctudinis et præconceptæ opinionis, in animos humanos. Hos breves commentarios aut historiolas de hominum rerumque primordiis, ex ore Mosis sine examine, sine morâ, accipimus et amplectimur. Apnd alium verò si eandem doctrinam legissemus, pnta apud Philosophum Græcum, apud Doctorem Rabbinicum, aut Mahometanum, hæsisset animus in unâquâque periodo, dubiis et objectiunculis plenus. Hoc discrimen oritur non ex naturâ rei aut materiæ subjectæ, sed ab opinione nostrâ de fide et authoritate scriptoris, utpote divinitus inspirati. Hoc libenter agnoscimus, nec dubitatur hoc loco de authoritate scriptoris, sed quo animo, quo consilio hæc scripserit, quo genere styli usus fuerit."—Dr. Thomas Burnet, Archæologiæ Philosophicæ, Lib. II., ch. vii., p. 385.

of the history, which are not liable to be regarded in a ludicrous point of view. The rivers of Paradise proceeding from one source; the preservation of life for ever by the natural fruit of a tree; the speaking of a serpent as if quite naturally, and, if regarded as a miraculous effect, its occurrence and use for the purpose of man's deception and eternal ruin; the punishment of the serpent as if it were the real and only tempter, and that punishment only what must have been the natural condition of the animal already; the motive with which God resents the acquisition by man of the knowledge of good and evil, and by which he is influenced in hindering his acquisition of immortality, namely, a jealousy of man's approaching too near to himself in the enjoyment of privileges, which, in the exclusive possession of them, he strives to retain to himself; all these particulars on a system of literal and realistic interpretation present serious difficulties, which would weigh strongly with many minds. The effect of such a manner of interpretation in regard to such minds would either be the exclusion of this portion from the sacred canon, or else the weakening of their reverence for the whole, of which this is regarded as an integral part. Only the symbolical acceptation of the entire can consistently and effectually free it from these difficulties. And just in proportion as it has been shown that a large part was plainly intended to be thus understood, while unity of character apparently pervades the whole, and sound principles of interpretation demand uniformity in the manner of explanation throughout, does this symbolical acceptation claim to be admitted as the only and true explanation, with a force that carries conviction, and clears the document from all the objections to which it is otherwise liable.

IX. Against the mystical and symbolical manner of explanation of this narrative which has been just advocated, Hengstenberg sums up a series of general objections, which can be met with more advantage now that the several particulars which tend to prove that this is the character of the entire document

have been considered in detail. It will be perceived that the improbability, such as it may be, which these general objections create, can have no weight against a sufficient proof that any one particular is mystical in its signification. And if there be any such, as plainly there are, their effect, so far as it might weigh in regard to others which are capable of being literally explained, would only be to show that, if these be thus understood, the passage taken as a whole is a piebald and inconsequent jumble of literal and symbolical representations. How little the arguments relied on tend to create such an impression as to the nature of the document will appear from a brief consideration of them. The following are the objections, as summed up by Hengstenberg, Christologie, Th. i., Abth. i. p. 26:—"To the allegorical interpretation of the entire passage there are many objections. connexion with the sequel, in which the history of the same human pair, that is here treated of, is carried on—the exact geographical representation of Paradise—the fact that the condition of mankind, which in this passage is announced as a punishment, is real—the want of any mark which might indicate that the author meant to give an allegory and not a historythe passages of the New Testament in which the history of the fall is taken as actual history (comp. 2 Cor. xi. 3, 1 Tim. ii. 13, 14, Rom. v. 12)—the embarrassment, uncertainty, and arbitrariness of allegorical interpreters, when they would point out the truth that lies at the foundation, which yet, in case the author designed an allegory, should present itself so distinctly that it could not be missed."

1. The first of these objections is the connexion with the sequel, in which the history of the same human pair is carried on. But it is to be observed in the first place, that this objection is founded on the assumption of an uninterrupted continuity of composition with the sequel; and as the same human pair are likewise presented to us in the preliminary narrative of the first chapter, identified by the name Adam, this continuity must be carried back to it as well as forward to

the sequel. Against such an assumption are the strong grounds already shown for separating this narrative, at least as regards continuity of composition, from the preceding narrative of the creation, such as the inconsistency of the two accounts taken as a literal history of the order and manner of creation, and the remarkable difference of usage as respects the name of the Creator in each, this latter being an equally strong reason for separating this document from the sequel. These reasons have had sufficient weight with a numerous and able body of critics to form the basis of an hypothesis of different authorship. Though they may seem far short of proving different authorship, they strongly make against the supposition of an uninterrupted continuity of narration. But, in the second place, the symbolical and mystical explanation of the narrative has reference to the facts relating to the human pair represented in this allegorical form, not to the human pair themselves. It is not supposed that these are an allegorieal couple, but the same actual pair as in the subsequent parts of the history; only this document, complete and distinct in itself, represents real facts in the history of this couple in a symbolical form, whatever be the manner of representation adopted in the sequel.

2. The second objection is derived from the exact geographical description of the situation of Paradise. This, so far from being an objection to the mystical explanation, forms, under the circumstances, a very striking evidence in its favour. If, indeed, there existed any four such rivers as are described, including in their number the Euphrates and Tigris, arising at one common source and divided from one parent stream, then indeed it might be supposed the writer intended to indicate, as the actual situation of the garden, the region watered by that as yet undivided stream. But when the fact is that no such parent stream has any existence, none even from which the two rivers designated by well-known names could have proceeded, while the others, though now doubtfully recognised by the names under which they appear in the narrative, were evidently equally well known

in the writer's day and amongst his people, being probably the Nile and one of the great rivers of India, but at any rate wholly unconnected with the other two, it is evident that it can only be by some poetical fiction, or with a view to some merely allegorical and mystical representation, that the writer has imagined such a situation for his primeval garden, and fixed the site with such apparent geographical exactness, but with such a real inconsistency with facts as must wholly withdraw the situation of Paradise from the sphere of geographical reality.1

3. The third objection is drawn from the fact that the condition of mankind which constitutes the penalty is real. But if, as has been shown, there are strong reasons for thinking that this was the real and natural condition of mankind prior to and independently of all transgression, and if it became the penal consequence of transgression only by the moral change which took place thereby in man himself, causing that this natural condition, including the necessity of labour and mortality itself under

in this way, but the opinion itself is an instance of the extremities to which those who look for a literal interpretation of this passage are driven by the difficulties which beset them. The word edh or eidh is good Hebrew and Arabic for a vapour, which beset them. The word edh or eidh is good Hebrew and Arabic for a vapour, and it is unwarrantable to resort to a different, and not even a cognate, language, for a signification more suitable to a theory than the proper Hebrew sense of the word. The identification of Eden (אַרָּוֹן) with אָשִׁיר אָשִׁי, than which no words could be more radically different, is also quite arbitrary. Moreover Eden has a good Hebrew signification, expressing the delightsomeness of the place, and is frequently used by the prophets to denote the garden itself, besides being also applied to more than one real place. The notion of a garden being watered by the salt tide of the sea, or even the brackish water of an estuary, is quite absurd.

¹ The author has had sent him a slip from an Indian newspaper, giving the subjoined explanation of the river of Paradise as contained in a forthcoming work by Mr. C. A. Rassam, British Vice-Consul at Mosul:—"Taking the word eidh in the original of Gen. ii. 6, to be Persian, signifying a flood, or flood-tide, and not a mist, he renders the passage, 'The flood-tide rose above the ground, and irrigated all the surface of the land.' By making 'eidhen (Eden) synonymous with eidh, in spite of the difference in the radicals, for which, however, an ingenious explanation is given—he abolishes our 'Eden' altogether. Gen. ii. 8 he reads as follows:—'And the Lord planted a garden by the tide [of the river] eastwardly,' or on the east side, and supports this rendering by v. 10 of the same chapter, which he translates, 'And a stream [or current] proceeded from the flood-tide to water the garden, and from thence it supplied four beads,' viz., Pison, Gihon, Hiddekel, and Parath, severally identified by the critic with the Karoon, the Sowaib or Howeiza, the Tigris and the Euphrates. In support of this exegesis, he adduces the fact that the same phenomenon exists at the present day; for when the tide from the Persian Gulf flows into the Shattool-Arab—the confluence of the united streams—the water rises in the four above-named rivers, and therefore may be said to supply, or to be divided among them." divided among them."

It may not be fair to hold Mr. Rassam responsible for an opinion promulgated

certain conditions, should be regarded as a punishment, which else it would not have been thought to be, then this representation becomes evidently another instance in which we are to look for a moral rather than a physical and literal explanation.

4. The absence of any mark of the author's intention to present an allegory instead of a history is next relied on. But an allegorist never thinks of giving any such mark distinct from the representations of the allegory itself. It is the nature of all allegory to assume the form of an actual history. It is only from the nature of the particulars related, regarded either severally or in their connexion as a whole, that the allegorical character of the narrative is inferred. If the unreality of these particulars, considered severally or in their combination as a whole, does not of itself demonstrate the allegorical character of the narrative, then the story may be a fictitious tale designed to instruct or to amuse, but it cannot be called an allegory which represents supposed realities in a mystical and unreal form. There are ample indications in the narrative now under consideration that it has this allegorical character, indications afforded by the manifest symbolical and unreal character of many of its particulars, as already shown at length; and these being sufficiently perceptible, it is unreasonable to expect that the author should have given any express intimation that he meant to write allegorically.

¹ If St. Paul, in Gal. iv. 24, having referred to the history of Sarah and Hagar and their two sons, had used the words which the English translators have attributed to him, "which things are an allegory," he would have appeared to treat the story as not founded in fact, but only invented to foreshadow the doctrine he illustrates by means of it. His words, however, are very different, denoting not that the original history was an allegory, but that an allegorical meaning was put upon it:— $\frac{\alpha}{\alpha}\tau_{\mu\nu} \frac{\partial}{\partial \alpha}\tau_{\mu\nu} \frac{\partial}{\partial \alpha}\tau_{\mu\nu}$ allegorized, or treated as an allegory. He probably had in view the allegorical allusion made to the story in the words of Isaiah liv. 1, which he quotes in the course of his own allegorical interpretation. This is only a development of that of the prophet, and an extension of it to the casting out of the bondwoman with her son. The story had been in part allegorized by the prophet. The Judaizing Christians, who desired to be under the law, had probably been familiar with this application of it to the two covenants, and as they had so far understood it in this light, he shows them that, if this mode of interpretation be carried out consistently, it illustrates the incompatibility of the two systems, and the freedom of Christians from the bondage of the law, as it existed under the old covenant. The argument was ad hominem, but the allegorical allusion of Isaiah to the history gave him a certain scriptural authority for pressing it on those whose mistaken notions he wished to counteract.

5. The passages in the New Testament in which the history of the fall is referred to, and in which it is alleged that it is assumed to be a real history, are next insisted on. But the reality of the fall has not been disputed, but only the reality of the circumstances of it, and of the manner of its occurrence as here represented. We need no proof of the reality of the fall beyond our own experience of man's sinfulness, together with the impossibility of believing that man was not made upright as he came from the hands of his maker. A fall from a state of innocence there must have been, a first transgression, however the account of it given in this passage may be regarded. One of the New Testament references relied on is Rom. v. 12. Surely, when the Apostle speaks of those who had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression, he does not mean those who had not exactly imitated that transgression in the eating of the forbidden fruit of a tree. The similitude was in the nature rather than in the form of the transgression. Whether he means infants who were subject to death, notwithstanding their freedom from actual transgression, as some have supposed; or those who sinned only against the law written on the heart, the law of nature, while yet no outward law had been communicated, whereas Adam's transgression is represented to have been against an express commandment, as others have thought; or, as Grotius thinks, those who had not committed any grave deliberate sin like Adam's, which in Hosea vi. 7 is spoken of as a type of the more heinous kinds of transgression, but led comparatively blameless lives, committing only the sins of infirmity; or else those against whose sin the specific penalty of death had not been denounced, as in Adam's case, which is probably the true meaning; -at any rate the reference is only to the general nature and not the particular form of Adam's transgression. The reference therefore proves nothing as to the Apostle's belief in the reality of that form as here represented. Another reference is 2 Cor.

^{1 &}quot;But they, like Adam, have transgressed the covenant."

xi. 3, where St. Paul speaks of the serpent having tempted Eve. But Hengstenberg forgets that though he maintains there was a real serpent, yet he also expressly maintains that the serpent was not the real tempter. He forgets also the passages in the Apocalypse, where the serpent is identified with the devil himself. Doubtless there was a real temptation, and the agency of Satan in that temptation is not affected as a matter of fact by his being represented under the symbol of a serpent in this narrative. And even if St. Paul had entertained this symbolical view of the narrative, he was not on that account the less likely to refer to it in its seeming historical character, than to translate the symbols into what they were intended to represent. The characters in a fable or parable are commonly referred to as real persons, even though the parable or fable veils no historical events at all, but only exemplifies a moral or principle under the form of an historical tale. The third passage referred to is 1 Tim. ii. 13, 14. This, undoubtedly, assumes the reality of the difference in the manner in which the woman was brought into transgression from that in which the man is represented as having been led into sin; and the Apostle grounds the impropriety of the woman's usurping authority over the man partly on this difference, and partly on the priority of the man's formation as represented in Gen. ii. But then the mere circumstance of priority in time would not prove the superiority of the man to the woman as regards authority. On the contrary, in the first chapter, man is formed last of all the living creatures and yet receives authority to rule over all. It is the design of the woman's formation, represented as taking place after that of the man, to supply a want in his condition, her formation to be a help meet for the man, and the manifest supplemental and secondary character of her relation to the man, and not the circumstance of her later formation, that is the true reason why she should not usurp authority over the man. And hence, even in the Apostle's argument, this circumstance of later formation must have been adduced only as symbolizing or representing the supplemental and

secondary relation of the woman to the man; and, standing as the symbol of a real inferiority of relation, its citation by the Apostle as such, does not make it less symbolical or more real in the original document, whatever may have been the actual fact in regard to the time of the woman's formation relatively to that of the man's. And then, as regards the circumstance that the woman in her temptation was deceived, as represented in the Mosaic narrative, while the man, at the woman's instigation, sinned with his eyes open, as it were, and without being deceived, this is only in accordance with the general character of each. The man, however he may be carried away by the violence of his passions, is ordinarily not so liable to be deceived in his times of temptation, as the woman in her's. The Apostle's design was not to measure the comparative guilt of the transgressors, but to show by this example of the greater liability to be deceived, the unfitness of the woman to teach or to usurp authority over the man, whose guilt may notwithstanding be the greater in proportion as he is the less beguiled. This great characteristic difference, so often exemplified in the respective temptations undergone by the two sexes, this greater liability of the woman to be led into sin by deception, of the man to sin without being deceived, as well as the fact that the woman should so often, both intentionally and unintentionally, be the occasion of sin to the man—dux famina facti—is what may well be supposed to have been exhibited in the case of the first temptation and transgression. In that instance the woman's inexperience of evil, which even since has so often been the occasion of her ruin, would have rendered her the more liable to deception, while the man, to whom woman had never as yet been a tempter, would have been more likely to yield to influences that, with all the subsequent experience of mankind, are still so powerful for evil as well as for good. That these characteristic peculiarities in the temptation of each were thus exemplified on the occasion of the fall is doubtless a part of the historical basis that underlies the account given of that

event in the Mosaic narrative, and which that narrative was designed to symbolize. More than this the Apostle's reference in 1 Tim. ii. 13, 14, does not necessarily imply.

6. The last of Hengstenberg's objections is the perplexity, uncertainty, and arbitrariness of the allegorical interpreters, when they proceed to display the underlying truth, which in the case of a designed allegory should be so manifest that it could not be mistaken. Now if the whole were an apologue without any historical basis whatever, the moral lessons to be derived from it would be intelligible enough; certainly as intelligible as in any of the parables of Holy Scripture. But plainly there is an historical basis sufficiently manifest underlying this narrative, which is not a mere fable to illustrate moral principles, but an allegorical representation of important facts. The creation of the first human pair; the provision of all things needful for their temporal wants; the state of moral probation in which they were placed; their first innocence and subsequent temptation and fall; the manner of that temptation as regards the mental process by which it issued in transgression; the consequences of lost innocence, such as shame and the conversion of the natural circumstances of man's condition into punishment by the change in his own moral nature; the needful contest to be ever maintained with the principles of evil, issuing finally in a promised triumph over them; all these particulars are presented in a series of representations, the meanings of which are by no means obscure, and afford no occasion for any arbitrariness in their explanation. The narrative being grounded on two grand historical realities, the creation and the fall, both alike unquestionable verities, it is reasonable to suppose that the other particulars implied in it have a foundation in fact also, such as the original creation of a single pair, and the unity of the human race as derived from them, the woman being the mother of all living and herself bone of the man's bones, and flesh of his flesh. Under any mode of interpretation, the special meaning of the seed of the woman bruising

the serpent's head would have been missed, until the manner of Christ's birth gave significance to a representation which previously could only be understood in a very vague and general manner. There is nothing, however, uncertain or arbitrary in the explanations which arise with sufficient readiness from the passage itself. Enough of the historical facts are patent, to suffice for all the moral and religious uses of such a narrative; nothing is told merely to gratify curiosity. The details that could only serve this end are withdrawn behind the veil of a mystical mode of representation. Such details of historical circumstance not being within the sphere of the writer's observation, or of his ordinary means of information, could only be known by a direct and immediate revelation, while yet, not being needful for any religious use, they are matters in regard to which revelation is not to be expected. The alternative of such a revelation of actual details would be the presenting the events of moral significance under the veil of a mystical representation, which should contain in itself sufficiently distinct indications of the symbolical character of that representation, and of which the import should be sufficiently intelligible for all the moral and religious uses of such a narrative. These conditions are beautifully and strikingly fulfilled in these chapters, the import of which has now been discussed.

II. OFFSPRING OF FALLEN MAN.

I. The fourth chapter is connected with the passage which has just been considered, not only as it forms with it one of what, as will be hereafter shown, constitute the larger organic divisions of the entire book, but also as being its natural sequel. It commences without prefatory notice, and carries on the names, Adam, Eve, and Eden from the preceding chapters, without explanation or remark of any kind. But though the fourth chapter is thus closely connected with that preceding passage, they are at the same time distinguished

from one another in a very marked and striking manner, not only by the completeness and self-contained character of the previous narrative, which closes with the final expulsion of the guilty pair from the garden of Eden, but also by the form and structure of the one as compared with that of the other. The poetical character and form of the earlier part is now entirely dropped, and the versification which distinguished it disappears, except in the brief snatch of early song attributed near the close of the chapter to Lamech, the entire tone and and character, except in that one instance, being quite prosaic. Then the compound name Jehovah Elohim, by which God is designated in the preceding passage, and which by the frequent repetition in that form of combination, unusual in the Hebrew copies, constituted a very marked characteristic, is now entirely dropped, and the name Jehovah by itself appears in its stead, except in one instance where Elohim is employed. The cause of the use of Elohim in this one instance is probably to be found in an implied contrast between divine and human agency, a contrast which, it will hereafter be seen, has in very many instances occasioned the use of the generic Elohim, rather than that of a proper and personal name. In the present case,-"She called his name Seth, for Elohim hath appointed me another seed, instead of Abel, whom Cain slew,"—the implied contrast is this: -man had slain one son, God has given another in his place. But whatever may have occasioned this single variation, the marked difference between this chapter and the preceding passage in the use of the names by which the divine Being is designated, joined with the difference of character between this prosaic and the other highly poetical passage, suffices to distinguish this as a separate document to be viewed by itself, and not as part and parcel with the other.

This being the case, there is no necessity of applying to the present passage the same principle of interpretation, which the unity and consistency in form and character that pervaded the former rendered it obligatory to apply to it with undeviating uniformity. There is nothing, moreover, in the subject matter of the fourth chapter, as there was in the previous passage, to indicate that it should not be taken in a strictly literal and historical acceptation. The fact, indeed, that the proper names are in many cases clearly significant, and for the most part significant of circumstances in the subsequent history of the persons and places they are used to designate, might seem to favour the application of an allegorical mode of interpretation to this, as well as to the previous passage. Thus if the name Cain has its appropriateness in the acquisition by Eve of her firstborn son, that of Abel—unsuited to the joy that a man is born into the world, and to the hopes that nature prompts a mother to entertain of the future prosperity of a new born child—has all its appropriateness in the mournful character of the subsequent history of him, who yet is represented as receiving the name at his birth. Again, the land of Nod, in which Cain becomes a fugitive and a vagabond, is so called apparently from this very circumstance of Cain's wandering therein. If the city which Cain built was called after his son Enoch, or rather Chanoch, this name itself is significant of the inauguration or dedication of a building or a city.2 Jabal is significant of the wandering life of one that was the father of all such as live in tents and have cattle.3 So also is the name of his brother Jubal derived from Jobel, a wind instrument, whence comes the well-known term jubilee. The first part of Tubal-cain signifies the dross of brass or iron in Persian, and the latter part, Cain, a smith both in Arabic and Persian. the former in like manner having had probably at one time its Shemitic representative. But then these names, being all but this one, and perhaps this also, of purely Shemitic origin, must, if the names of real persons, be taken merely to represent more ancient names now lost, which may not have had the like ex post facto significance.

י אור, vagari, נוֹד vagatio, exilium, נוֹד vagus.

² קבָן inaugurari, initiare.

יבל ire, fluitare.

It is also true that the quarrel between Cain and Abel might be supposed to symbolize the opposition between the two classes into which the earliest races of men would naturally resolve themselves, the pastoral and the agricultural. interests of these classes would be opposite, and the more rapid degeneracy of the agricultural would be contrasted with the comparative innocence of the pastoral. And then the assigning of the building of cities and the invention of arts to the descendants of Cain might be supposed merely to indicate that agriculture was the parent of an advanced civilisation, while the habits of pastoral life, which least draws out the inventive faculties, and least brings men into combination and mutual dependence, gave no encouragement to such progress in civilisation. Still, after explaining these particulars in this way, there would yet remain some particulars in this chapter, the explanation of which must under such a principle of interpretation be rather arbitrary. Particulars not serving merely to fill up the picture, and not yielding a natural signification on the supposition of a parabolic character, are certainly an indication of some weight that a narrative is not intended to be taken in such an acceptation. In the present case, however, the particulars needed to fill up the picture might have been taken from the prevalent historical traditions, from whatever source those traditions were derived, or however they may have originated. Such traditions, accepted for what they were worth, would have afforded a natural ground work on which to build an embodiment representing the moral and social conditions of mankind in the earliest period. And if the preceding passage has been justly treated in the foregoing discussion, the connexion of this with it as its proper sequel would favour, though it does not necessitate, a similar acceptation in this case.

II. There are a few particulars in this chapter on the import of which some remarks will not be amiss. The first of these to be noticed is the exclamation of Eye on the occasion

of the birth of Cain, "I have gotten a man from Jehovah," את־יהוָה. A disposition has prevailed amongst certain divines to interpret these words as indicating an impression on the mind of Eve that her newborn son was himself Jehovah. This supposition has been grounded on the use of the particle TN as a sign of the accusative. This is alleged to be employed here to connect Jehovah in apposition with the word man, as if she had said, "I have gotten a man, even Jehovah." Amongst others, so respectable a writer as the late Dr. Pve Smith, in his "Scripture Testimonies to the Messiah," gave his adherence to this interpretation. To make it possible to suppose that Eve had imagined this to be the nature of the son she had just borne, it is necessary to assume that she not merely regarded this son as the promised seed that should bruise the serpent's head, but also that she had understood the great Christian doctrine of the divine incarnation, a doctrine which yet, notwithstanding the many prophetic indications of it subsequently given, remained ever after unknown to the world until its accomplishment in the person of our blessed Lord. Such an assumption as this, in the absence of all evidence, is monstrous. That this passage affords no proof of it is certain. For though it is true that the particle would admit of being taken to express this connexion, and would perhaps be more naturally so taken if it yielded a probable or rational sense, yet it is not necessarily to be so understood; and in the absence of such necessity it is allowable to take the probability of the meaning into consideration. There are abundant instances where the particle has the force of a preposition, being used in an indefinite manner to indicate relations of every kind, when the case itself sufficiently shows the nature of the relation intended to be expressed. An instance like that now under consideration exists in Gen. xlix. 25, where אָת שׁבּי is used as the parallel and equivalent of :-

[&]quot;From the God of thy father, and he shall help thee, And from Shaddai, and he shall bless thee."

The conjunction here prefixed to shows that it must be regarded as a preposition, though if that were absent it might be supposed to indicate simple apposition. Another instance is to be found in Exod. ix. 29, 33, where אַר־הָעִיר is used in expressing that Moses went from the city. The use as a mere sign of the accusative is no doubt the most frequent, and should therefore be followed in preference, if it afforded a probable sense. But here is just one of the cases where a different relation is more naturally indicated; while nothing but the absence of any instance in which the particle is used to denote any other case but the accusative, or else to mark any other relation than simple apposition, would justify its being understood here in a sense which would yield so improbable a meaning as that in question. A doctrine which is sought to be upheld by pressing into its service such support as this suffers more from the impression which is thus produced that it stands in need of such forced assistance, than it can possibly gain by the fancied countenance it may derive from so questionable an interpretation, as this must after all be regarded even by those who are favourable to its adoption.

III. The divine origin and institution of animal sacrifice has been inferred by many from the preference of Abel's offering coupled with the words of the Lord to Cain, "Sin lieth at the door," in which sin is supposed to stand for a sin-offering. All that can be said in favour of this view may be seen in Archbishop Magee's work on the Atonement. But after all that has been said, the inference that it was a positive institution of divine origin at its first observance is rather more than the sacred narrative will warrant. It is evidently the writer's object to trace back the practice to the very earliest times of man's fallen state. But whether that proceeded from God's direct appointment, or was the spontaneous growth of the human mind, we are not informed. It is not even stated that Abel's offering was slain, the word applied to both Cain's and Abel's offerings being Mincha, the term which in the law of Moses

more properly denotes the meat offering or drink offering, as distinguished from burnt offerings and sacrifices for sin. The LXX. indeed apply the word $\theta \nu \sigma i a$ to Abel's offering, but they use it also of Cain's, and therefore it is plainly employed in a more general sense than that which it literally bears. It is rightly remarked by Archbishop Magee that the fat of his flock offered by Abel does not mean the fat as distinguished from the other parts of the animal offered which were not consumed by fire, but taken in connexion with the firstlings means the fattest of them. In the epistle to the Hebrews indeed it is said that Abel offered πλείονα θυσίαν, rendered "a more excellent sacrifice" in the English Version, but properly signifying a sacrifice excelling in number or quantity. But then it was by faith he did this, and it was the faith itself that rendered the offering larger. Each brings the best of what he has to offer, but faith is superadded in one case, and this renders that offering \(\pi \)\(\lambda \ellova.\) It is true an argument has been built on this mention of Abel's faith, as implying some divine promise on which Abel proceeded in bringing the sort of offering he did. But this is not necessarily implied. The preceding instance of faith in Heb. xi. is that which consists in the belief that the world was made by the word of God, and in the following instance it is said, in reference to Enoch's faith, that "he that cometh to God must believe that he is, and is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him." The commendation therefore of Abel's faith by no means implies that he acted in conformity with a divinely appointed means of obtaining

¹ St. Mark xii. 33—τδ ἀγαπῶν κ.τ.λ. πλεῖον ἐστι πάντων τῶν ὁλοκαυμάτων καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν—affords an instance in which a moral act or affection by itself is thus represented as greater in quantity than material offerings, greater not merely than one, but than all such offerings together. The idea of quantity which added value to the material offering is transferred to the moral act to express its greater excellence.

acceptance with God. Neither does the expression in v. 7, "Sin lieth at the door," sustain the inference that this was a divinely appointed rite. The metonymical use of sin for sinoffering is supposed to be implied by the use of the word רֹבֵין in the masculine, while אים with which it should agree is feminine, the participle being, as it is said, in the gender of the animal for which the substantive stands, according to a wellknown manner of construction. Whatever may be the weight of this construction in the present case, it derives no addition from the instances of a supposed similar nature adduced by Magee, in which he says the pronoun הוא in its masculine form is made to agree with the feminine השאת standing for a sinoffering, while no such usage exists where this word simply means sin. For in all the cases specified, Exod. xxix. 14, Lev. iv. 21, 24, v. 9, the pronoun is not connected with this word at all, but refers to the animal which constituted the offering mentioned just before. Keil accounts for the difference of gender by supposing that "the feminine המשת is construed as a masculine, because, with evident allusion to the serpent, sin is personified as a wild beast, lurking at the door of the human heart, and eagerly desiring to devour his soul (1 Peter v. 8)." He also makes the reference in the succeeding clause to be to this personified sin, and not to Abel:-"Its desire is to thee (directed towards thee); but thou shouldest rule over it." In favour of this is the fact that in God's words to Cain there has been no previous mention whatever of his brother, to justify the reference of the pronouns to him. If this view of the words of Jehovah to Cain be correct, the connecting this chapter with the preceding passage in a like manner of interpretation derives from it some measure of support. The meaning, however, is extremely doubtful. The Alexandrian translators at any rate did not understand a sin offering or the word "sin" as a substantive at all. Their translation, though in accordance with the text, implies an entirely different vocalisation : οὐκ ἐὰν ὀρθῶς προσενέγκης, ὀρθῶς δὲ μὴ διέλης, ημαρτες;

ἡσύχασον, "If thou hast offered rightly, but hast not divided rightly, hast thou not sinned? Keep quiet." They must have read אָמָאָת and לְּבְּתֹּחְ as infinitives, הְטָאָהָ as second sing. pret., and בּרָבֹץ as an imperative: "If thou hast done well to offer, and if thou hast not done well to divide, hast thou not sinned? Keep quiet." We may suppose that they understood by not dividing rightly, not sharing his goods with others; and perhaps St. John had this interpretation in his mind when he said that Cain slew his brother because his own works were evil and his brother's good. While therefore this passage teaches the early existence of oblation and sacrifice in divine worship, and God's acceptance of an animal oblation, it is far from being as clear in favour of the divine origin of the institution as some think. But even if we supposed that it originated in some instinct of the human mind, such instincts proceed from God, and there would be nothing improbable in the supposition that God adopted it into the institutions of the law of Moses, or recognised it in its earlier observance. This supposition would not involve the further one that the atonement offered by Christ was grounded on such a natural usage of men. The sacrifice of Christ is a thing so essentially different, so singular and distinct in every particular, except this one of the shedding of blood, that it can never be supposed to have originated in the previous practice, however certain obscure analogies may be noticed between them. In all other sacrifices the worshipper offered from himself some gift that was supposed to render the deity propitious, whether by its own worth, or in token of something better. In the case of the sacrifice of Christ, the offering is not brought by the worshipper to propitiate the deity, but, because God was already propitious, he himself provided the ίλαστήριον, such as might afford a suitable demonstration on his part of his righteous displeasure against sin, and at the same time admit of mercy being extended to the sinner.that he might be righteous as not appearing indifferent to human guilt, and yet be the justifier of sinful man.

IV. In the apprehension expressed by Cain that any one who should find him would slay him, the natural instinct of the murderer, that tells him his life is forfeited to society, is well brought out. On the other hand, the remission of the capital punishment in this the earliest instance of the crime would tend to abate the fierceness of vengeance, in a state of society in which the avenger of blood was the relative or friend of the murdered person, and for the restraint of whose vindictiveness the law of Moses was about to provide the institution of the cities of refuge, by means of which the homicide who could escape to one of them was sure at least of a fair trial. sentence pronounced on Cain, that when he tilled the ground it should not yield its strength, would be verified naturally by the inefficient labour of a disheartened and restless fugitive, if Cain be regarded in his individual capacity. The prevalence of strife and bloodshed in a community, which might be supposed to be symbolized in this narrative, would have a like tendency; the sword and the ploughshare cannot be employed simultaneously with success. The statement of the English Version, that God set a mark upon Cain, is not the only meaning that the original can have, nor, indeed, is it the most correct rendering, considering the preposition used, not by. The meaning is that God gave him a sign or oath (הוֹא), appointed something, like the rainbow afterwards, as a token of his promise that no one should slay him. The rendering of the LXX. will bear this sense: ἔθετο κύριος ὁ θεὸς σημείον τῷ Καϊν, τοῦ μὴ ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν πάντα τὸν εύρίσκοντα αὐτόν. And it is the most probable; a mark set upon Cain, such as some personal peculiarity, would rather tend to increase the apprehended danger, as it would serve as a mark of identification, and would draw the notice of people upon him.

While the mention of the remission of the capital punishment in the case of this first instance of the crime of murder would tend to aid the merciful provisions of the law of Moses for restraining the vindictiveness of the avenger of blood, it

seems to have been partly with a view to bringing out, with the like intention, the difference between wilful murder and the less guilty forms of homicide, that the genealogical account of Cain's descendants is brought down to Lamech and his immediate family, and then ceases. That the writer availed himself of an existing tradition may be gathered from the snatch of seemingly ancient song, in which Lamech's words are given, so different in their style from the prosaic tone of the other parts of this narrative:—

"Hear my voice, ye wives of Lamech,
Hearken unto my speech;
I have slain a man for my wound,
A young man for my hurt.
If Cain shall be avenged sevenfold,
So Lamech seventy and seven."

The greater vengeance, which Lamech expects to be taken on the person who should slay him in consequence of the homicide he had committed, plainly indicates that his crime was of a less guilty kind; and perhaps the expressions "for my wound," and "for my hurt," may have been intended to signify the occasion of the homicide, not its injurious consequences to himself. They may be taken to intimate that he had been himself attacked and wounded, and in the fray had slain his adversary. While the text of the English Version follows the LXX. and the Vulgate in giving to the preposition? here used a consequential meaning, its marginal rendering is "in my hurt," and "in my wounding." Lev. xix. 28, "Cuttings in your flesh for the dead," that is, "on account of the dead;" Num. vi. 7, "Unclean for his father or for his mother, or for his brother, or for his sister, when they die," that is, unclean

Ego virum vulneratus occidi Juvenem plagâ affectus.

He adds,—Est Lamechi effatum apologia pro homicidio perpetrato sui defendendi causâ contra hominem hostiliter ipsum invadentem, et vim, plagas, vulnera inferentem: et opponitur hujusmodi homicidium, sub moderamine inculpatæ tutelæ commissum, voluntario et inexcusabili Caini parricidio.

¹ So Bp. Lowth, *De Sacrà Poesi Hebræorum*, Præl. iv., translates:—Propter vulnus mihi inflictum, propter plagas mihi impositas. He also gives as Houbigant's translation:—

by reason of them, because of the touch of their dead bodies; Josh. ix. 9, "From a very far country thy servants are come because of" (lit. 7 for) "the name of the Lord," may be adduced as instances in which this preposition denotes the cause.\(^1\) This representation of the less guilty character of some forms of homicide, and of the exemption of the persons who may have committed them from capital punishment, would be of greater moment as qualifying the unlimited sentence in chap. ix, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed," and was the more needful for the instruction of those for whom it was written, inasmuch as it was the friend of the slain person who was charged with the punishment of the homicide.

V. It is a characteristic of this chapter to trace back to the earliest days of the world's history the origin of institutions, customs, and practices prevalent in the world. Thus it notices the early separation of men into the agricultural and pastoral classes, and derives from the former the aggregation of men in cities and the invention of arts. And in the way in which the inventors of arts are described, as the fathers of those that practice them, we notice a familiarity, such as might be expected in the traditionary author of this book, with Egyptian customs, all trades and occupations having been hereditary in ancient Egypt. The worship of God by oblation and sacrifice at stated periodical times, "at the end of days," is also attributed to the firstborn of mankind; and if it is left in doubt whether it was of direct institution and appointment by God, the divine acknowledgement and acceptance of it is plainly taught. If the latter part of v. 7 be understood as referring to Abel, which it probably does, the authority of the firstborn and the rights of

It is unnecessary to justify, as Bishop Lowth does, the passive relation here expressed by the pronominal affix "my." The remark of Kimchi, on which he relies, that the affixes to nouns have either an active or a passive sense, would be of moment if the nouns denoted actions. But here they signify something suffered, and the passive relation expressed by the pronominal affixes is the natural one. And, indeed, whether Lamech's hurt and wound be taken as the cause or the effect of the homicide, the passive relation must be understood here. The idea of a wound and hurt inflicted by Lamech would strain both the nouns and the prepositions, besides giving a very weak meaning to the verses.

primogeniture receive also the divine recognition in the history of these earliest days, a form of expressing this being used exactly similar to the words expressive of the authority of the husband over the wife in iii. 16:—"Unto thee shall be his desire and thou shalt rule over him." Whether this has sprung from an instinct of human nature, or has arisen from the practical advantage which seniority gives to the eldest born of a family, whereby the younger members find themselves from the dawn of consciousness in a position of practical inferiority, and have become habituated to this in the growth of all their feelings and conceptions, the inferiority has its foundation in nature, and so must be regarded as having the divine approval which is implied in the words of the Lord to Cain.

As institutions, customs and arts are thus traced back, so are certain crimes and abuses. The shedding of blood in its more guilty form, with the natural and instinctive feeling of apprehension that the murderer should be slain in turn, is first exhibited; and then the less guilty forms of homicide, with the expectation of a greater exemption in such cases from the severer penalty, are also presented to our view. Another evil, namely that of polygamy, is also noticed. It was not the design of the Hebrew legislator absolutely to condemn or prohibit this abuse; but neither was it his purpose to approve or encourage it. Hence while in chap. ii. the divine institution of marriage plainly contemplates the union of one man with one woman, the first instance of a departure from this the original design is presented to us amongst the degenerated descendants of the guilty Cain, and not until after the interval of several generations.

Another particular supposed by some to be traced back to its origin is that which is understood to be expressed in the concluding words of the chapter, rendered in our English Version, "Then began men to call upon the name of the Lord." There has been much diversity of opinion, however, as to the meaning

יַ אַז הוּחַל לְקָראׁ בְּשִׁם יְהֹנָה: י

of this sentence. a. That it does not mean that the name Jehovah, as the proper name of God, whether totidem literis, or as representing some earlier and now lost name of God, was for the first time adopted at the period specified seems clear, as the writer would scarcely, if he had intended so soon to state this, have put the name into the mouth of Eve at the commencement of the chapter, especially when he had observed dramatic propriety in not letting the interlocutors of chap. iii. use the name, owing to the fact that the tempter was one of them. b. Neither can it be supposed that he meant to intimate that the invocation of God in divine worship then commenced. The contrary is implied in the references to the worship of God in the earlier part of the chapter. c. It cannot signify that now the name Jehovah came to be used, as it was in later times, as supplying a component in the formation of the proper names of men. None of the proper names of this early period show any trace of such a component. d. Some have suggested that the words may signify that men began to be called by the name of Jehovah, with reference to the designation "sons of God" in vi. 2, 4. But the expressions are of very different import. "Sons of Elohim," would describe a character, but "Sons of Jehovah" would denote personal sonship, by birth or adoption. e. The adoption of the name of God, by way of assuming divine honours, would scarcely have been expressed in so indirect and ambiguous a manner, even if there existed the least reason to suppose that the attempt to usurp the honour due to God was meant to be ascribed to so early a period in the history of mankind. Nor would the proper name Jehovah be that used in such a statement, if it were intended to be made. Those who assumed divine honours, or to whom they were paid by men, were called by some name proper to themselves, and were regarded as distinct from some one supreme being to whom such a name as Jehovah would belong. f. The Hiphil of the verb being sometimes used in the sense of profane, the passive form of this conjugation here used has been supposed by some to be employed in the same signification. The meaning would either be that the calling by the name of Jehovah was profaned by the ascription of that name to idols or false gods, or more simply that the calling on the name of Jehovah, in the sense of using it profanely, became prevalent. That this would fall in with the tracing of other offences and moral abuses to their first rise throughout this passage is in its favour; and the objection that when the verb has this signification it takes a noun and not an infinitive after it, as urged in Poole's Synopsis, is quite groundless, as in this case the form is passive and the verb is used impersonally, in which manner of use it is properly followed by an infinitive. q. But while men have been looking for remote and recondite significations, a much more simple explanation has been overlooked. As at the birth of Cain an acknowledgement of the goodness of Jehovah was made, and again at the birth of Seth God was thanked for the appointment of another son in the place of Abel, so in like manner at the birth of Enos the name of Jehovah was invoked. The verb is impersonal and the English Version supplies men as the subject, in making it active and personal. Instead of men, it should be they or he; either Seth alone or Seth and his household then began, namely when Enos was born, to call on the name of Jehovah, either to invoke his blessing or acknowledge his goodness. Both the LXX. and the Vulgate translate in the singular, the latter having iste capit, and the former οὖτος ηλπισεν, he had confidence to call on the name of the Lord. This is perhaps because, as Schleusner suggests, the LXX. read הוֹהל from יהל speravit. The pronouns, however, in both these versions appear to refer to Enos rather than to Seth, and thus, to describe the piety of Enos would according to them have been the design of the writer, instead of that manifested by Seth at the birth of his son.

VI. On an entire review of this chapter, it appears that, if the form and manner of narration, as well as some of the particulars specified, would not justify, or at any rate enforce the

application of the same mode of interpretation that has been applied to the former passages, it is at least evident that in the selection of the particulars to be related the author had their plainly moral and religious use in view, rather than their historical import, what serves the general purposes of the history being sufficiently given in the sequel. Even the mention of the first inventors of the arts of civilisation, and of the first building of a city, is not without its moral scope. The aggregation of men in cities is more conducive to civilisation than to morals, and there is a moral lesson to be derived from the compatibility of material progress and the discovery of useful and ornamental arts with a simultaneous moral degeneracy. Such a lesson could not fail to be of use to the children of Israel, who found themselves surrounded by nations, such as the Egyptians in particular, far surpassing them in material advantages and intellectual progress, but sunk in idolatry and in the worst forms of moral degradation and sin.

The introduction of the proper names of persons who merely hold a place in the order of genealogical descent, such as those between Enoch and Lamech, and afterwards Naamah the daughter of Lamech, is to be accounted for in the same way as the fragment of ancient poetry relating to Lamech's homicide. The peculiarity of this fragment, so much out of character with the general prosaic style of the chapter, shows that it was probably derived by the writer from some previously existing source. The same was probably the case with the genealogy and the historical particulars introduced into it. These may have been taken from some existing document, or some traditionary narrative familiar by frequent recitation may have been adopted by the writer, and embodied for its moral uses in this preliminary part of his work.

This whole discussion will receive an apt peroration in the subjoined passage from Dr. Hannah's Bampton Lecture for 1863: 1—

¹ Lect. v., p. 164, 5.

"If we are asked whether we resign the historical reality of the beginning of Genesis, we answer, that we resign nothing but a deeply seated misapprehension, which has confounded records of a different order, and obliterated the distinction between theology and history, by transferring the conditions of the one to the other. The first step in what may be technically called the narrative of history is taken at the beginning of the fifth chapter of the book of Genesis, in the words, 'This is the book of the generations of Adam;' words which are followed by the briefest possible summary of the previous account of creation, and then by the order of a lineage, and the regular chronicle of dates and ages. To this historical commencement part of the fourth chapter has been guiding our thoughts,1 but with that and some other minor exceptions, the first four chapters are rather theological than historical; they belong to the head of pure revelation, rather than to that of ordinary narrative. They embody matter which no conjecture could have reached, which no tradition could have furnished. They unfold, in such order as God judged to be the fittest, the fundamental truths about God's purpose and God's workings in creation; and about the innocence, the sin, and the fall of man."

To this it seems only necessary to add that though frequently during the preceding discussion of the earlier chapters of Genesis the term "non-historical" has been applied to them, it will yet have been observed that it is used only in reference to the manner in which the several particulars have been represented, while a strictly historical basis underlies the whole. This has been pointed out with sufficient fulness as regards the second document. In the case of the first also it has been seen that the creation of the world in a totality capable of being resolved into six general classes of creatures—the formation of which as severally conceived by us had a real and separate relation to time, and is truly assigned to six days, several at least in con-

^{1 &}quot;Gen. iv. 17-22, 25, 26."

ception, and perhaps partially distinct in fact also, while the narrative does not even verbally assert the order of succession specified to have been the order of temporal succession—is truly historical. The anthropomorphism which ascribes words to God, and the air of an order of temporal succession which the narrative at first sight presents, being all that is properly non-historical in that account of the creation of the material universe, the applicability of the word to the earlier document is even still more limited than to that which next succeeds it.

*** A few remarks by way of Appendix are subjoined here on some of the subsequent accounts contained in this book, viewed chiefly in their historical and moral aspects.

CHAPTERS V. XI. 10-26.

THE GENEALOGY FROM ADAM TO NOAH, AND FROM SHEM TO TERAH.

THESE genealogies, as forming parts of a history supposed to have been divinely revealed, or at any rate protected from error by divine superintendence guiding its composition, have been regarded by many as a source of difficulty and an occasion of doubt. This has arisen partly from the enormous ages ascribed to the patriarchs, so immensely exceeding the length of life enjoyed by mankind as far back as all other sources of information enable us to judge, and partly, in more recent times, from the very brief period to which they limit the duration of man's existence on the earth, which all the discoveries of these later times tend to show has been vastly greater.

Before adverting more particularly to these occasions of doubt and difficulty, it will be well if we turn our attention for a few moments to the two genealogies of our blessed Lord which the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke present to our notice. Of these, that which St. Matthew has given us reckons fourteen generations from Abraham to David, and the like number from David to the Captivity and from the Captivity to Christ respectively. If now we refer to the sources of information as to the second of these periods which the Evangelist possessed in the Old Testament, we find no less than four generations omitted, Ahaziah, Joash and Amaziah after Joram, and Jehoiakin between Josias and Jechonias. Then in St. Luke's genea-

logy, which after David touches that of St. Matthew again in Salathiel, we find in this interval, in which St. Matthew gives but fourteen generations in one line, and from which he omits the four above mentioned, no less than twenty successive generations. This is at least suspicious, though, allowing for possible differences of age in the parents at the time of the birth of their sons, the difference of two generations might have existed in the interval. Then, if we compare the generations between Salathiel and Christ in the two gospels, we shall find twenty in St. Luke for the fourteen which are given in the same interval by St. Matthew, too great a difference to be easily accounted for. While if we go back to the period preceding David, in which the two agree, we find only fourteen generations in an interval in which, in the lines of three different descendants of Levi, there were eighteen respectively. It is highly probable, therefore, that all the authorities both of the Old and New Testaments have omitted four generations, perhaps between Obed and Jesse. 1 As regards the two other periods, however, it is plain that any omissions in the genealogy of St. Matthew cannot be ascribed to copyists, inasmuch as the writer himself tells us how many he reckoned. Whether he shortened the number accidentally, or with design for the sake of symmetry, his first period having fourteen according to the existing genealogy in the first book of Chronicles, certain it is that St. Matthew's genealogy, and perhaps also St. Luke's, is inaccurate. We do not allow this inaccuracy, however, to discredit in our apprehension the historical character of either of these gospels generally, or to make us doubt that the divine superintendence, guidance, or influence, which we call inspiration, presided over their composition. Only we suppose that in a matter where greater exactness was unnecessary, the writers were permitted to give these genealogies in such form as agreed with their own knowledge or wish, arising from whatever source or occasion.

Now if in a matter of so much greater moment as the descent.

¹ See Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. iii., p. 45-7.

of our blessed Lord, and in respect to which so much better means of correct information existed within the reach of the writers, such inaccuracy gives us no serious anxiety, why should we expect exactness in a case where it could serve no useful purpose, in which the sources of ordinary information must have been so immensely inferior, and where we can conceive no possible reason why information should have been afforded by direct revelation from God? We may therefore well conceive that the writer, anxious to afford his people, at the commencement of their national history, the gratification of tracing back their race, as was customary in the annals of other nations, to the first origin of things and the primeval forefathers of mankind, adopted such names as existed in surviving traditions, names having perhaps a foundation in reality or representing the real names of an earlier dialect, though in fact those who bore them may have been separated here and there by vast intervals, and by an indefinite succession of generations. And it is to be observed that as in course of time names would have become fewer in the popular traditions, the ages of the individuals reckoned would have been lengthened in the people's apprehension, in order to supply what they would consider an adequate period for the duration of mankind on the earth.

But before we hold the writer of this book responsible for the ages that are ascribed to the patriarchs, we should be sure that the ages assigned them, in some one of the forms in which these genealogies have come down to us, have really proceeded from him. How little certainty we have in this respect may easily be seen. There exist at present three different recensions of these ages and numbers of years, and they point to a statement different from them all, but which must have been so unsatisfactory as to lead to the exercise of editorial judgment or con-

¹ As it is, one name exists in the generations of Shem, according to the reading of the LXX. whom St. Luke follows, namely Cainan the son of Arphaxad and father of Salah, that is not found in the present Hebrew copies. This, however, is a matter depending on various reading rather than on a defect in the original sources of information.

jecture in bringing them to their present state. As regards the antediluvian period, we have, besides the present Hebrew form, that of the LXX., which in the case of six of the generations adds a century to the age at the time when the next generation was begotten, and in one case six years, the subsequent ages being so much diminished, except in the one instance of the age of Lamech, as to make the entire ages the same as in the Hebrew text. The inference from this is that both are derived from copies agreeing in the total ages, but which had already diverged in the ages preceding the birth of each next generation, the readings having been so uncertain as to lead to these different enumerations at some unknown period. Then the Samaritan reckoning agrees with the Hebrew in seven instances, differing from it in two cases in which the Hebrew agrees with the LXX., and likewise in a third case, in which the difference between the two latter is only six years, in which instance it differs from the LXX. also. And the result is that, in regard to the age of the world at the time of the deluge, we have by the Hebrew, 1656; by the Samaritan, 1307; and by the LXX., 2262 years ;—a very serious difference in the short age which they all allow to the world at the time of this event, and showing how uncertain that age must be.

Then, again, in the generations of Shem, both the LXX. and the Samaritans add a century to the ages at which the six generations enumerated between Shem and Nahor had arrived at the time of the birth of their successors, the LXX. adding further a generation of 130 years between Arphaxad and Salah. Thus the intervals from the deluge to the birth of Abraham, according to these several authorities, are 292 years for the Hebrew, 942 for the Samaritan, and 1072 for the Septuagint, the difference here also being extremely great between the totals. The residues also in the case of both the Samaritan and the LXX. differ in most instances from those in the Hebrew, the same uniformity in the manner of calculating them not being observed as in respect to the antediluvian period; and the

Samaritan copies add the total lives, which are omitted by the others except in the case of Terah, whose entire life is differently given in each of the three recensions, namely, 205 years by the Hebrew, 145 by the Samaritan, and 250 by the LXX. It is plain from all this that some great confusion existed at one period or another in regard to the numerals or other means originally adopted for expressing these numbers; and although it would be rash to assert that the evidence that such great ages were originally assigned to the patriarchs, as all the present authorities agree in attributing to them, is of no weight, it is certainly greatly invalidated by the facts as they now present themselves to our notice. It is to be observed also that the ages at which sons were born are by no means uniformly of extravagant length, and that while in the case of the antediluvians, the Samaritan estimates, and next to them, the Hebrew, are the most reasonable and moderate, in the case of the postdiluvians the Hebrew is the most moderate, and comes within limits not unusual in the present day. It is probable, however, that in all these matters of number the popular estimate was originally followed as well as in regard to the number of generations specified. In regard to the whole matter, the known inaccuracy of the New Testament genealogies warrants us to allow the possibility of inaccuracy here also, without invalidating the general historical character of the book.

CHAPTER VI. 2-4.

THE SONS OF GOD AND DAUGHTERS OF MEN.

The supposition that angels are intended by the sons of God in this passage, which at one time was seriously regarded by fathers and doctors of the Church as a true and rational view of the writer's meaning, has after a long period of abeyance been revived of late by some writers, who rely upon this meaning as an evidence of the mythical character of the entire story of the deluge, the first occasion of which is traced in the narrative to

the imaginary union of angels and women maintained by these writers to be here described. Amongst ourselves, Dr. Davidson and the Bishop of Natal may be instanced as maintaining this view of the writer's meaning and deducing from it the mythical character of the entire narrative.

A careful examination of the matter will perhaps result in showing that no necessity exists for understanding the passage in this objectionable sense; rather that there is good reason for regarding this as not the meaning of the writer, and therefore for thinking that it gives no support to the mythical view of the narrative grounded on it.

The first argument adduced by Dr. Davidson is that the expression "sons of God," בני אלהים, in all other places is used to designate only angels. And he quotes Ps. xxix. 1, lxxxix. 7, Job i. 6, ii. 1, xxxviii. 7, and Daniel iii. 25. Nothing can be more groundless than the assertion that angels are intended in all these passages. In the two passages in the Psalms indeed the phrase does not exist at all. The expression there used is בני אלים. The word Elim in the plural form is not synonymous with Elohim, and is never used like it as a singular to signify God. The counterpart of Elohim is the singular El, the plural form denoting either gods or mighty persons. Gods would be unmeaning in Ps. xxix. 1, "Give unto the Lord, O ye sons of the mighty ones, give unto the Lord glory and strength;" and if it be thought that in Ps. lxxxix. 7, "Who among the sons of the mighty ones can be compared unto the Lord?" we might understand the Psalmist to challenge any comparison between Jehovah and the pretended sons of false gods, he would yet have been more likely to have spoken of gods in this connexion than of sons of the gods; while the sense of the sons of the mighty, which according to Hebrew usage would denote mighty ones themselves, is more natural in the mouth of a disbeliever in any other gods than Jehovah. At any rate, Elim would mean gods, and not God, and angels

¹ Introduction, vol. i., p. 191.

would have place no more than any other mighty beings. Daniel iii. 25, in the words "like to a son of God," the Chaldee cannot be taken to denote an angel. It is not to be supposed at all that the writer intended to represent Nebuchadnezzar as comparing the fourth person he saw in the fire to an angel according to Jewish conceptions; he must have intended a divine manifestation according to the conceptions of the It is true that in v. 28 Nebuchadnezzar says that God had "sent his angel and delivered his servants;" but then angel is there merely equivalent to "messenger," and does not specially refer to one of the angels properly so called. Then in Job xxxviii. 7, angels are not intended, as has already been shown;1 the morning stars being personified and represented as singing at their creation, this personification in the first clause is carried on in the second, and the same stars and other creatures of God are described as the sons of God and shouting for joy. There remains then only the mention of the sons of God in Job i. 6, and ii. 1. It is greatly to be doubted that by sons of God angels are specifically intended here. It can scarcely be imagined by the most realistic interpreters, that Jehovah actually held his court, as described, on particular days, and that Satan amongst others really presented himself there. Plainly this is a poetical representation, in which the sons of God stand for the courtiers who surround the throne of a great king, Jehovah, without any specific character as angels. There is thus no clear and certain instance of the phrase as denoting angels in particular, while against these alleged instances may be set the many instances where the moral signification of servants of God and partakers of his favour is plainly intended, good men being described as the sons of God. And if this phrase itself, the sons of God (בני אהלים), is not thus directly applied, we have in Hos. i. 10, the kindred one, sons of the living God, בני אל-הי, the singular form El being commonly used when an adjunct is subjoined as in this case.

Another argument relied on is that there would be no proper opposition between the sons of God and daughters of men, if the sons of God were human beings. There would, however, still exist a true and proper opposition, only the daughters of men must be regarded as such in a moral sense, as well as the sons of God,-women of mere human character and carnal disposition as opposed to godly women. It is true that in v. 1 it is said immediately before that daughters were born to men, where the natural sense is plainly intended. But there is no contrast there marked, and it is the contrast that gives the expression a special signification in the next verse which must be determined by that to which it is opposed. And as even angels are not sons of God in any more natural sense than men, and the expression as applied to them would still have a figurative signification, the contrast would still fail as between sons of God and daughters of men in the natural sense of the latter.

It is said that this view alone accounts for the alleged origin of the giants. But it is to be observed that the giants, or Nephilim, that are said to have been in those days, are not represented as the offspring of the connexions here described. It is only said that Nephilim existed in those days, and that although the unhallowed unions, and consequent degeneracy, had provoked a shortening of human life, still, even after that physical deterioration, the unions spoken of issued in the production of mighty men that were of old, men of renown.

Dr. Davidson says, that the references to the angels that kept not their first estate in 2 Pet. ii. 4, and in Jude 6, 7, favour his view. But the reference in these passages to Gen. vi. 2-4 cannot be maintained. In both places it is the punishment that is most strongly insisted on, the casting down into hell and delivering into chains and darkness, and the reservation to the judgment of the great day. But of this there is not a word in the book of Genesis. In St. Peter's Epistle the reference would not have been imagined but for the sequence of the destruction of the old world, which is accidental and does not exist

in St. Jude's Epistle, which proceeds immediately to the example of Sodom and Gomorrah. And in this latter reference the τούτοις in the clause, τὸν ὅμοιον τούτοις τρόπον ἐκπορνεύσασαι, does not refer to the angels as some have supposed, but much more naturally to the nearer antecedent, Sodom and Gomorrah, being made to agree with these words in the neuter gender, the Apostle not naming the other cities that were destroyed, but describing them as guilty of the same fornication as those he had just named. Plainly the reference here, as in other particulars in both Epistles, and occasionally by St. Paul also, is to a matter not mentioned expressly in the Old Testament at all.

Lastly, Dr. Davidson alleges that it is only on this supposition that any necessity existed for the destruction of the entire human race. But as the unions mentioned were not universal, it is hard to see how they could have necessitated the destruction of the whole race, including the males, who could have had no part in this sin, as well as their innocent wives and children, more than any other prevalent evil which might have naturally tended to a general degeneracy.

Hengstenberg's arguments in favour of the moral signification are good. Two of them are worth mentioning, in addition to what has been said. One is, that it was a special object with the author to guard the children of Israel from forming matrimonial connexions with the heathen people by whom they were surrounded, while nothing could serve this object better than showing the evil consequences of such intermarriages in the old world. The other point is, that in this passage it is not casual intercourse between the sons of God and daughters of men that is mentioned, as might be expected if angels were intended, but regular marriages, as between people living habitually upon earth; "they chose them wives."

On the whole, if any natural and literal sense were to be adopted, such as would favour the notion that the entire narrative is mythical, it should be the acceptation of sons of God, or rather sons of the gods, as we should then render the words, as denoting the children of the gods and goddesses, who, according to the mythological conceptions which were generally prevalent, formed connexions with mortal women. But the adoption of such a notion in the sacred writings of the Israelites, the authors of which were maintaining a perpetual struggle against idolatrous tendencies, is not to be imagined; and it is especially inconceivable that an ancient document, containing such a story, could have been embodied by the compilers of the sacred history of the nation in their compilation, at any of the later times to which the formation of these writings in their present state is assigned by the critics who maintain the mythical character of this narrative,—times when the struggle with idolatry was at its height.

CHAPTERS VI-IX.

THE DELUGE.

Much stress has been laid by those who would treat this narrative as mythical, or at any rate, non-historical, on the difficulties of a practical nature that must have attended the accomplishment of the transactions recorded, if they really took place. These difficulties the Bishop of Natal and others have taken much pains to present in their hardest form, and in the light most unfavourable to the truth of the entire narrative. Though it may be readily admitted that it is impossible entirely to free it from difficulties of this kind, yet it is to be remembered that like difficulties must to some extent attend on any narrative of supernatural events, and often do attend on narratives implying nothing supernatural, for which it is so reasonable to make allowance, that they are not commonly regarded as destroying the credit of the history. The estimate we may form of the extent of these difficulties, as regards the deluge, must depend on the nature of that event, as general or local. The supposition of a local deluge would free the narrative at once from some of the most serious physical difficulties,

such as that arising from the deficiency of water sufficient to cover the globe to the height represented in this narrative. The supposition of an internal cavity in the earth containing water enough for this purpose may be dismissed as untenable. though once much relied on; and although there might be sufficient water to cover the world to the height mentioned, if there were a general depression of elevations, and a simultaneous rise of all depressions, yet any such universal levelling of the earth, at the time when the deluge is represented to have taken place, may be also dismissed as inconsistent with the present physical structure of the surface of the globe. Another difficulty which may be thus avoided is one much relied on by the Bishop of Natal, that, namely, which is presented by a hill in France, consisting of fine volcanic scoriæ, and of very ancient date, which would surely have been swept away by the waters of a deluge. Then, again, though an universal subsidence of elevations and elevation of depressions, happening simultaneously over the whole earth at the period when the deluge is supposed to have taken place, is not to be thought of, on account of geological appearances which negative such a supposition, the same difficulty may not, at least as forcibly, attend the supposition of such a subsidence and subsequent elevation as would be sufficient to produce a local inundation of so great an extent as might satisfy the Biblical narrative, and then to terminate it and restore the surface to its previous condition. Then, difficulties arising from the size of the ark and the number of its living occupants, the provision for their support and the tending of them during the continuance of the deluge, would greatly vary according to the extent of the basin of the supposed local

¹ It is not the want of water sufficient for a general covering of the globe that would negative the supposition that the deluge was caused by this means. "The whole mass of water, including the Atlantic and Pacific, and the smaller oceans, is perhaps equivalent to a complete coating of the earth's surface, if it were perfectly smooth, having a thickness of nearly a mile."—Geological Gossip, or Stray Chapters on Earth and Ocean, by Prof. D. T. Ansted, p. 2. Beds of rock formed during vast periods of time, after the elevation of heights on which they rest unconformally, may be instanced as an example of the difficulties to be encountered in maintaining the supposition of an universal levelling at the time of the Noachic deluge.

deluge, and the numerousness of the fauna by which it was inhabited at the time of the event; besides many other circumstances which it would be impossible to ascertain.

The universality of the deluge was, indeed, in earlier times the prevailing notion. The difficulties which the progress of natural science has occasioned were not felt so forcibly until these later times; and though the terms used in the narrative, descriptive of the whole earth, may as naturally signify the entire merely of the known or inhabited earth, or even of a particular region, as the entire globe; yet, in the absence of any reason for adopting the more limited acceptation, one would, of course, take the words without limitation. Still, the idea of a local deluge was entertained before modern science had raised up objections to the universality of it so forcible as they are now felt to be. Isaac Voss maintained the opinion in his treatise De Ætate Mundi, and in our own Church a writer of such unquestioned orthodoxy as Bishop Stillingfleet strongly advocated it. A few passages from his Origines Sacræ deserve to be extracted:—"I cannot see any necessity, from the Scripture, to assert that the flood did spread itself over all the surface of the earth. That all mankind (those in the Ark excepted) were destroyed by it is most certain, according to the Scriptures.—It is evident that the flood was universal as to mankind; but from thence follows no necessity at all of asserting the universality of it as to the globe of the earth, unless it be sufficiently proved that the earth was peopled before the flood, which I despair of ever. seeing proved. And what reason can there be to extend the flood beyond the occasion of it, which was the corruption of mankind?—The only probability, then, left for asserting the universality of the flood as to the globe of the earth is from the destruction of all living creatures, together with man; now, though men might not have spread themselves over the whole earth, yet beasts and creeping things might, which were all destroyed by the flood.—To what end should there be, not only

a note of universality added, but such a particular enumeration of the several kinds of beasts, creeping things, and fowls, if they were not all destroyed? To this I answer: I grant, as far as the flood extended, all these were destroyed; but I see no reason to extend the destruction of these beyond that compass and space of the earth where men inhabited, because the punishment upon the beasts was occasioned by, and could not but be concomitant with the destruction of mankind; but (the occasion of the deluge being the sin of man, who was punished in the beasts that were destroyed for his sake, as well as in himself,) where the occasion was not, as where there were animals and no man, there seems no necessity of extending the flood thither. But to what end then, it will be replied, did God command Noah, with so much care, to take all kinds of beasts and birds and living things into the Ark with him, if all these living creatures were not destroyed by the flood? I answer, because all these were destroyed wherever the flood was.-And would there not in this supposition have been a sufficient reason to preserve living creatures in the Ark for future propagation, when all other living creatures extant were in such remote places as would not have been accessible by them in many generations?—God saying, "Let the earth bring forth living creatures" (and that after the waters had divided some parts of the earth from others, so that there could be no passage for the cattle, creeping things, and beasts out of one part into another without the help of man), it seems very probable that, at least, those parts of the earth which were thus divided from each other did bring forth these several living creatures after their kinds, which did after propagate in those parts without being brought thither by the help of man. If now this supposition be embraced, by it we presently clear ourselves of many difficulties concerning the propagation of animals in the world, and their conservation in the Ark, which many have been so much to seek satisfaction in. As how the unknown kind of serpents in Brazil, the slow bellied

creature of the Indies, and all those species of animals in the West Indies, should come into the Ark of Noah, or be conveyed out of it into those countries which are divided from that continent where the flood was, by so vast an ocean on the one side, and, at least, so large a tract of land on the other.— Besides, some kind of animals cannot live out of that particular clime wherein they are; and there are many sorts of animals, discovered in America and the adjoining islands, which have left no remainders of themselves in these parts of the world. These things at least make that opinion very probable, which extends the production of animals beyond that of mankind in the whole world; and that the flood, though it destroyed all mankind and every living creature within the compass where mankind inhabited, yet might not extend itself to those parts and the animals therein, in which men had never inhabited. And by this means we need not make so many miracles as some are fain to do about the flood; and all those difficulties concerning the propagation of animals do of themselves vanish and fall to the ground."-Origines Sacrae, B. iii. ch. iv. sect. 3, 4, pp. 337-339; Ed. 1709.

This notion of a deluge limited to the part of the world occupied as yet by mankind, is certainly not at variance with, rather is countenanced by, the important references to the deluge in the Second Epistle of St. Peter. A glance at a Concordance will show that in the New Testament the word $\kappa \acute{o} \sigma \mu o s$, which is of very frequent occurrence, is used quite as often, if not oftener, in a figurative sense, to denote the world of mankind, as literally, to signify the material world. If now we turn to 2 Pet. ii. 5., we read that God "spared not the old world," $\mathring{a} \rho \chi a \iota o s \kappa \acute{o} \sigma \mu o s$, this expression being co-ordinated with "the angels that sinned," and denoting therefore the world of men with the exception of the eight that were saved in the Ark, the world of ungodly men, $\kappa \acute{o} \sigma \mu o s \mathring{a} \sigma \epsilon \beta \mathring{\omega} \nu$, on whom the deluge was brought. And then in iii. 5, 6. we are told how "the heavens were of old, and the earth" $\mathring{\epsilon} \xi \ \mathring{\nu} \delta a \tau o s \kappa a \imath \delta \iota$ "

ὕδατος συνεστῶσα, τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγῳ, δι ἀν ὁ τοτε κόσμος ὕδατι κατακλυσθεὶς ἀπώλετο. The antecedent of the relative in this latter clause can only be the heavens and the earth, by which, namely through the rain from the one, and breaking up of the fountains of the other, "the world that then was being overflowed with water perished." This κόσμος standing thus distinguished from the heavens and the earth denotes, as in the former passage, the world of men. Beyond the regions over which this extended, it is not affirmed that the deluge reached.

A deluge thus extending over a limited region of the earth, produced by a subsidence of the district which formed its basin, and terminated by a subsequent elevation of the same region, would only be what we know to have taken place successively in most, if not in all parts of the earth, and more than once in many parts. And just as one part has become elevated, another has been depressed; so that, in fact, during the slow progress of ages, the diluvial wave was successively passing over the entire globe. The difference between the Biblical deluge, viewed as pervading a particular portion of the earth, and any of the ordinary visits of this diluvial wave to any particular region, is that the latter took place during the lapse of vast periods of duration, while the Biblical deluge occupied in its rise and fall but a single year. Whether the natural forces in operation might in a particular instance have produced the exceptionally rapid effects described in the Biblical narrative, is perhaps more than any one could affirm or deny.1 Nor is it affirmed or denied in the narrative itself. whatever were the forces employed, acting in their ordinary course of operation, or extraordinarily brought into play,

An instance of the great rapidity with which effects of this kind are sometimes produced within a limited space is afforded by the submersion of the town of Port Royal, in Jamaica, in 1692. By a convulsion which lasted only three minutes, this town was sunk several fathoms under water, its walls being still visible in calm weather. An effect of an opposite kind is the sudden elevation of volcanic islands, as recently exemplified in the vicinity of Santorini, and often before in the same group of islands.

it is impossible wholly to exclude the element of miracle from the narrative; and if miracle be at all introduced, the degree in which it is supposed to have existed is quite a secondary consideration. If it is unreasonable to admit miracle where it seems unnecessary, it must at any rate be recognised in any narrative to a degree adequate to produce the effects described. Within the limits of what is possible in rerum naturâ, there is no limit to the extent to which the needful miracle may be assumed to have been in operation. The flood itself may have been one of those natural events that have from time to time occurred in the physical history of the earth. But still the previous intimation of it to Noah, and the means prescribed for the preservation of men and beasts, seem plainly to go far beyond the limits of what is natural. If, then, the existence of miracle be supposed at all, there is no reason why the exercise of supernatural power may not have extended to the removal or overcoming of the many obstacles and difficulties of a practical nature, with which the narrative is encumbered on the supposition of its being an account of things simply natural. The magnifying of those difficulties, therefore, to any extent within the limits of what is possible in the nature of things, is quite irrelevant, except upon the supposition that miracle must be excluded altogether. To maintain that is simply to maintain not the mythical character of this or that particular narrative, but the falsehood of the sacred Scriptures at large, in their most important characteristics as the record of a divinely attested revelation. To allow the miracles, say of the New Testament, or of any part of the Old, and yet to reject this narrative in its historical character, simply on account of the miraculousness of the events, is highly inconsistent. To relieve this or any other of the Scriptural narratives of as many embarrassing circumstances as possible is the duty of every interpreter, as well for the sake of the record itself, as of the sceptically disposed reader of it. And if the narrative itself contained evidences that it was regarded by the writer, and was

intended by him to be understood, as an allegorical and symbolical representation of facts and principles, as the second and third chapters have been shown to be, then one should rightly treat it as non-historical, irrespective of the question of miracle altogether, miracle as supposed matter of fact having place in it only on the supposition of its being a literal history. One important characteristic, which may seem to countenance this view of its nature and design, is that frequent and abundant iteration, that accumulated recapitulation of particulars, which has been already noticed as distinguishing the first chapter, which in a still larger degree distinguishes this narrative, and which has at all times been one of the frequent marks and tokens of moral and allegorical tales and mystical narratives, especially when designed for recitation. And even if we should ascribe to this narrative such a character, it might still have had as its foundation the memory of some actual event or events, such as the inundations which, in the traditions of all nations that are not too barbarous to possess even a tradition, underlie all their other tales and traditions of past events. If God is a moral governor of the world, the moral significance of the event would not be invalidated by its occurrence in a natural way. The preservation of life from such a catastrophe, whether providential or miraculous, would in either case be due to God; though the actual means might have been very different from what the narrative represents, on the supposition that it has the tokens of such an allegorical and mystical tale as we have spoken of, the admissibility of such an intended character depending on the visible existence of such marks and tokens. In this case, perhaps, different minds will form a different estimate of their significance and weight.

CHAPTERS X. XI. 1-10.

THE DISPERSION OF MANKIND AND CONFUSION OF TONGUES.

I. The verification of the ethnographical particulars mentioned in chapter x. would be entirely beyond the scope of the present inquiry. The difficulties which it presents, such as that arising from the use of a Shemitic language by people referred to Hamitic origin, could perhaps be only solved, or proved insoluble, by an amount of knowledge not at present available. And in a matter which involves nothing that would require such certainty of information as to call for any Divine interference in securing its accuracy, we need not suppose that the writer had any source of information beyond what was within the range of the learning of his age, and in reach of his contemporaries. In this case, as in regard to physical matters, he may have adopted the prevalent notions of his time. It is not, indeed, necessary to concede that any serious error exists in these ethnological statements; but if it should be proved that such does exist, that would no more invalidate the general character of the record as part of those sacred writings produced under that Divine guidance and superintendence, which, of whatever kind or degree, constitutes the inspiration of Holy Scripture, than the existence of inaccuracy in the genealogy in St. Matthew's Gospel invalidates the Gospel history in general. This passage may therefore be left without anxiety to the investigations of the learned, and we may patiently await the results of modern research in philology and ethnography.

In addition to these difficulties, however, Bishop Colenso raises an objection from the circumstance that Japheth appears as the youngest of Noah's sons. He says that "Arabic writers describe him as the *eldest*, not—as he is in the Bible—the youngest, son of Noah." He refers to the Rabbis as making

Shem the youngest, first on account of the order in which the genealogies in chap. x. place the three, namely, Japheth, Ham, Shem, this being thus arranged, however, as the Bishop suggests, to bring the family of Shem into connexion with the account of his descendant Abraham in the next chapter; and secondly, because if Noah begat a son at the age of five hundred years (v. 32), and entered the ark at the age of six hundred (vii. 11), and yet Shem was only a hundred years old two years after the flood (xi. 10), he must have been the youngest son. This, however, would only show that he was younger than Japheth, and Japheth the eldest, if we assume Ham to have been the youngest, or at least a younger son, as intimated in ix. 24. Noah was five hundred when he begat the first of his sons, in whatever order they were begotten. At the termination of the flood he was aged six hundred and one, and therefore two years after the flood he was six hundred and three. Shem, however, was then only one hundred, and therefore was born when Noah was five hundred and three. But the first of Noah's sons was begotten by him when he was five hundred. This could not therefore have been Shem, and the seniority would then be between Japheth and Ham. But as, by ix. 24, Ham was certainly not the eldest, Japheth must have been the firstborn. The Bishop however says, "It is evident that in the lists of Gen. v., xi., the ancestors of Abraham are in every other instance the firstborn sons of their respective fathers—(the Elohist knowing nothing of Cain and Abel),—and it is not likely that the case of Shem would be exceptional." This statement in regard to the primogeniture of Abraham's ancestors is all a pure assumption, nothing being said in respect to this in any of the genealogies, except in one single instance which shows that the discrepancy in regard to the sons of Noah has no existence but in the imagination of those who are determined to make difficulties where they do not find them. That instance is in this case of Japheth himself, who in x. 21 is called, according to one manner of construing, not "Japheth

the elder," as in the English version, but "Japheth the eldest," as in the Hebrew, אחי יפת הגרול. This is rendered by the LXX., ἀδελφώ Ἰάφηθ τοῦ μειζονος, whereby the primogeniture of Japheth is asserted here, in agreement with the inference of the same already arrived at, the use of the comparative form being explained in the note just referred to. It may be thought, however, that there is something gratuitous and therefore improbable in merely asserting here what needed no mention, that Shem was a brother of Japheth. And for this reason the translation of the Vulgate may be preferred, fratre Japheth majore. But even so, the seniority of Shem to Japheth would not under the circumstances be asserted. The narrative had already given indication that Japheth was the eldest, by placing him first. The order of the other two is then transposed in order to conclude with Shem, as the subsequent history was to be mainly concerned with his descendants, and his race in a particular line was to be continued in a genealogy to follow presently after. The order of these two being thus transposed, the writer, to prevent mistake, when he introduces Shem as father of the children of Eber, the race with which the history was concerned, adds, that though placed last, he came next in order of birth to Japheth. "The elder brother of Japheth" would thus denote not a brother older than Japheth, but the brother that came next to him, the elder of his two brothers, which is really the most natural meaning of the words, though we in our familiar parlance speak of a man's elder brother as of one older than himself. And so, whether we follow the LXX. or the Vulgate, we have a good meaning for the words,

The Bishop says, Pt. v., Crit. Anal. p. 37, that this may denote a comparative as in Gen. i. 16, "the greater light." It is true that where the comparison is only of two things the superlative is often used; but it is still a true superlative. On the other hand, when the comparison is of more than two, the comparative form is by a common usage adopted in place of the superlative. In this case the superlative is expressed by a comparison with each of the other particulars. And thus is explained the $\mu\epsilon i \zeta o v o s$ of the LXX. here, and the $\delta \nu \epsilon \omega \tau \epsilon \rho o s$ by which they render $\xi c \rho c \rho s$ as applied to Ham in ix. 24. The supposition that a comparison is there only made with Shem is quite untenable, and is one of the desperate attempts that theorists make in order to escape from a difficulty, the very necessity of which is a refutation of the theory itself.

one consistent with the indications of the relative ages otherwise given in the narrative. And surely, if the meaning were even doubtful, all principles of sound interpretation require us to adopt that sense which does not make a writer contradict himself. To adopt a different sense for the sake of establishing an inconsistency is quite inadmissable. The different order of Noah's sons observed in the more familiar enumeration of them is accounted for by the order which they would naturally have in the mind of an Hebrew. Shem would by such a writer be thought of first. Ham, the ancestor of the people with whom the Hebrews had the nearest relations, first in Canaan, then in Egypt, and afterwards in Canaan again, would next present himself to the mind. And Japheth, with whose descendants there existed the remotest relations, whether of place or habits of intercourse, would naturally come last. This order may have been departed from in chap. x., not from any special regard to the relative ages, but by a natural inversion of the order commonly observed, the order of nearness to the writer's thoughts, with a view of bringing Shem into connexion with the sequel, which more nearly concerns his descendants. The writer having thus placed Japheth first, and so having given him his true place according to his primogeniture, then completes the order of age, by intimating that Shem, though placed last, came next by birth to Japheth. Thus the indications of age are made more complete; Ham had already been mentioned as the youngest, and now Japheth appears as the eldest in a manner of speaking, which, even if ambiguous, becomes more definite by the indication already noticed.

The Bishop also objects to the word Eber, as an appellative converted into the name of an imaginary ancestor. But why should not a real ancestor have received this name, and bequeathed it to his descendants, on account of some earlier migration across the Euphrates or some other river? One branch of his descendants, the sons of Joktan, seem to have retained the name, with a transposition of letters, as not un-

frequently happened, in the form עָרֶב which still survives in Arab as Eber does in Hebrew. The transposition would be the more likely, as the word in this form would so easily connect itself with the root עָרֶב, "to remove," without doing violence to the significance of the name. Thus may be explained the description of Shem as the father of all the children of Eber, not only of those who afterwards retained the designation of Hebrew, but of the Arabian tribes also. The significance of the name would cause it to be revived afterwards, with special reference to Abraham and his seed, on account of his departure from Mesopotamia, and settlement in the land of Canaan. Other instances will appear in subsequent parts of this book of significant names being revived on account of some circumstance that has brought their significance to mind, and thus given them new life.

A serious objection is made by the Bishop and others to the derivation of the name Babel, from the confusion of tongues, the account of which is contained in this section, it being, as the Bishop states, now generally agreed on by the learned that Babel signifies the house or gate of Bel or Belus. For either of these meanings the loss of two radicals in the first part, and of one in the latter syllable, must have taken place, באב, the Arabic יוֹם, "a gate," or else בות, "a house," being represented only by the initial , while Bel is only a contracted form of Such a derivation of the name is exceedingly doubtful, while the analogy of the Syriac is highly in favour of the Biblical derivation. The verb 55, "to confound," would give in Hebrew , נלנלת, Gilgal, and , נלנל, "a skull." As this latter is represented in Syriac by אַבְּלֶבֶׁל Gogulto, so is שׁבְּלֶבֶּל by צֵבֶּב denoting hesitancy of speech.² But even sup-

p. 64.

¹ But more recently in Pt. v. Crit. Anal. p. 42, the Bishop says, "There is little doubt among scholars that the word is Bab-II, meaning "House of God." Which is the opinion generally received by scholars? In thus restoring one of the radicals to the first part of this compound, this later derivation leaves the second part still without one of its radicals, the final 5 only representing this part.

² See Rosenmüller's Biblical Geography, in Edinburgh Biblical Cabinet, vol. xvii.

posing that the name Babel had a different origin, we must remember that it is not an uncommon thing, on perceiving a new significance in a name, or when mentioning some circumstance to which the name, according to some not improbable derivation or origin other than the true one, is particularly appropriate, to say that what bears the name is so called on this account. The meaning in such case is only that the name might well have been derived from the circumstance of which it is thus significant. An instance of such a manner of speaking is to be found in xxvii. 36, where Esau says of Jacob, "Is he not rightly named Jacob? for he hath supplanted me these two times;" whereas the original cause of the name Jacob is given in xxv. 26; "His hand took hold on Esau's heel (בַּעַכֶב), and his name was called Jacob." The original of xxvii. 36 is simply הָבִי כְּרָא, in the sense of annon vocavit. Moreover, in xi. 9, it is not Jehovah that is said to have given the name of Babel. The position of Jehovah in the succeeding clause between the verb "confounded" and its object "speech," shows that it cannot be the nominative to the verb in the first clause. The expression קרא שׁבם, though active in form, is idiomatically used passively; strictly it is as if the person or thing called his or its own name so and so, or as if one so called it. This remark on the significance of proper names may be applied frequently with advantage to the explanations of proper names occurring in this book.

II. Another part of this passage, which in these more recent times has been regarded as attended with difficulty, is that which describes the manner in which the divergence of language and dispersion of mankind took place. The existing differences of languages, as far as they have been brought within the range of modern philology, seem all attributable to a gradual change, resulting from growth or degeneration, and point to the operation of time and the separation of mankind as their cause. That the existing differences are such as not only might have naturally resulted from a previous separation of tribes, but, as

far as brought within the range of investigation, indicate this as the actual order of the events, is so evident to those who have studied this subject, that some have rejected the account contained in Gen. xi. altogether, while others have been disposed to treat that account as only describing after an accustomed manner of Biblical representation the natural effect of the scattering abroad of men on the earth. The question then arises, how far the Scriptural narrative may be consistent with such a view of the matter, or necessarily implies a different cause and order of events.

No difficulty arises from the anthropomorphic representation of the divine agency in this matter. No visible or external manifestation of God is implied in the narrative, nor is there, at any rate, any express assertion of miracle, however it may be implied on the supposition that the confusion of tongues is here represented to have taken place out of the ordinary course before the separation. If this supposition is not necessarily implied in the narrative, then the agency of God in the matter is reduced to the ordinary operation of God in the providential course of things. Any who recognise this providential agency of God will find no difficulty in the anthropomorphic repre-Shuckford, who amidst much that is now sentation of it. quite exploded has many sensible remarks on this subject, recognises the production of the effect without miracle. "God is said to have sent down and confounded their language; but 'tis usual to meet with things spoken of as done by God, which were effected not by extraordinary miracle, but by the course of things permitted by him to work out what he would have done in the world."2 He supposes the divergence to have begun from a spirit of innovation, leaders of parties inventing new names, and thus causing confusion. He adds, "It does indeed look more like a miracle, to suppose the confusion of

As the writer of a most interesting article on this subject in Macmillan's Magazine, for May, 1863, pp. 61-71.
 Connection, B. ii., vol. i., pp. 133-4. Ed. 1731.

tongues effected instantly in a moment; but the text does not oblige us to think it so sudden a production. From the beginning of Babel to the dispersion of the nations might be several years; and perhaps all this time a difference of speech was growing up until at length it came to such an height as to cause them to form different companies, and to separate." Still he did not consider the divergence of language thus produced the full effect. For he observes,2 "Though the difference of the tongues was at first but small, yet every language, after the stability of speech was lost, varying in time from itself, the languages of different nations in a few ages became vastly different, and unintelligible to one another." Bishop Stillingfleet³ wavers between the natural and the miraculous character of the event, but inclines to the latter. He says, "It is certain that miracles may be in those things which might be effected otherwise by natural causes, when they are produced without help of those causes, and in a space of time impossible to nature." The only proof that the effect was in this case produced without the help of natural causes would have been its production in a time imposssible to nature. That this was the case, however, is an assumption of which there is no evi dence, but much that points in the opposite direction. The building of a city that might counteract a growing tendency to dispersion, which the narrative itself supposes, would be a work of time, the progress of which would keep pace with the growth of population, but certainly would not anticipate it to any great extent.

Le Clerc avoids the difficulty in regard to the variation of language by supposing that the sameness of lip in v. 1 denotes unity of purpose rather than sameness of language, which he says would be of less moment for the building of a city than unity of purpose.4 He thinks there is no reason

¹ Pp. 134, 5. ² P. 139.

³ Origines Sacræ, Lib. iii., ch. 5, §. 4, p. 364. Ed. 1709.
4 Fortè hæc verba homines concordes egisse ante omnia significant, quia ad unam civitatem condendam, haud paulò magis necessaria est concordia, quam sermonis

why we should suppose the confusion to have taken place in a moment of time, and that it is more likely that the interruption of the building was occasioned by discord, and that the people having on this account separated, their language underwent a change in lapse of time. The words rendered in our version, "That they may not understand one another's speech," lit. ut ne audiant, he explains of not complying with one another's desires. It is possible that in v. 1 one phrase might denote unity of purpose and the other sameness of language, but few will think that the phraseology of v. 7 is not more appropriate to language than design, and that a confusion of tongues, however produced, is not intended. It may be observed that Philo, without deciding positively, leans to the opinion adopted by Le Clerc, and remarks that if only a difference of language had been intended, confusion would not have been the word used, but distinction.1

Heidegger, Rashe Aroth, Exercit. xxi., quotes the Adversaria of Is. Casaubon,² who in reference to this subject maintains that the first change consisted in the introduction of new ἐγκλίσεις καὶ προσεγκλίσεις. "It is certain," Casaubon says, "that those nations, who were dispersed through various regions, did not pass suddenly into the most distant parts of the world, but to those which were nearer their original country. If therefore entirely different languages had been produced at Babel, the Assyrians and Chaldeans would of necessity have retained those strange and different languages. But we see that the contrary was the fact. For it is most certain that other

Το γὰρ γινόμενον σύγχυσιν προσείπεν, καίτοιγε εἰ διαλέκτων γένεσιν αὐτὸ μόνον εδήλον, κὰν ὄνομα εὐθυβολώτατον ἐπεφήμισεν ἀντὶ συγχύσεως διάκρισιν.—Περι Συγχύσεως Διαλέκτων.

similitudo; nee Hebraicæ Linguæ idioma hane interpretationem respuit. In support of this statement he refers to Joshua ix. 2, where the kings are said to have gathered themselves together against Joshua "with one mouth," to 1 Kings xxii. 13, where the words of the prophets are said to have declared good to the king "with one mouth," and to Is. xix. 18, where it is said that five eities of Egypt should speak "the lip of Canaan." This last expression seems, however, elearly to indicate the prevalent use of Hebrew owing to the number of Jews resident in those cities. He cites in reference to the second phrase, "of the same words," the explanation of Rashi:—Salamo Jarchi idem consilium exponit.—Comment. in Pentateuch. Gen. xi.

² Titulo de Linguarum Confusione.

languages retained and still retain more distinct and manifest traces of Hebrew origin, the nearer they were to the ancient and primitive seat of mankind. This propinquity we make to be twofold, of place and of time. For each nation nearest to the Hebrew, both in respect of situation and of time, approached most nearly to its language. But distance of place and time produced as its consequence a greater diversity. This is clear from a comparison of the Syriac, Chaldee, Arabic, Punic, etc., with the Hebrew language." This argument drawn from the similarity of the Shemitic dialects, holds good against the supposition of the introduction of entirely new languages at Babel, apart from the notion which Casaubon maintained that the Hebrew was the primitive language. It is to be noted that the ἐγκλίσεις and προσεγκλίσεις, which he speaks of, are exactly the variations that would have been coming into existence in different tribes, though not dispersed more widely than the necessities of increasing numbers would require, the tendency to scatter thus produced having been no doubt the cause of the efforts made to hinder dispersion, as displayed in the building of the tower and city. Heidegger, reviewing the arguments on both sides, declares himself in favour of the natural production of languages in the course of time. He appeals to the teaching of experience, and says that there can be no reason for supposing that the change did not originally take place, as we now see it in progress from various causes, unless it can be shown by clear proof that it happened otherwise by the interference of a miracle.1 That there was no such miracle, he argues from the difference between confusion of tongue or lip, and confusion of tongues. Two or three people might speak

¹ Colligimus multis fidiculis, Liuguarum diversitatem non esse immediatè per confusionem, ingeneratis novis habitibus, introductam, sed procedente tempore, divisis gentibus, notoriam illam linguarum mutationem et diversitatam ex uno principio, in quod per artem resolubilis est, obrepsisse.—Denique experientia rerum magistra ipsa quoque lenocinari nobis videtur. Nulla enim ratio, cur aliter antiquitus linguarum varietatem obvenisse opiuemur, quàm hodieque linguarum mutationem contingere cernimus.—Eodem modo antiquitus unum idioma in varia suecessu temporis divisum esse, proclive est divinatu, nisi miraculo intercedente aliter factum esse liquidò probari possit.

with confused discourse, and so not understand one another, without diversity of languages.1 Moreover, like Philo, he thinks that confusion of tongue is not the proper expression to denote the introduction of languages different from that previously spoken.

We may now pass to a much earlier authority. It is well known to the learned that Gregory of Nyssa held the notion of the human origin of language in general; and in reply to the objection to this opinion which might be drawn from the story of the confusion of tongues, he says that God is not said to have produced languages on that occasion, but to have confounded the existing language.2 He does not, indeed, say in what manner this confusion was produced; but he says that, while living together, men had one language, but that when God willed the earth to be peopled, then men, being scattered according as they agreed in language, went apart in different directions.3 Hence he alleges that his opinion of the human origin of language, both before and after the dispersion, is not in any way invalidated by this narrative.4 It is plain that the community and difference of speech, in accordance with which men went together or parted asunder, may in Gregory's conception have been growing up simultaneously with a general sameness of language through a considerable period, as well as produced all at once; indeed, we might say the former is more consistent with his view of the matter. Thus we see that long before the existence of recent linguistic theories, not only

¹ Planum est disparata hæe duo, confusio linguæ seu sermonis et labii, et confusio linguarum, hoe est divisio linguarum, seu loquendi generum verbis et idiotismis discrepantium. Sie enim duo tresve loqui possent confuso sermone, neque ulli invicem intellecto. An iceireò duarum vel trium diversarum linguarum ritu ?

2 ° Ει δέ τις τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς πυργοποιίας σύγχυσιν ὡς ἐναντιουμένην τοῖς εἰρημένοις προσφέρη, οὐδὲ ἐκεῖ ποιεῖν λέγεται γλώσσας ὁ θεὸ; τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ συγχεῖν τὴν οὖσαν, ὡς οὐ μὴ πάντες πάντων ἀκούειν.—Adv. Eunom. xii.

3 Τότε διεσπαρθέντες κατὰ τὴν τὴς φωνῆς κοινωνίαν ἄλλος ἀλλαχῆ διεσπάρη.—

^{4 &}quot;Ωστε μένει πάγιος ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος ὁ τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας φωνὰς τῆς ἡμετέρας διανοίας εθρήματα εἶναι ὁριζόμενος οὔτε γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εως ὁμόφωνον ἄπαν ἦν έαυτῷ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, θεοῦ ἡημάτων διδασκαλίαν τινὰ γεγονυίαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παρὰ τῆς γραφῆς μεμαθήκαμεν ούτε είς ποικίλας γλώσσων διαφόρας διετμηθέντων, όπως αν έκαστος φθέγγοιτο θείος επεστάτησε νόμος.—Ibid.

thoughtful and learned, but also orthodox men found a difficulty in accepting the popular interpretation of this narrative, and that efforts to explain it differently are not in all cases to be ascribed to modern rationalism.

Taking the passage now in connexion with the ethnographical account contained in the preceding chapter, we learn from that chapter that, however the divergence of language took place, it did not consist in a confusion of tongues amongst the members of the same tribe or family. This is plain from the manner in which it represents the different countries as partitioned amongst the descendants of the several sons of Shem, Ham, and Japheth, "every one after his tongue, after their families, in their nations." The divergence was between the languages of different tribes or families, not amongst the members of the same tribes. If the confusion took place before the separation, it must then have been consistent with the sameness of language in the several tribes. This points, at any rate, to a tribal separation as its cause, and might have been produced by the absence of frequent intercourse between the members of different tribes, in certain stages of the progress of language, without any very wide local separation. A tendency in this direction may have existed and produced certain effects from the very first. That there existed such a tendency to disperse from the beginning is implied in the apprehension, which men are represented as having felt, lest they should be scattered abroad, and in the political design of counteracting that tendency by increasing the concentration of men in a great city. That men should be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth, instead of concentrating themselves in crowded centres, is represented through the whole preceding part of the book as the intention of Providence, the concentration in large cities being subordinate, as we see it to be, to the peopling of countries. It was to counteract this design of Providence that men were engaged, according to this account, in building their great city and tower; and it was to hinder them from thus counteracting the design

of Providence that God is represented as interposing. He resolves, in consequence, to go down and confound their language. We have just seen that this could not have been a promiseuous confusion, but that, however it was accomplished, it was consistent with the unity of language in the several tribes of men. Why may not the statement of v. 8, "And the Lord scattered them abroad upon the face of the earth," express the means rather than the effect of this confusion? 1 Or may not each have been viewed by the writer as in its turn a cause, as well as an effect of the other? The spirit of separation already at work, as we have seen, may have been increased and stimulated; ordinary and probable dissensions may have caused wider separation, or increased the tendency towards it. This, as having happened under the providential arrangements of God, may be truly ascribed to divine agency. The separation thus effected would produce in time divergence of speech, and this would, in turn, widen the separation, and effectually hinder the reunion of tribes thus scattered. Even in this way, the priority of the divergence of speech may have existed in the lesser differences that may have originated between different tribes through want of promiseuous intercourse, before they were widely separated.2 At any rate, nothing is more frequently observable in the history of mankind, than a concurrence of progressing events taking their rise from some obscure beginning of one, and thenceforward by a mutual action and reaction becoming each in turn a cause and an effect of the other. And then if it does not come within the design of a narrator to trace back the results to that first obscure beginning,

changed."

^{1 &}quot;The confusion of tongues and the dispersion of nations are spoken of in the ""The confusion of tongues and the dispersion of nations are spoken of in the Bible as contemporaneous events. 'So the Lord scattered them abroad,' is stated as the execution of the Divine counsel, 'Let us confound their language.' The divergence of the various families into distinct tribes and nations ran parallel with the divergence of speech into dialects and languages."—Article on the Confusion of Tongues, in Smith's History of the Bible, by Rev. W. L. Bevan.

² The writer in Macmillan's Magazine, already referred to, quotes Moffatt's Missionary Labours in Southern Africa, as representing that amongst some of the African tribes, where separation from the central gatherings of the nation takes place, "In the course of a single generation the entire character of the language is changed."

it will depend on the point from which, in accordance with the object he has in view, the writer takes his start, which shall appear in his narrative as the cause of the other. The writer of the present narrative introduces the divine interposition at such a point as to give the priority as cause apparently to the variation of speech. But a different order of priority in the previous steps is not obscurely intimated. For setting out with the unity of language, by the apprehension lest men should be dispersed which is mentioned, he clearly implies the existence of some tendency to separate—a tendency already showing itself in actual separation to some extent. The efforts to counteract that fail through the divine interposition. That interposition may have been no more than the operation of the natural law whereby the lesser partition of tribes, that had been already taking place, produced its effect in a change of language, which successfully counteracted the efforts made to hinder dispersion.

The reason why this manner of representing the matter was adopted may be found in the object which we may reasonably suppose the Hebrew Legislator had in view; and the use of so strongly representing the divine agency in producing the effects described was doubtless the tendency this representation would have to counteract the disposition of the children of Israel to coalesce with other nations. It was the policy of his government to make them the most distinct and separate people in the world. This was necessary for the preservation of the true religion, of which that people was to be the depositary for many ages. Their removal from amongst the Egyptians, with whom they had so long sojourned, and a return to whom for any purpose was so strictly prohibited, and their future separation from the nations surrounding them, was to have a religious character impressed on it. This design would be much promoted by the representation of the divine agency as brought into operation, at the early beginnings of human history, to keep the tribes and nations of mankind separate and distinct. And, accordingly, in the Song of Moses, at the close of his administration, we find him referring the people to this very narrative in a manner not to be mistaken:—

"Remember the days of old,
Consider the years of many generations;
Ask thy father and he will show thee,
Thy elders and they will tell thee:
When the Most High eaused the nations to inherit,
When he scattered the sons of Adam,
He set boundaries to the peoples,
For the number of the sons of Israel."

The expression, "when he scattered the sons of Adam," plainly refers us to the execution of the divine purpose to scatter them, as described in this chapter, when God saw "the city and the tower which the sons of Adam were building." The mention of the sons of Adam, instead of the sons of Noah as in the title of this section, "The generations of the sons of Noah," is peculiar, and was evidently in the mind of the writer of the later passage. The subservience of the present narrative to the writer's object would not be affected in any way by the manner in which the dispersion of mankind was accomplished, so long as it is represented to have been in accordance with the designs of Providence. But the force of the example is greatly strengthened by showing that concurrently with this providential design to scatter abroad in the earth the children of men, there was at work a divine influence—the influence of a natural law, and therefore truly ascribed to God, the operation of which may have itself, indeed, originated in the earliest and most partial separations, but the subsequent effect of which was most potently to eause a wider separation, and to hinder the success of any attempts to counteract the natural tendency of men to separate. This the narrative very distinctly presents to our view, but in a manner more suited to the capacity of those for whom it was written, than if it had given a more particular and literal representation of the way in which the events actually took place.

Enough has perhaps been now said to remove any difficulty

1 Deut. xxxii. 7, 8.

which this narrative might occasion, as seeming to describe the events in a different order from that in which the analogy of the changes that have ever since taken place would seem to indicate. The actual order is implied in the statements of the narrative, sufficiently to clear the account from the charge of misconception; the seeming inversion of order is only apparent, inasmuch as once the process had come into operation each of the two concurrent events became in turn, in the progress of their growth, a cause and an effect of the other. remarks that have been made will also remove the difficulty which has been occasioned by the supposed needless introduction of miracle to produce a result, for which natural causes, that must have been in operation from the beginning, would have sufficed. The narrative, in fact, does not necessarily imply the operation of any miraculous interference of God whatever, though it does ascribe the result in a most decided manner to the divine agency. That agency may have been the ordinary operation of the natural laws which God had established in the world, the anthropomorphic representation of it being in entire accordance with the Scriptural manner of representing all the operations of God in nature,—that God who rides upon the winds, and makes the clouds his chariot, whose voice is in the thunder, and his footsteps upon the sea.

In this short narrative we may likewise notice, though perhaps only in a slight degree, the characteristic already remarked in former instances, where the repetition of a particular formula seems to give the narrative the air of a tale intended for recitation, and veiling under its form an event or moral somewhat different from that which is actually expressed. This characteristic in the present case consists in the repetition of the phrase which appears in the English Version as "Go to;" and as the original word for this, , which occurs here three times, and is put into the mouth both of God and of men, is elsewhere found in this interjectional sense only in xxxviii. 16, and Exod. i. 10, its repetition here is certainly remarkable, considering how

short the entire passage is, and is not without significance in connexion with the remarks already made.

CHAPTERS X. 19, XIII. 10-13, XIV., XVIII. 20-33, XIX.

THE CITIES OF THE PLAIN.

THE destruction of the cities of the plain, or of the circle, as the word אולכל should perhaps be rendered, however it was occasioned, and by whatever means effected, seems to be as clearly an historical event as any on record. Josephus, De Bell-Jud., iv. 8, 4, says that the ruins, or as he calls them, the shadows of the five cities, were still visible in his time. He had himself visited that region, for he tells us, Ant. i. 11, 4, that he had himself seen the pillar of salt into which Lot's wife was turned. Doubtless he saw, what are still to be seen, masses of salt, from which pillar-like blocks are sometimes separated, one of which he might naturally have supposed to be that with which Lot's wife was encrusted according to the Biblical narrative. Strabo also, Geog. xvi. Syria, mentions the extant remains of a wall of sixty stadia which had enclosed the city of Sodom. Indeed, if De Sauley's observations are to be relied on, there are traces of the ruins still in existence. At any rate, it was only in Christian times that the notion prevailed that the site of the cities was overflowed by the Dead Sea, after their destruction. When Genesis x. 19 was written, they were sufficiently extant to furnish notorious landmarks, by which to limit the border of the Canaanites. Had they been at that time covered by the sea, it would have been the sea itself and not the no longer visible cities which would have been mentioned as the boundary. In chap, xiii, they are mentioned as already destroyed, but there is no intimation that the sea had overflowed the plain. Rather the manner of speaking seems to imply the desolateness of the region in the writer's time, by the mention of its fertility before the destruction. The

plain or circle was still there, though not as it once was, "before Jehovah destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, as a garden of Jehovah;" and in the account of the destruction in xix. it is also to be noticed that there is not a word said of the sea.

It is true that in xiv. 3, after the mention of "the vale of Siddim," the gloss is added, "That is the Salt Sea." Mr. Grove, in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, Art. Siddim, thinks that the writer of this gloss believed that the sea had overflowed the site. And Josephus himself, Ant. i. 10, says that the vale called "the Slime Pits" became after the destruction of Sodom the lake Asphaltitis. It is plain, however, from all that Josephus says about this region, that he distinguishes this valley from the adjacent site of the cities. And, indeed, Gen. xiv. itself seems so to distinguish it likewise. The kings of the five cities had come together to (%) the vale of Siddim. Had this valley contained in it the five cities, this manner of speaking would have been absurd. Whether therefore the writer of the gloss thought the sea had subsequently overflowed this valley, or merely that this vale was the site of the sea, its border being the place where the kings assembled, and where the slime pits existed, plainly nothing is said about the site of the cities in connexion with the sea.

As chapter xiv. mentions one of the physical characteristics of the region, the existence of bitumen, so does chapter xix. another, namely, the salt with which Lot's wife, as she lingered, was overwhelmed. These and the existing desolation of the region are the points of agreement between the particulars mentioned in this book and the present state of that country. On the other hand, the fact that the geological character of the region is for the most part that of aqueous formation, and that the igneous rocks found there are ancient trap-rocks, and not the products of recent volcanic action, presents no difficulty in the way of our receiving the Biblical story of the destruction of the cities. On the contrary, the appearance of volcanic action as the cause of the destruction

would be rather adverse to the Scriptural account. For nowhere is the destruction ascribed to that action, in whole or in part. Fire from the atmosphere is the sole physical cause that is mentioned. The probable use of asphalt for mortar in the building of the cities would no doubt have rendered them more liable to destruction by means of fire. The existence indeed of bitumen in any region may be taken to indicate the development of internal heat by which the oils of vegetable deposits might be distilled; and this internal heat might predispose a region affected by it to earthquakes, such as have occurred in Syria from time to time. It might, however, be only a local development of heat produced by chemical decomposition in the ligneous deposits, insufficient to cause any disturbance of the surface like an earthquake. And this is the more likely, if the bituminous matter is limited in its extent, as appears to be the case. But, at any rate, the story in Genesis makes no reference to this as a conspiring cause, except so far as it may be imagined that it is implied in the use of the verb "overthrow," in describing the destruction. But though this verb, 127, in its literal signification, implies an overturning, yet its use here is not decisive. For, not to insist on the laxer use of the word to denote any kind of destruction, it is certain that the destruction of buildings by fire tends to the fall of masonry by the spoiling of the cement, which would especially happen if bitumen was used, and also by the removal of the timber bands and supports, when consumed by the fire.

The destruction is ascribed by Josephus to a thunderbolt, that is, to lightning. The account in Gen. xix. 24 ascribes it to "brimstone and fire." This is of course only a hendiadis denoting sulphureous fire. And a reference to Ps. xi. 6, "Upon the wicked he shall rain snares, fire and brimstone, and a tempest of flames," may show that this is only a popular and figurative way of representing lightning. Also in Deut. xxix. 23 the reduction of "the whole land to brimstone, and salt, and burning, like the overthrow of Sodom," is plainly a figura-

tive description of the threatened desolation. But though we might reasonably ascribe the destruction of these cities to the operation of natural lightning, we should not yet thereby exclude the miraculous from the Biblical narrative. The prediction of the approaching destruction, and its occurrence as foretold, would still be supernatural. And perhaps, ultimately, very many of the other Scripture miracles, also, may be reduced to the supernatural prediction of events, in the production of which God has used the ordinary forces of nature acting according to their wonted and regular operation.

Much perplexity has been occasioned by the name Siddim in Gen. xiv. The Vulgate translates by vallis silvestris, which seems to be only a guess; and the LXX. render the name ή φάραγξ ή άλυκη, which seems to be only borrowed from the subjoined mention of the Salt Sea. Josephus calls it τὴν κοίλαδα τὴν λεγομένην φρέατα ἀσφάλτου. He may have understood the mention of the wells of bitumen in v. 10 as an explanation. At any rate, perhaps he was not far from the true explanation. Siddim (שׁרִים) may have been akin to שֹׁרִים sid, which as a verb signifies to plaster, and as a noun mortar. The name, as it is used in Gen. xiv., is not strictly a proper name, for it takes the article from the preceding word with which it is in stat. constr. The word may have signified plasterers, or makers of cement, a trade which may have existed there in consequence of the use of bitumen for mortar, as in Gen. xi. 3: "They had brick for stone, and bitumen for mortar."

There is one part of the narrative relating to the destruction of Sodom, that presents in a marked degree a peculiarity already noticed in certain portions of this book. The intercession of Abraham on behalf of that city is remarkable for the recurrence of the same expressions in the same order throughout. The repeated use of Adonai, the deprecatory sentences with which his requests are prefaced, repeating one or other of two forms, and the recurrence in each request of the word in the English Version, give to this passage

the same character of a story intended for recitation, which distinguishes the first chapter and the history of the deluge, and in a lesser degree the account of the confusion of tongues. The nature of the subject matter renders this peculiarity otherwise less significant here.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE OFFERING OF ISAAC.

I. The first question which suggests itself to us, in reference to this transaction, is the place where it was enacted, called in the words describing the command to Abraham, a mount in the land of Moriah. The supposition, up to very recent times adopted by all, was that this was the Mount Moriah on which the temple of Jerusalem was built, except that the Samaritans maintained that it was Mount Gerizim. Recently, however, a disposition has become prevalent to identify the place where the offering of Isaac was enacted with the place called Moreh, where Abraham first established the worship of God on his settlement in the land of Canaan. One reason for this supposition, the proximity to Mount Gerizim, loses all weight when it is considered that the Samaritans had other motives for fixing on this place, than any knowledge or tradition. From the time of the separation of the two kingdoms it became the object of the Samaritan rulers to break off all regard in the people's minds from the holy sites of Judæa. And the later Samaritans were not less inclined to maintain the severance, as we see from St. John iv. 20: "Our fathers worshipped in this mountain; and ye say that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship." The similarity of the two names, Moreh and Moriah, is also a slender reason; Moreh is strictly a proper name, and as such, both in Gen. xii. 6 and Deut. xxix. 30, though in the genitive after a definite noun, rejects the article; the "hill of Moreh," mentioned in Judges vii. 1, where the name has the article, being a totally different place, as shown in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible. On the other hand, the name Moriah, in the two places of its occurrence, namely, Gen. xxii. and 2 Chron. iii. 1, bears the article as an appellative, whether it denotes the same situation in both places or not. It is true the LXX. render the Moreh of Gen. xii. and the Moriah of Gen. xxii. alike by the adjective $\dot{\nu}\psi\eta\lambda\dot{\eta}$, in one case translating by the words, "the lofty oak," in the other by "the high land." It is plain that on whatever grounds they proceeded in thus translating, this gives no support to the supposition that the names, as names of places, are synonymous, inasmuch as they did not take the words for names of places at all, but as descriptive adjectives.

An argument is founded on the similarity of the names, both in form and in signification, as derived from the same root. In respect to the former, Mr. Grove, in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, tells us that מוֹרָיה is only the feminine form of מוֹרָה. According to no analogy of the construction of feminine forms can this be said; the masculine form should in this case have have been לוֹרי. It is true the resemblance is greater, and the relation of masculine and feminine forms more apparent, as the words are given in the Samaritan Pentateuch, אורא and שוראה. But then these Samaritan readings are liable to the suspicion, that they arose from a disposition on the part of the Samaritans to identify the Moreh and Moriah of Genesis, and to distinguish the latter from the Moriah of Solomon's temple. The same may be said of their supposed signification, vision, as derived from לאכו to see. This derivation, as concerns the Hebrew forms, is very dubious. It would be more probable in regard to the Samaritan readings, which, however, are subject to the suspicion just mentioned. It is true that the Moriah of 2 Chron. iii. 1 is supposed to be there all but expressly derived from the verb, and consequently to denote vision plainly in the mind of the writer. No doubt this is true if we judge by the translations. Thus in the English Version we read, "Solomon began to build the house of the Lord at Jerusalem in

mount Moriah, where the Lord appeared unto David his father." "The Lord," however, is supplied, although the account in 2 Sam. xxiv. makes no mention of any appearance of the Lord, but only of the destroying angel, the communications from the Lord himself having been made through Gad, David's seer. Hence in the margin of the English Version, the reading, "which was seen of David his father," is given.1 Doubtless the indication of the place by Gad, as that on which David was to offer the atonement, is what the writer of the Chronicles refers to, inasmuch as David himself had inferred from this, that it was the place on which the temple was to be built. Thus we read in 1 Chron. xxii. 1, immediately after the purchase of the threshing floor of Ornan and the building of the altar and offering on it the burnt-offering, that David said, "This is the house of the Lord God, and this is the altar of the burnt-offering for Israel." And accordingly in 2 Chron. iii. 1, after the clause, "which was seen of David his father," there is subjoined the additional clause, "in a place which David appointed." Indeed the former clause might be rendered, "Which was provided by David his father," the latter being an explanatory addition in that case. Any reference therefore to the idea of the vision in the name Moriah as given in 2 Chron. iii. 1 is to say the least extremely questionable.

Another argument, on which much stress is laid, is the supposed height of the hill of the sacrifice, rendering it visible from a great distance, "afar off," as in Gen. xxii. 4; whereas Dean Stanley informs us that the towers of Jerusalem are indeed seen at a distance of three miles to the south, but not as an elevation, while there is nothing that answers to the place "afar off," to which Abraham "lifted up his eyes." But here there is too much stress laid on the words, "lifted up his eyes," as implying an elevation of any great height, or indeed any elevation at all. In v. 13 of this chapter, Abraham is said to have lifted

י בְּיְרֶיר Mount not Moriah, is the antecedent of the relative; at any rate if Moriah be feminine, as it probably is.

up his eyes and seen the ram caught in the thicket, at a time when having doubtless had his eyes just before raised towards the angel speaking from heaven, he must in fact have lowered them, to see the ram. The expression is used of directing the eyes in any manner. Also the phrase, "afar off," may denote any distance beyond immediate proximity, according to the circumstances; as in xxxvii. 18, "When they saw him afar off, even before he came near unto them." Here it could not have denoted a distance much greater than that mentioned by Dean Stanley, inasmuch as there was now no occasion to bring the attendants or the ass any further, and Isaac was able to bear the load of the wood laid upon him to the appointed place, which may still have been, as the Moriah of Jerusalem is, a hill, though not distinguishable as such at any distance.

The immediate proximity to Salem, the city of Melchizedek, if that were Jerusalem, is thought to be unlike "the lonely and desolate spot implied by the narrative, where not even fire was to be obtained, and where no help but that of the Almighty was nigh," as Mr. Grove remarks. But even under the walls of the city of Melchizedek the whole may have taken place without attracting the notice of the inhabitants, and the desolate loneliness of the spot, supposed to be implied in the narrative, has no place in it whatever. It is not implied that Abraham could not obtain fire; but going to an unknown place he took with him by way of precaution what would be needful for the intended sacrifice.

The last argument relied on is the silence of the sacred writers in reference to this event in connexion with the dedication of the spot, or the building or restorations of the temple, or in any of the paronomastic addresses of the prophets, the sermon of St. Stephen, or the Epistle to the Hebrews, while it is alleged that, had the transaction taken place on the site of the temple, some allusion to it would without fail have been made. This argumentum ab silentio is notoriously not to be relied on; the instances of unaccountable silence respecting undoubted

facts, where we might have expected them to be mentioned, are too numerous amongst ancient writers to allow it any weight, except as tending to corroborate arguments that may have considerable weight in themselves. In the present case, the clause in 2 Chron. iii. 1, "Which was seen" (בְּלֶאָה) or "provided by David," may fairly be taken as containing an obscure reference to the Jehovah-jireh, and the saying, "In the mount of the Lord it shall be seen," of Gen. xxii. 14, so that the absence of all such reference is not so complete as is alleged.

On the whole these arguments are not sufficient to disturb the traditional view, which has in its favour not only the tradition itself, but the identity of the name, used in both places alike as an appellative bearing the article. And it is also to be remarked that it is a mistake to say that the name is used in a more limited sense in 2 Chron. iii. 1, than in Gen. xxii. 2. In the one case a particular hill in the land of Moriah is to be shown to Abraham; in the other, a particular hill of Moriah was pointed out to David, the antecedent to the relative in this latter case being the word hill, and not Moriah, which is probable a feminine word, while the relative and verb are masculine.

II. The next question of moment which this narrative suggests is the source from which the temptation of Abraham proceeded. The Bishop of Natal, in the sermon on this subject which he was not permitted to preach, treats it as a spontaneous impulse arising in the patriarch's mind under the influence of a prevalent notion that human sacrifice was acceptable to God. The Dean of Westminster, in his beautiful Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church, Lect. ii. p. 48, First Series, has the following note on this subject:—"That this temptation or trial, through whatever means it was suggested, should in the sacred narrative be ascribed to the overruling voice of God, is in exact accordance with the general tenor of the Hebrew Scriptures. A still more striking instance is contained in the history of David, where the same temptation, which in one book is ascribed to God, is

in another ascribed to Satan: 'The Lord moved David to say, Go, number Israel' (2 Sam. xxiv. 1). 'Satan provoked David to number Israel' (1 Chron. xxi. 1)." These two passages, 2 Sam. xxiv. 1, and 1 Chron. xxi. 1, are likewise instanced by Dr. Hannah, Bampton Lecture, 1863, Lect. iii. p. 88, as affording an example of the Scriptural autinomies which involve an apparent contradiction. He takes both texts as they stand in the English Version, but in a note gives a series of extracts from commentators that have endeavoured to evade the difficulty by assuming that Jehovah is not the subject of the second clause of 2 Sam. xxiv. 1, as for instance in the reading in the margin of the English Bible, where Satan is supplied, "Again the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, and (Satan) moved David to say, Go, number Israel." Others suppose that the verb standing without a subject, the clause should be rendered "one moved David," or David was moved. Any artifice of this kind does great violence to the words as they stand in the original, and would only be admissible if the passage itself showed that the subject of the verb could not be carried on from the first clause. To import a reason for it from another book by a different author, after the reader must have first naturally and spontaneously supplied a subject from the preceding clause, is perfectly and absolutely unwarrantable. At the same time the introduction of a new agent does not sever the impulse to number the people from the divine operation, as still it will appear as the effect of God's displeasure against Israel; and the introduction of Satan, as in the margin of the English Version, only brings into the one passage the simultaneous ascription to God and the devil of an effect, which otherwise is supposed to be ascribed to these agents severally in different passages. On the other hand the supposition of Satanic agency in the matter at all seems due to a mistake. In 1 Chron. xxi. 1 the word Satan is not used as a proper name. It is an appellative, and nowhere appears in the true character of a proper name. In the book of Job, indeed, and in that of Zechariah, it is used of the evil being; but then it has the article prefixed, "the adversary," $\kappa \alpha \tau$ è $\xi o \chi \acute{\eta} \nu$. In all other places it is used as a common noun, denoting an adversary of any kind, and is employed even in reference to the "angel of Jehovah," perhaps a personal manifestation of God, in the story of Balaam on his way to Balak. In Ps. cix. 6 it means an adversary generally—no doubt a human adversary, as appears from the parallelism:—

"Set thou a wicked man over him, And let an adversary stand at his right hand."

It is true that both here and in 1 Chron. xxi. 1, the LXX. translate by διάβολος; but then in both places there is no article, and this word is used by them to represent other kinds of adversaries than the devil, as and the chronicler only says in a general way, what is more particularly related in the book of Samuel: "An adversary stood up against Israel, and moved David." It is to be further considered, that the numbering of the people was not a thing wrong in itself. The evil was in certain dispositions and feelings attendant on and arising out of the transaction in the mind of David.

It is not, however, to be denied, that even in our temptations to ill there is at times an indirect agency ascribed to God in the Scriptures. We may instance the hardening of Pharaoh's heart, and the petition of the Lord's Prayer, "Lead us not into temptation." A mere probationary trial or temptation would not be such, if there was not in the case some incitement to evil, however we may be sure that the direct suggestion of evil does not proceed from God. Indeed, as our temptations in general arise from something in our natural constitution, which necessarily moves us to a certain course of action under certain circumstances, it is impossible to exclude the divine agency in its remote, if not its immediate, operation from any of our temptations. Hence, in the note of Dean Stanley above quoted, it is not so much the supposition that the same incitement might from different points of view be ascribed to both God and Satan, that

has reasonably wounded the sensitiveness of pious feeling, as the application of this principle to the case of Abraham's offering of Isaac, which has shocked the minds of many that have regarded this transaction as in a special and peculiar manner the result of an immediate and extraordinary divine command.

It may be observed that the case differs in one very material respect from those probationary temptations of which we have just spoken. In these, the doing of the act, the incitement to which constitutes the means of trial, awakens the displeasure of God. In the case of Abraham, the performance, as far as it was permitted, of that which he was, in whatever way, moved to do as the means of trial, meets with the highest approval and commendation of God. It is to be further noticed, that the mere spontaneous impulse awakened in Abraham's mind, resulting from an habitual persuasion that human sacrifice was acceptable to God, as supposed by the Bishop of Natal, seems wholly and absolutely inconsistent with the representation of the transaction in the book of Genesis. It is there plainly represented, not only that Abraham thought he was acting in obedience to a divine command, but that he actually did in some way receive such a command; and this command is attributed to Elohim, the generic name of deity, which, as will abundantly be seen hereafter, is continually employed where the object is to mark a contrast between divine and human-between God and his creatures. And then, further, it is to be remarked, that as regards the channel through which the command was given, it is described in the same way as the other divine commands represented in this book as given to Abraham; such for instance as the command to leave his native country and settle in Canaan, or the command to observe the rite of circumcision. Through whatever means these commands were given, or whatever manner of representation is adopted in describing the communication of them, we can make no distinction, nor sever one from another, as more or less historical. And as regards these communications in general, there is no greater difficulty in supposing the historical truth of their divine origin, than in respect to the supposition of the like historical truth of the divine communications recorded in subsequent parts of the Old Testament, and in the New.

III. But as regards the moral aspect of this particular transaction, it may, not unreasonably, be asked whether it is possible that such a command as that to Abraham to slay his son in sacrifice could have proceeded from God, and whether any amount of evidence whatever should have led Abraham to believe that God could have given him such a command? To this enquiry, as it regards God, it may be answered that plainly, according to the entire representation, God had no intention of permitting Abraham to carry the command into execution, it being given only for trial, and the approbation of God having reference only to the faith and the readiness to yield up the dearest object at God's command, which were manifested on this occasion. And at the same time there may have been that in Abraham's state of moral feeling on this subject, the participation by him in a low sense of the value of human life as then prevalent, and, it may be added, a familiarity with the prevalent notion of human sacrifice and its acceptableness to God, which would have rendered any direct censure of Abraham, for intending to slay his son in obedience to a supposed divine command, undeserved and therefore unjust-any direct censure; for indirectly the mind of God in regard to such an act was plainly enough made known, by the suddenness of the divine interposition at the arrival of the critical moment, and the urgency and decisiveness with which the fatal stroke was arrested. This may fairly be understood, in connexion with what is elsewhere taught in this book of the unlawfulness of taking human life, as an indication of the divine will on this matter in general; while the substitution of the ram, and still more the name assigned to the place by Abraham, Jehovah-jireh, taken in connexion with his previous remark to Isaac, "My son, God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt offering," may also be regarded as an indication

of the divine will, and of Abraham's perception of it, in respect to human sacrifice. And then, as far as the question proposed above relates to Abraham himself, the existence of those habits of thinking, which would have made the divine censure undeserved, would have incapacitated him from feeling, as one of us would feel, that such a command could not come from God, and so ought not to be obeyed. And thus what would justly be discommended in the case of one of us, may have been highly commendable in Abraham's case. We need not, therefore, insist on the possibility that a secret feeling may have all along possessed the patriarch's mind, and sustained him in his trial, that God would extricate him in some unforeseen way from the terrible situation in which he found himself placed—a feeling that may have prompted the expectation that God would provide himself a lamb for a burnt offering, however he was under the necessity of proceeding, as far as he could see, to the last extremity, and which would have grown out of his faith in the promise that in Isaac should his seed be called. Such a feeling, at any rate, according to the Epistle to the Hebrews, extended to the persuasion that God was able to bring him again from the dead. And perhaps the manner in which the writer of the Epistle expresses this feeling, that God was able to bring him even from the dead again, not that God would so bring him, may be taken to imply that, in his mind, Abraham did entertain the hope that matters would not be permitted to reach the worst extremity, though even if they should, he accounted that God was able to bring his son again from the dead. Still less should we rely on Warburton's theory, in his famous discourse on this subject in the "Divine Legation," that Abraham knew that the transaction was a scenic representation of our redemption, and that it had consequently no moral import; unless Abraham

^{1 &}quot;And now we see the weakness of the third and last part of the objection, which supposes this command capable of affording a temptation to transgress the fundamental principles of the law of nature, one of which obliges us to cherish and protect our offspring; and another, not to injure our neighbour. For as, by the command, Abraham understood the nature of mau's redemption: so by the nature of that

knew that the slaying was to be in mere show and not in reality, the scenic character of the transaction does not relieve it from any of its moral difficulties. A command actually to slay one's son as a scenic representation of Christ's death would be attended with the same moral difficulties, as to slay him for any other end, expressed or unexpressed.

IV. In connexion with the foregoing remarks, it will not be amiss to notice here, that Bishop Colenso, who talks of human sacrifice as having been at times frightfully prevalent amongst the Israelites, alleges1 that "we have at least one 'statute' in the Pentateuch which expressly enjoins human sacrifice!" The statute on which he lays so much emphasis he finds in Lev. xxvii. 28, 29, which in the English Version stands thus:-"No devoted thing, that a man shall devote unto the Lord, of all that he hath, both of man and beast, and of the field of his possession, shall be sold or redeemed: every devoted thing is most holy unto the Lord. None devoted, which shall be devoted of men, shall be redeemed, but shall surely be put to death." And the Bishop argues from the expression, "which I commanded not," used by Jeremiah in reference to the burning of their sons for burnt offerings to Baal, that the people must have alleged some such divine authority for the practice.

As regards the construction put on the passage in Leviticus, the blame is partly due to the ambiguity of translations, and the misconception of interpreters, some of whom have resorted to various devices in order to evade the objectionable meaning it was thought to suggest. Thus Junius and Tremellius supply in v. 29, the word bestia, and render the phrase in the homine, instead of ex hominibus, by which they translate the

redemption, he must know how the scenical representation was to end. Isaac, he saw, was made the person or representative of *Christ dying for us*: the Son of God, he knew, could not possibly lie under the *dominion of the grave*. Hence he must conclude one of these two things, either that God would stop his hand, when he came to the sacrificing stroke: or that if the relation of this mystery was to be represented throughout in action, that then his son, sacrificed under the person of Christ, was, under the same person, soon to be restored to life."—Divine Legation, B. vi. sect. 5.

1 Pt. v., p. 294.

of v. 28.1 Others suggest that either civil or natural death is intended according to circumstances.2 And the Bishop cites Keil and Delitzsch, as allowing that a private individual might devote a person, as a child or a slave, in this manner, but supposing that death was only to be inflicted in case the devoted person should refuse to live the life of sanctification to which he was set apart.

The writer, however, who took the view most in accordance with the Bishop's interpretation was L. Cappellus, in his De Voto Jephtæ Diatriba Singularis. He maintained that Jephthah sacrificed his daughter under a vow made in accordance with this passage in Leviticus, which Cappellus regarded as giving parents or masters the power of thus devoting to death a child or a slave. He supposed that this provision of the law had a typical reference to Christ, who was devoted by his heavenly Father to be made a curse for us by his death on the cross; while he thought that it would act as a check on rash imprecations in moments of wrath, when men knew that a curse devoting to death a child or a slave would be irrevocable. And he further supposed that the law itself imposed a check on the making of such rash vows, inasmuch as by Numb. xviii. 14, "Everything devoted in Israel shall be thine," the priesthood had the power to decide in what cases the vow was legitimate or not,—an application of these words which is evidently quite foreign to their true purport and intent, namely, the grant of whatever was devoted to religious uses to the support or service of the priesthood.

The learned Selden replied to this Diatribe of Cappellus, in his work De Jure Naturali et Gentium juxta Disciplinam Ebræorum.

¹ Omnis bestia devota quæ devovetur ab homine, ne redimitor. The presence of the article in this latter verse does not alter the meaning. It may be due to the stat. the article in this latter verse does not after the meaning. It may be due to the stat. constr. with the preposition fully expressed, this and other prepositions having been doubtless originally substantives, and therefore frequently transferring an article to the governed word. Or the article here may be generic, denoting mankind, as distinguished from cattle or other possessions.

² Morietur, morte scil. vel naturali, vel civili (quâ abdicatur à negotiis, et cultui Dei deputatur); juxta diversam materiam et conditionem rei.—Poole, Synopsis Criticorum. Bonfrere, Cor. à Lapide, and Estius are cited as authorities for this gloss.

He lays down that there were four kinds of Cherem, four ways in which objects were devoted by anathema. 1. The word was used to denote the voluntary irrevocable devotion of any possession to sacred uses, to which Lev. xxvii. 28 exclusively refers. In regard to such gifts he shows that it was a rule of the Jewish doctors that no one could devote in this way anything that was not fully and absolutely in his own power, interpreting the words, "of man," to denote Gentile slaves, who, except as regarded their lives, were as fully under the dominion of their masters as cattle or other possessions. These they might devote to the service of the priests by an absolute and irrevocable gift. But as the law gave them no right over the life of their slaves, much less of their children, apart from this donation, the rule that they could bestow nothing that was not their own rendered it impossible that by such a gift any person might devote to death his child or his slave. 2. The second kind of Cherem was when, by right of conquest or military law, persons were devoted to destruction, and things treated as accursed. An example of this is presented in the case of Jericho, Josh. vi. 17, 18:—"The city shall be a Cherem, it and all that is in it to the Lord.—And ye shall in anywise keep yourselves from the Cherem, lest ye make yourselves a Cherem. -And all the silver, and gold, and vessels of brass and iron are consecrated to the Lord." To this kind of Cherem alone he thinks that Lev. xxvii. 29 refers. But to prove the exclusive reference of it to this kind, it is necessary to exclude the remaining two. 3. The third kind of anathema is exemplified in the edict of Ezra (x. 8), that "whosoever would not come within three days, according to the counsel of the princes and the elders, all his substance should be made a Cherem, and himself separated from the congregation." 4. The fourth sort of Cherem was, when by a legal enactment persons or things were laid under anathema in case they should hereafter be guilty of some transgression, or had already done something thought worthy of such a sentence. To this he refers Neh. xiii. 25 :- "I contended with

them and cursed them, and made them swear by God, ye shall not give your daughters unto their sons, nor take their daughters unto your sons or for yourselves." He also classes under this the curse pronounced by Joshua on any one that should rebuild the city of Jericho. Now in reference to these two latter kinds of anathema, which are nearly identical, he shows that, according to the Jewish interpretations, they only extended to excommunication of persons and forfeiture of goods, and he positively asserts that there is no trace of evidence of any one having been put to death under them, much less that they were supposed to sanction the voluntary devotion of any one to death by private persons. If death was in any case the consequence of such a sentence, it was to be regarded strictly in the character of punishment legally inflicted, as for a crime committed, and that not by the arbitrary act of private persons, but by public authority.

Returning now to the second kind of Cherem enumerated. that by which the inhabitants of besieged cities were devoted to destruction in case of capture, or fellow citizens thus devoted if guilty of violating military duty, Selden exemplifies this on the one hand by the case of Jericho and Hormah, and on the other by the destruction of the men of Jabesh-Gilead by virtue of the oath that those who should not come up to the Lord to Mizpeh should be put to death, Jud. xxi. 5, 10. To this also he refers the case of Jonathan, when he unwittingly fell under the curse pronounced by Saul on any who should taste food until evening, 1 Sam. xiv. It was only to such cases as these that the Jewish doctors supposed the precept in Lev. xxvii. 29 to relate, the previous verse, as already mentioned. having reference only to things dedicated to religious uses, which were not to be put to death at all. It is plain, that according to their view no provision whatever was made by this Levitical law for any voluntary devotion of human beings to death by way of sacrifice, or any devotion of persons to death on any ground, except as punishment of crime or by right of conquest or military law.

As regards the case of Jephthah's daughter, on which Bishop Colenso relies as an example of human sacrifice under this law according to his conception of its purport, Selden shows that the Jewish doctors were divided, as to whether in fact she was put to death at all. But he proves that they were all agreed that, if she was sacrificed, there was no legal justification for such a deed. Nor does the Scripture justify the act. The commendation of Jephthah in Heb. xi. does not necessarily extend to this transaction, or give any approval of it as regards its moral character. The commendation has reference to his faith and reliance on God, by the efficacy of which to impart extraordinary energy, he, like others, was enabled to "subdue kingdoms." Possunt quia posse videntur.

The Jewish doctors must have felt that there was something in the verbal character of the passage in Leviticus to justify the interpretation which they put upon it. Let us see if we have reason for thinking they were right in this belief. It is to be observed that, as in the case of the word בָּרֶב, to bless, the Greek åνάθεμα or ἀνάθημα, and the Latin sacer, this word Cherem has its good and its bad significations, and that in point of fact it is never, at least in the Biblical usage, applied in its ill sense to any of those lesser cases of excommunication enumerated by Selden. It is invariably used either of something devoted irrevocably to God's service, which is the good signification, or something irrevocably accursed, and, in the case of living beings, to be destroyed. And as the noun Cherem has thus its double sense, so has also the cognate verb, which is only used in the Hiphil and Hophal forms, החרם and החרם, to make and to be made a Cherem, Din. It is further to be noted that this verb, which is one of very frequent occurrence, has in every instance of its use but one, apart from this passage in Leviticus, the ill sense of devoting to destruction, or of actually destroying utterly, except when the adjunct, "to the Lord," gives a special

¹ Selden's discussion of this subject occupies chapters vi.-xi. of the fourth book of his great work, De Jure Naturali et Gentium juxta Disciplinam Ebræorum.

meaning to the word. The one instance in which the sense is doubtful is in the edict of Ezra (x. 8), already mentioned, where it is said, "all his substance, כנוש, shall be made a Cherem," בתכם. This is rendered in the English Version by "forfeited." The rendering of the LXX. is ἀναθηματισθήσεται, which is ambiguous. And perhaps, considering the uniformity of the usage otherwise, we should here render, "shall be accursed," the cattle and other goods to be destroyed, except the gold and silver, and brazen and iron vessels, which should be brought into the treasury of the Lord. The other signification of the verb, that of devoting to religious uses, is determined by the adjunct, "to the Lord," in Micah iv. 13:-" I will consecrate their gain unto Jehovah, and their substance unto the Lord of the whole earth." So also in Lev. xxvii. 28 we have this adjunct:—"Every Cherem that a man shall consecrate to the Lord of all that he hath, of man and beast, and of the field of his possession, shall not be sold and shall not be redeemed; every Cherem, it is holy of holies to the Lord." The Rabbis perceived the force of this adjunct here, but as usual refined too much in its application, thinking that it distinguished things devoted specially to the use of the sanctuary from those which were for the service of the priests. See Le Clerc, Comment. in Pent. in loc. If we now pass on to v. 29, we notice the repetition of the prohibition to redeem, which would be needless if this verse only referred to a special case of what was more generally treated of in the verse preceding; the absence of the adjunct, "to the Lord," which would in such case have had as good reason to be repeated as the prohibition to redeem; and the omission of the subject win, including any private person, with the conversion of the verb into a

¹ It is true that in Josh. vi. 17, we find this adjunct:—"The city shall be Cherem, it and all that is in it to the Lord." The verb however is not here used, and the extent to which the phrase "to the Lord" is limited is to be gathered from v. 19, where it is said that "the silver, and gold, and vessels of brass and iron, shall be a holy thing to the Lord." These, like the rest, were to be Cherem, in the sense of accursed, as long as they were out of the Lord's treasury; as soon as they should be brought into it, they should become Cherem, in the sense of things consecrated to sacred uses.

passive form. All these differences, in connexion with the double sense of the word Cherem and of the cognate verb, point to a different subject: the previous verse prescribes a rule relating to the *Cherem*, which should be consecrated to Jehovah; the latter verse prescribes what should be done in the case of a Cherem consisting of human beings who should be devoted to destruction. These might not be redeemed, or delivered, as the word here used signifies in a more general sense, but should surely be put to death. This is confined to the case of men; other things were not necessarily in all cases to be destroyed, but if not destroyed, they then became a Cherem in the sense of the previous verse, like the gold and silver of Jericho; and there was therefore no necessity in regard to anything but men, to make such a rule as is given in v. 29.1 In this there is not the slightest indication that the death prescribed was regarded as a sacrifice to God, or that the devoting might be the act of a private person. The change of expression removes all indication that either was contemplated. It was God himself, or the rulers, who devoted this kind of Cherem; and the prohibition of the redemption or deliverance of the devoted victims would act as a check on the practice on the part of the rulers, or of commanders in war, who would be careful not to make a vow of this kind, that could not be recalled, however they might desire its revocation, and who might else be tempted to make such vows in the hope of extorting greater ransom. The practice was thus limited to extreme and special cases.

There is nothing sacrificial implied in the expression, "before the Lord," as used in the case of Samuel hewing Agag in pieces, and of the hanging of the seven sons of Saul who were given up at the desire of the Gibeonites. The expression only denoted that the act was performed in obedience to a divine command, or under a sense of religious duty. When David

¹ Le Clerc, Comment. in loc., still further limits this verse to the case of enemies devoted to death in time of war, as the law elsewhere prohibited the redemption of criminals liable to capital punishment.

asked the Gibeonites, "Wherewith shall I make an atonement, that ye may bless the inheritance of the Lord?" the atonement was plainly to be made to them and not to God. Hence they decline silver and gold, as a compensation to atone for the wrong they had suffered. And when they said they would hang up the sons of Saul "unto the Lord," they considered that their lives were forfeited to God by the deeds of Saul and of his bloody house.1 The slaving in such cases was regarded as a punishment which God exacted, and was therefore said to be done "to the Lord;" and God's anger was supposed to be appeased, when the crime was thus expiated. Under the theocratic government all capital punishment, and especially in the case of murder, was considered as an expiation due to God. We ourselves, who are far enough from all thought of human sacrifice, also speak of a murderer as expiating his crime on the scaffold. But in neither case is this a sacrifice, in the sense of a creature slain as an act of religious worship, and as a means of supplicating the divine favour.

If the expression, "which I did not command," used in reference to the offering of the children in the fire to Baal, or Moloch, had really arisen from the allegation of a divine command supposed to have been given in Lev. xxvii. 29, the repudiation of any such command must plainly have proceeded on the ground that the construction of the precept was such as to warrant the disclaiming of it, as a perversion of the precept. But in truth the expression had no reference to any such supposed command. It may be compared with St. Paul's manner of speaking in reference to the fruits of the Spirit in Gal. v. 22, 23:—"Against such there is no law,"—his meaning being that these virtues were in the strongest sense enjoined. So too the expression,

The family of Saul are included in the guilt of blood, whether any of his sons had share in the crime against the Gibeonites or not. It is to be remembered that under the theocratic government the visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children, which always more or less takes place in the ordinary course of Providence, had a more direct and distinctly recognised place, though the law prohibited the children to be put to death for the sins of the fathers, Deut. xxiv. 16, 2 Kings, xiv. 5, 6. This was reserved to God himself.

"which I did not command," is in more than one instance used idiomatically as an equivalent to "which I expressly forbad." Thus in Lev. x. 1, Nadab and Abihu "offered strange fire before the Lord, which he did not command them," the reference being to the prohibition against offering strange incense in Exod. xxx. 9. Also in Deut. xvii. 3, the expression, "which I have not commanded," is used in reference to serving other gods, the prohibition in the First Commandment being plainly in view. And in this case also of offering the children in the fire there was a like express prohibition in Lev. xviii. 21, to which the words under consideration plainly refer.

On the whole there was doubtless much in the way in which human life was dealt with in the practice of the Israelites, and under the sanction of a divine dispensation, that belonged to an order of things very foreign to the refined sentiment of modern times, and abhorrent to Christian feeling. The degree of sanction which this received under the theocratic government should be viewed rather as a yielding, as in other particulars, to the circumstances and inveterate habits of a lower stage of civilisation, than an absolute divine approval. For nothing was more strongly resented by the law of Moses than the shedding of innocent blood; "for blood, it defileth the land, and for the land there shall be no expiation for the blood that is shed in it, but by the blood of him that shed it," Numb. xxxv. 33. We know also how David was not permitted to build the temple, because he had been a man of blood. When we consider, however, the sanguinary dispositions of men in the earlier stages of eivilisation, the bloody character of ancient warfare, and the ruthless vengeance of the conquerors, it may perhaps be thought that it was in the interests of humanity, and with a view to the diminution of bloodshed, that the destruction of life, which was to so great an extent unavoidable, should be restrained within such limits as might be fixed by a divine command, or only permitted in cases in which religious sanctions might be pleaded for its justification. It thus became, at least in theory, not the indulgence of private passions, but the solemn performance of a grave public duty. In judging of ancient times in respect to this matter we must remember that though the savage nature in ourselves has been subdued by Christianity and its accompanying civilisation, it has not been extinguished. How ready it is to revive, when circumstances awaken it, may be seen not only in the horrible deeds of cruelty and murder that are from time to time revealed in our criminal courts, but also in the horrors of the sacking of a captured town, the dreadful crimes of a rebellion or revolution, and even the lengths to which those who are engaged in the lawful suppression of rebellion are carried by the excitement of the moment,—excesses of which they are themselves ashamed when the danger is past.

CHAPTER XLIX. 1-28.

JACOB'S FAREWELL ADDRESS TO THE PATRIARCHS.

I. The last words of Jacob addressed to his twelve sons have been made the occasion of an argument for the late authorship of the part of the book in which they are contained. argument is framed by showing how-true to fact on the whole these predictive sayings are found, and by pointing out a time at which they were all simultaneously more or less exactly verified, if not for the first time, at least then in a greater degree and a fuller sense than previously. This, which at a former period would have been thought a good proof of the true prophetic character of the sayings, is now made a proof that they were composed at, or soon after, the time when they were so well verified. And it is supposed to establish this on the assumption that a seeming prediction, if consistent with facts, must be really a vaticinium post eventum, history put into this form, whether to deceive, or merely to follow an understood custom of the times. Of course, if it is proved that such a custom existed, and that its adoption was, if not indicated on the face of the document itself, at any rate clearly understood by those for whose use it was intended, there can be no objec-

tion made on moral grounds to such a practice, and we should have in any particular case only to consider what evidence there might be that the custom was followed in that instance. An historical romance, as such, is a legitimate composition even on moral grounds. The adoption of this form of composition, however, when it is intended to deceive the reader, is not morally defensible; and it seems difficult to clear the Biblical writings from blame in this respect, on the theory that those apparent predictions with which they abound, were first written post eventum. If, on the other hand, true prediction, true not merely in its accordance with the facts to which it relates, but as written or spoken before the time of those events, exists at all in the Bible, one seeming prediction may be as truly a real prophecy as another, except when there exist special grounds for viewing it in a different light. Merely to treat a seeming prophecy as history put into this form, because its apparent predictions are verified in fact, is in reality to deny the existence or possibility of any such prediction; and such a principle, if adopted at all, must be applied equally to all cases, to the Christian, as well as to the Old Testament Scriptures. If such a general application of the principle is impossible, then it is arbitrary and uncritical to adopt it in any particular case, merely to support a theory which necessitates its assumption. If it is proved otherwise, for example, that this book of Genesis was written so late as the reign of David, then of course it follows that the prophetic character is only pretended. But it is reasoning wholly in a circle to argue back again from the assumed non-prophetic character to the late origin of the book.

That the simultaneousness of the fulfilment of the predictions in Gen. xlix. for the first time, in their fullest development, at the period supposed for the date of the book, if truly made out, would not add to the weight of the argument, is plain. It was in any case to be expected, that the age of the nation's glory, of its first bloom in its collective character, and of its first triumph over its enemies generally, would be the period of the

first full and clear verification of the predicted circumstances of the several tribes. That there was a previous verification, and that in a striking degree in some cases, is however by no means disproved.

It is not, indeed, to be imagined that the dying Patriarch uttered his vaticinations in the exact form in which they appear in this document. The poetical character of the composition, exemplified in the versification, in the use of poetical forms and manners of expression, and in the highly lyrical key to which the whole is tuned, forbids our supposing it at all probable that Jacob uttered the sayings in such a form. But the traditional oracular sayings preserved by the people, whether in writing or orally, may have in time been thrown into this poetical form, as part of the popular songs, or they may have been gathered up by the author of the book, and put by him into this form, as being the regular form into which all Scriptural prophecy was habitually thrown. All that the most decided advocate of the true prophetic character of the sayings, and of the genuineness of these oracles as ascribed to Jacob, could require, is that they preserve and embody the substance of what he really said, however different in form from his actual words they may be thought.

The ancient classical historians, indeed, claimed to themselves considerable liberty as regards the speeches which they attributed to those whom they introduced into their narratives. Still this liberty was restrained within the bounds of reason and probability. Lucian, in his treatise on the art of writing history, says that when there is occasion to introduce any one speaking, the greatest care must be taken to make him say what is in accordance with his character and suitable to the occasion; but that at the same time the historian is allowed within these limits to display his rhetorical skill.\(^1\)

¹ Πῶς δεῖ συγγράφειν. Cap. lviii.— Ἡν δέ ποτε καὶ λόγους ἐροῦντά τινα δεήση εἰσάγειν, μάλιστα μὲν ἐοικότα τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ τῷ πράγματι οἰκεῖα λεγέσθω, ἔπειτα ὡς σαφέστατα καὶ ταῦτα, πλὴν ἐφεῖταί σοι τότε καὶ ῥητορεῦσαι καὶ ἐπιδεῖξαι τὴν τῶν λόγων δεινότητα.

himself to still narrower limits. In the case of speeches made preparatory to the war, or during its progress, when he was unable to recollect exactly those which he heard himself, or to obtain an exact report of others, he allowed himself, it is true, to compose speeches for those whose words he had to record; but in such case he tells us, he was always careful to keep as close as possible to what appeared to have been the general purport of the speaker's words. There are, indeed, cases in which the circumstances themselves indicate what, in substance at least, certain persons must have said; and in such cases the natural eloquence which characterises things said on momentous occasions is a sufficient warrant to the historian to exercise his skill, in giving to these speeches such a measure of rhetorical character, as does not exceed the bounds of probability. But plainly, in any case it is not allowed to the historian to insist on the accuracy of these speeches beyond their general purport, or expressly to attribute the form as well as the substance to the speakers. More especially would this not be allowable when the form is peculiar, as for instance, when the sayings are, as often happens in the Bible, thrown into verse. instance, in Judges v. 1, it is not merely said that Deborah and Barak spake, but "sang," the song that follows, whereby it is plainly asserted that their words of triumph had been thrown from the first into a poetical form. This is not said in the case of Jacob's words in Gen. xlix., and it is enough that we should suppose the general purport of his sayings on that occasion, however preserved, has been presented in the poetical form in which they are there recorded. Unless the entire was understood to be a non-historical narrative, with such measure of actual facts as may have chanced to be introduced, but with no pretensions to be regarded as a true history, which there is no reason to

¹ Καὶ ὅσα μὲν λόγῳ εἶπον ἔκαστοι, ἢ μέλλοντες πολεμήσειν ἢ ἐν αὐτῷ ἤδη ὄντες, χαλεπὸν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν αὐτὴν τῶν λεχθέντων διαμνημονεῦσαι ἢν, ἐμοί τε ὧν αὐτὸς ἤκουσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοθέν ποθεν ἐμοὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν ὡς δ'ὰν ἐδόκουν ἐμοὶ ἔκαστοι περὶ τῶν ἀεὶ παρόντων τὰ δέοντα μάλιστ' εἶπεῖν ἐχομένῳ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς ξυμπάσης γνώμης τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων, οὕτως εἴρηται. 1. 22.

suppose was the case, we must accept the prophetic character of the present passage, at least as regards the general purport of the recorded sayings. We may now pass to the more particular consideration of such of these sayings as have occasioned special remark.

II. The case of Reuben suggests no question attended with any kind of difficulty. The Patriarch is represented as first magnifying the dignity of Reuben's primogeniture, and then contrasting with it his grievous misconduct, by reason of which he is deprived of the privilege of his birthright. The description of his character, which in the English Version appears as "unstable as water," should properly be rendered, as by the LXX., "boiling over as water." It expresses an impulsive and passionate character, strongly exhibited in his misconduct, and also manifested in his words to Jacob, xlii. 37, "Slay my two sons if I bring him not to thee." This exuberance of character might naturally have aided him in holding his place as the firstborn; but for his offence his father displaces him. "Boiling over as water, thou shalt not excel, because thou wentest up to thy father's bed." The word rendered "excel," תוֹתר tothar, refers to the "excellency (שוֹתר yether) of dignity and excellency of strength," in the previous verse. This preeminence, to which he was entitled by his birth, is taken from him for his crime. It is needless to go into the subsequent history of the tribe, except to remark that it never took the lead on any important occasion, and on one momentous occasion failed to come to the aid of the other tribes, as mentioned in the Song of Deborah. The prayer for this tribe in the Song of Moses, Deut. xxxiii. 6, seems to imply a presaging of decay. "Let Reuben live and not die, and let his people be a number;" -let him at least have a number, though not a very great number, as the rather disparaging word used implies. There is no occasion for supplying the not of the English Version from the preceding clause. The LXX. do not indeed seem to have regarded the word as necessarily implying a small

III. From Reuben the Patriarch proceeds to Simeon and Levi. They had been united in an act of violence, which he strongly condemns, and he pronounces that he will divide them in Jacob and scatter them in Israel.

First, as regards Levi, their dispersion throughout the land in the cities of the Levites is in accordance with this sentence, as far as the literal fact is concerned. But what has evidently a penal character in the sentence ascribed to the Patriarch, appears as a blessing and reward in the Song of Moses and elsewhere. Or at least this latter confers on Levi the privilege and blessing of the priesthood, which involved the dispersion, in reward for the conduct of this tribe in transactions which it is not necessary here to discuss.

The Bishop of Natal insists that the blessing of Moses "was composed at a much later period, at a time when the tribe of Levi was really held in high esteem and honour, and was composed, perhaps, by one who was himself a Levite and a priest. Whereas in the time of the Jehovist, their condition, apparently, was as low, and their position as insignificant, as the words before us imply."1 The words, however, do not necessarily imply any insignificance, but simply the dispersion of this tribe, instead of its settlement in a separate territory like the others. The difficulty does not lie in the supposed insignificance thus implied, but in the fact that the dispersion is regarded as penal, and the improbability that any one writing after the attainment of the sacerdotal dignity by this tribe should have invented the penal sentence put into the Patriarch's mouth. But this is a difficulty only to those, who like the Bishop, insist on the late fabrication of the entire story; it is no difficulty at

¹ Pentateueh and Joshua, Pt. v., p. 147.

all in the way of those who regard the words ascribed to Jacob as the bona fide report, in substance at least, of his last address to his assembled sons. To Levi himself the failure of his descendants to attain the position of a territorial tribe, in his ignorance of any compensating privilege, would have had a truly penal character; and yet that circumstance may have subsequently assumed a very different character to his descendants, in connexion with their position in other respects, though in itself a disadvantage always, and a possible cause of jealousy and unfavourable comparison. Nothing in the course of human affairs is more common than that a circumstance, which to a man himself, and, in his view, to his posterity also, is a great disadvantage, and being due to his own misconduct a great punishment, should come to be regarded by those who descend from him in a very different light, either on its own account, or in connexion with other circumstances that entirely alter its character. The Bishop feels this difficulty, for he says, "It seems impossible that any one-at least, any pious writerliving after the age of Moses, should have expressed himself thus about the Levites, if the books of Leviticus and Numbers had been in existence in his time, and their laws in operation to any extent." We need not insist on the impossibility alleged by the Bishop, except as regards the piety of the writer, and that in a different point of view, but we certainly may on the great improbability, on the supposition that the writer was simply inventing the words ascribed to the Patriarch. But if we regard him as reporting substantially, though not in form and in the literal exactness of a verbal transcript, the sayings of Jacob, in whatever manner transmitted, the difference affords a strong indication of the writer's good faith. The Bishop, however, thinks it necessary to prove that the tribe of Levi was not invested at all with the sacerdotal dignity during the earlier times of the national history, not, in fact, until after the latter part of David's reign, when he supposes this chapter of Genesis was written. As usual, in the absence of positive

indications favourable to his views, he relies on the argument ab silentio. His first reference in this line of argument is to the absence of Levi from the Song of Deborah, who he thinks cannot be conceived to have omitted all reference to priest or Levite, ark or tabernacle, if these institutions existed and were highly esteemed at the time she is alleged to have written. But as other tribes are not mentioned in that song, because their situation rendered it impossible for them to have taken part in the proceedings to which it relates, so the very fact that the Levites were a class of men dispersed in various parts of the country, and so incapable as a tribe of giving any assistance in this hurried expedition, would sufficiently account for there being no mention of them in a poem which confines itself to those who took part, or ought to have taken part, in it. He remarks that the Levites as a tribe are never once mentioned in the book of Judges. It is true they are not mentioned as acting in the collective character of a tribe. The very circumstance of their dispersion would render this improbable. But then we have mention of two persons as Levites, which clearly shows that, in whatever position, they had a tribal character. And the first of these, mentioned in Judges xvii. and xviii., though at first roaming about in search of employment, was plainly regarded as qualified for a priestly office, and found employment in such an office, first with Micah, and afterwards with the Danites. The idolatrous practices with which he mixed himself up were only in accordance with the evil tendencies of the times; but it is plain that his being a Levite was regarded as his qualification for the employment he found. The Bishop indeed supposes that in Micah's words, "Now I know that Jehovah will do me good, seeing I have the Levite to my priest," the use of the article shows that no importance was attached to his being a Levite, and that he would have said the same of a Simeonite vagabond that might have come to hire himself for the same office. article it is true is merely an article of reference. But it is plain from the whole story that the reason why he expected a

benefit from God was his having a Levite. For be it observed, he had first consecrated one of his own sons to be a priest, and he made no proposition to the Levite to take his son's place until he heard that he was a Levite. And though he had the services of his son in this capacity already, he thought it worth his while to give this man his living and a salary to secure his services; and then no reason can be imagined for expecting a divine blessing, but the fact that it was a Levite he had now got. Had he no priest at all before, there might be some reason in the Bishop's inference, but now his expectation must be built upon the difference between this man and his own son. That difference was the Levitical birth and character of his new priest. The Bishop seems to think that the stress lay on his consecration; but this could have been no different consecration, as effected by Micah, from that which had already taken place in the ease of his son. Each was similarly consecrated, and the expected blessing could not therefore have been antieipated from the consecration, but plainly from the Levitical origin of the person whom he had now got for a priest in place of his son who was not of the sacerdotal caste. The other Levite mentioned in xix. and xx. was going to the house of the Lord when he came to Gibeah. It is true, indeed, this might have been, like Elkanah's periodical visit, for private devotion. Still we have the fact that Levites were living in various parts of the country, but not merged in the tribes within the territory of which they resided. And at the same time Phineas, the son of Eleazer, the son of Aaron, was exercising the office of high priest at Shiloh, while to him resort was made to inquire of the Lord, according to the words of the Song of Moses, "Let thy Thummim and thy Urim be with thy holy one." Thus we find the tribe of Levi invested with the sacerdotal functions in their different orders at the earliest period after the final settlement in the land of Canaan of which we have any account; and however depressed their condition may at times have been, their dispersion in Israel was, from their first entrance into the land.

connected with this dignity, and could not have been regarded in the purely penal light in which it is treated in the last words of Jacob, at any period subsequent to the settlement in the land of Canaan.

As regards Simeon, the dispersion of his descendants was of a somewhat different kind. At first this tribe obtained a settlement within the district already assigned to Judah, this latter tribe being unable to occupy it entirely. Hence we find that Judah and Simeon were conjoined in an expedition against the Canaanites (Jud. i. 3-17), their proximity doubtless making them have common interests, and greater facilities for joint action. It is probable, indeed, that a great many Simeonites became dispersed in the cities of Judah, for at the time of the separation of the two kingdoms we read (2 Chron. x. 17) that the children of Israel that dwelt in the cities of Judah continued subject to Rehoboam. Some of these were doubtless Levites, but there must have been some of other tribes, or at least of another tribe, and from situation, these were probably Simeonites. But there were also Simeonites that fell to Jeroboam, for afterwards we read in 2 Chron. xv. 9 that strangers from Ephraim, Manasseh, and Simeon, in great abundance revolted again to Asa, and these, as having been strangers, probably came now to reside in the Jewish territory. Then in the days of Hezekiah there were Simeonites still in the land, who had escaped the Assyrian captivity. A large migration of these took possession of Hamite territory, and another body of five hundred exterminated the remnant of the Amalakites, and dwelt in their places, as related in 1 Chron. iv. 39 seqq. Thus, considering how few the notices of the tribe of Simeon are in the entire history, they appear to have been sufficiently divided to satisfy the prediction ascribed to Jacob, though in a less marked degree than in the case of Levi. It is also to be considered that the prediction, to some extent at any rate, refers to the separation of Levi and Simeon from one another. They had been united in violent counsels and transactions, but would be parted from one another in their subsequent history.

The disappearance of Simeon from the Song of Moses, or else his original absence from it, is certainly remarkable. The Alexandrian Codex of the LXX. is free from this deficiency. Its reading, and it is no mean authority, is, Z' ήτω 'Pουβην, καὶ μὴ ἀποθανέτω· καὶ Συμεων ἔστω πολύς ἐν ἀριθμω.¹ If it was originally absent from the Hebrew, the supposition that the tribe had disappeared from Israel at the late period to which some critics assign this composition, is still perfectly arbitrary and unwarranted. There is not the slightest evidence of its having thus disappeared. On the contrary, we find Simeonites after the Assyrian captivity. In 1 Chron. iv. 38 they had greatly increased in numbers, and doubtless it was this increase that occasioned the migrations in Hezekiah's time. Moreover, even if this tribe had ceased to exist as a tribe at the time supposed, the author of the song was well aware that such a tribe had existed in the days of Moses, and would scarcely have been guilty of an oversight that has been thought to betray the late period of its composition. It is difficult also to explain the absence of this tribe from the song, if written at an earlier period, though some have supposed that at that time this tribe was under the special displeasure of Moses, on account of the conduct of Zimri, a prince of the Simeonites, in the matter of Peor, and in the matter of Cozbi.

IV. We now arrive at the vaticination of Judah's greatness. It resolves itself into three principal parts, the first describing the military glory and prowess of the tribe, and the last the fertility of its territory. These have not given rise to much discussion or difference of opinion; it is the second particular of the predicted greatness, that relating to the possession of the sceptre, and particularly its final clause, in which Shiloh is named, that has during the last century been the subject of contention. The weak point of the previous modes of interpretation has been the failure of all attempts to explain the name of Shiloh, as a proper name or otherwise, with any degree of

¹ Grabe's Septuagint, Deut. xxxiii. 6.

certainty or unanimity. The modern way of interpreting, "until he come to Shiloh," free as it is from this difficulty, is yet attended with the gravest difficulties of a different kind. Foremost amongst these is the mention of this as the terminus ad quem of the sovereignty intended. The entire description seems plainly to refer to the condition of Judah in the promised land. Indeed it is doing great violence to the whole, to separate any of its parts from the concluding account of the fertility of the Jewish territory, described as this is in v. 11, 12 in the closest grammatical connexion with the particular which has been the subject of disagreement. Yet the arrival at Shiloh is only the period of the very commencement of Judah's possession of that territory. Moreover up to this time Judah was in no respect distinguished for prowess above other tribes, had no kind of sovereignty over any of the others, and so far was not distinguished from any other tribes in retaining its internal selfgovernment. As a prediction the words would be futile, and as a vaticinium post eventum, still more improbable. Indeed it seems inconceivable that a person writing at the time of Judah's greatest prosperity, with the manifest intention of glorifying that tribe beyond all the rest, should have dated back the terminus ad quem of the glory described to so early a period, or indeed to any preceding time. For though it is true the words rendered "until" do not forbid the continued existence of the matter described beyond the terminus specified, they certainly abstract from all such subsequent existence, and confine the reader's thoughts to the limit expressed. And this at least suggests the possibility of subsequent failure, and in such a case as the present, would have had the force of a presage of decay, which in the circumstances supposed would have been a most improbable thing for such a writer to suggest. It may be added that there was no particular sense in which Judah could have been said to have come to Shiloh. This place was not within the territory of that tribe, but belonged to its great rival Ephraim; the worship of Jehovah there established was under

the administration of another tribe, while "of Judah Moses spake nothing concerning priesthood;" and Joshua, the leader of the Israelites when they arrived at Shiloh, and fixed the tabernacle there, was also of a different tribe. It is impossible, therefore, to conceive a poorer, less appropriate, and more unlikely terminus to have been chosen for this prediction, whether such in reality, or subsequently composed; and in this latter case it is still more improbable than in the former. It is true that Gesenius, s.v. איל in order to evade this difficulty, suggests that the clause might be rendered "So long as they go to Shiloh." But this is only a desperate attempt, unwarranted by any usage of the form אָר בָּי, and therefore quite arbitrary. Besides, on the supposition of the composition of this passage in the latter part of David's reign, the difficulty remains in its full force. God had already "forsaken the tabernacle of Shiloh." The ark was now in Zion, and Judah no longer went to Shiloh.

The structure of the passage is also greatly unfavourable to this interpretation, not simply because the pronoun and preposition are absent, which it is freely admitted the genius of the language would sanction, but because they are not expressed in this case, under circumstances that would naturally have made the writer express them, if they had been in his mind. It will be seen that throughout the preceding part, when the verb and its subject are both expressed, the subject always follows the verb. Thus we have, "Judah, thou! shall praise thee thy brethren,—shall bow down to thee the sons of thy father," in v. 8; and then in v. 10, "shall not depart the sceptre from Judah, and (shall not depart) a lawgiver from between his feet, until shall come Shiloh."2 Considering the prevalence in the passage of this arrangement, and the force of the parallelism, if the reader could possibly give any better meaning to Shiloh, than the city so named, he would naturally make it the subject of

¹ [See "Heb. and Eng. Lexicon, edited with improvements from the German works of Gesenius," by Gibbs. It is on this authority I ascribe the suggestion to Gesenius; it has, at any rate, been adopted by others of the same school.]

² We subjoin here the entire passage in as exact conformity with the original, both

the verb; and the writer would similarly, if he meant to alter the arrangement and to avoid mistake, have felt the necessity of introducing either the pronoun before the verb, or a preposition before Shiloh. Some indeed insist that the position of the pronoun in the subsequent clause, "to him shall be the obedience of the people," suggests in accordance with the Hebrew parallelism a like position for the word to which it refers, and so calls for the introduction of the pronoun in the interpretation of the preceding clause. But if there is any force in this argument drawn from the Hebrew parallelism, it tells with three-fold or four-fold weight in the opposite direction, in consequence of the previous arrangement of the verbs and their subjects. Hence the older interpreters, differing as they do in the meaning assigned to Shiloh, have with a singular unanimity agreed in making it the subject of the verb. Nor have they failed in assigning more than one probable explanation of the word, however uncertain we may feel in coming to a positive conclusion. The explanation adopted by several of the Rabbis, and amongst modern interpreters by Luther and Calvin, which makes the last syllable of Shiloh the poetical pronominal affix, in his, has in its favour the occurrence of this affix twice afterwards, as noted below, and in each case, as here, at the end of a clause, no doubt for fulness of breathing and to sustain the voice

in the position of the words and otherwise, as the English language will allow; the pronoun and preposition supplied by modern interpreters in the clause relating to Shiloh are enclosed in italics:—

"Judah, thou! shall praise thee thy brethren, Thine hand on the neek of thine enemies, Shall bow down to thee the sons of thy father. A whelp of a lion, Judah! From the prey, my son, thou hast gone up; He couched, he lay down as a lion, And as a lioness, who shall raise him up? Shall not depart the sceptre from Judah, And a lawgiver from between his feet, Until [he] shall come [he] Shiloh, (aff. 17) And to him the obedience of peoples. Binding to the vine his ass-colt, (aff. 1) And to the choice vine the foal of his she-ass, He washed in wine his garment, And in blood of grapes his dress; (aff. 1) Red in the eyes from wine, White in the teeth from milk."

at the close of the verse. The sense, "his offspring," the promised seed, would be to the heart's content of the advocates of the Messianic application of the passage. But, unfortunately, the Hebrew language presents no instance of the word שׁיל in this sense of proles. There is indeed what might be regarded as a kindred word, שׁלֵיה, which the lexicons explain, as in the margin of the English Version of Deut. xxviii. 57, by "the afterbirth." In this only instance of its occurrence in the Bible, it can scarcely mean that, but denotes the offspring itself. It is absurd to speak of a woman's eye being evil to what is expressed by the word in the sense assigned to it, and that in connexion with her husband, and her son, and her daughter, and her children that she shall bear. Plainly the eye being evil denotes the grudging of food, and requires a person for its object. This is clearly the meaning of the expression in v. 54, as in Deut. xv. 9; elsewhere also an evil eye denotes a grudging disposition. In v. 54, 55, the man grudges to his wife and children share of the children he eats; and similarly in v. 56, 57, the woman grudges her husband, and her children enumerated in every variety of age and sex, share of the like food; for she too is to eat them, that is, some of them, as the man in v. 55. Hence the English Version, in the text, has "her young one that cometh out from between her feet;" and some copies of the LXX. have, not χόριον, but τὸ κόριον αὐτῆς, "her little girl," following the feminine termination of the word. "Reference is also made to an Arabic word Shalil, with the same signification." Gesenius also mentions this amongst the supposed meanings of the word; but he represents the sense thus attributed to the clause to be, "so long as the latest posterity." To render the clause, "as long as his offspring shall come,"

י Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, s.v. Shiloh. See in Buxtorf's Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum, the opinions of Aben Esra, Jonathan the Chaldee Paraphrast, and R. Bechai, in favour of this explanation. The first refers to the use of the verb יוֹ בְּעָשְׁי in 2. Kings, iv. 28, יְחָלֵּהְ אֹלְי, which he renders, Ne facias ut pariam liberos. R. Bechai refers to Deut. xxviii. 57, and says that this peculiar word is used by Jacob to intimate se de Messia peculiariter loqui. Arias Montanus has parvulam suum in Deut. xxviii. 57.

would involve, however, the mistranslation of ער בי already noticed.

The Bishop of Natal¹ supposes that the words in the "blessing of Moses," Deut. xxxiii. 7, "Bring him unto his people," has plain reference to the clause, "To him the obedience of peoples," in the words of Jacob, and show that it is Judah and not the Messiah that is here spoken of. The reference is only apparent on the surface. In the words of Jacob, peoples, evidently more than his own people, are to be obedient, whether to Judah or to Shiloh; in the "blessing of Moses," the prayer is that he might have the full number of his own population. Already he had the largest population of all the tribes, and that a still greater number was anticipated for him is evident from the assignment to him of a territory which he was not able to people, and into which the tribe of Simeon was afterwards received.

V. The description of the maritime dwelling of Zebulun has caused considerable embarrassment to the critics of the present day. An inconsistency between an oracular saying, uttered before the time to which it refers, and the subsequent facts, would of course be in favour of the views of those who deny a true prophetic element in the Biblical writings. But as the numerous instances of agreement require that this and other like documents should, if not truly prophetic, be regarded as written after the events described, an inconsistency with the facts is an awkward circumstance. A person composing a subsequent description in a prophetic form would take care to avoid any such inconsistency, and with this view would allude only to such particulars as he felt sure were true in fact. To suppose therefore, that in the present case, the author, writing at a late period in the reign of David, was under a false impression as to the true situation and circumstances of the tribes at a little distance from Judæa implies not only an improbable ignorance, but a want of art not to be expected in one capable of such a

¹ Pt. v. p. 128.

composition. Fifty or sixty miles in a country united under one sovereign would not be such a distance as to give rise to ignorance of this kind, more especially as the frequent military assemblages must have brought people of different tribes together, to say nothing of the resort from all parts to the central places of divine worship. The difficulty, however, seems to have no real existence, whether the saying be regarded as uttered before or after the time to which it relates. First, we will give the words in as exact agreement as possible with the Hebrew original:—

"Zebulun at a haven of seas shall dwell, Even he, at a haven of ships, And his side upon Zidon."

Now both the part of the Song of Moses relating to Zebulun, and the description of the territory allotted to this tribe in Joshua xix., alike connect Zebulun with the sea. In the Song of Moses Zebulun is joined with the adjacent tribe of Issachar in some lucrative maritime trade:—

"They shall suck the abundance of the seas,
And the treasures hid in the sea-sand."

But as Issachar certainly had not any contact with the sea, on the side of Gennesareth or of the Mediterranean, an easy access to the sea, and the pursuit of maritime engagements rendered possible thereby, is all that can be proved by this reference.¹ Perhaps the word used in Gen. xlix. to express Zebulun's dwelling by the sea, 'it', literally "shall pitch tents," or "encamp," is intended to express a resort to the sea outside the limits of the settled territory of the tribe. Then, if we look to the account of this territory in Joshua xix. we find that its "border went up to the sea-ward," and that it reached to the river that is before Jokneam. This is the river Kishon, just near the southern extremity of Carmel, at which, at a distance of a few miles, say about ten, there was an exit round Carmel to the shore, the inland side of Carmel being the boundary of

^{&#}x27; So in the Song of Moses, "Rejoice Zebulun in thy going out."

Asher. If now we look to Josephus, we shall find that he gives to Zebulun the land contiguous to Carmel and the sea, while the territory extended eastwards as far as the lake of Gennesareth.1 The land beyond Carmel he assigns to Asher, while on the other side Manasseh reached as far as Dor on the sea. being a Philistine city, it is probable that the tribe of Manasseh did not extend northwards beyond this on the coast, and there is the small space beyond it at the foot of Carmel left to Zebulun, and doubtless ultimately occupied by that tribe, if not part of its original lot. There really seems no difficulty in this part of the words ascribed to Jacob; but the final clause, "his side upon Zidon," is not so clear. To connect the land of Zebulun in any way with Sidonian territory is quite out of the question. words, however, are capable of another explanation, and may be intended to describe a coasting trade along the shores of the Phonician country. This in a general way was called Sidon, the city of Zarephath being called in 1 Kings xvii. a city of Sidon. There is not, at any rate, the least ground for the positive assertion of the Bishop of Natal, "It is plain that to Zebulun is here assigned a portion of territory which in Josh. xix. is ascribed to Asher," except by adopting the reading of the LXX. and Samaritan, צער for אָל, so as to make the statement of an actual extent of the district of Zebulun to the Sidonian territory to seem more clearly implied in the words of Jacob. we certainly are not obliged to follow the Versions where they create difficulties not in the Hebrew, however fair it may be to use their aid in removing difficulties attending the Hebrew text. Even, however, adopting the Samaritan and Greek readings, we may still understand "his side as far as Sidon," to denote that he should extend his coasting voyages so far. On the other side there is no pretence for supposing that Zebulun is assigned any territory belonging to Asher. Joshua xix. makes Carmel the limit of Asher on the west, and leaves the coast

 $^{^1}$ Ant. τ. i. 22. Ζαβουλωνίται δὲ τὴν μέχρι Γεννησαρίτιδος, καθήκουσαν δὲ περ
l Κάρμηλον καὶ θάλασσαν ἔλαχον.

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between Carmel and the sea free for whatever disposal of it may seem otherwise probable.

The remaining tribes call for no special observations here, being made the subjects of no objection.

NOTE A.

(Page 24, line 32.)

In maintaining that the translators have connected the fourth and fifth verses of Gen. ii. "in a way inconsistent with the proper meaning and grammatical construction," and that the adverb terem must be translated not yet, as standing between the verb and its nominative case, we have not only the authority of the Masoretic punctuation, but the strongest grounds in the passage itself. If the title to the section be limited to the first clause of v. 4, and the second clause be connected with the first part of v. 5, as the protasis of a sentence, then there will be no apodosis. For the conjunction 'plainly shows that a new sentence begins with it. If, however, the title be made to include the second clause of v. 4, then this plainly appears to be only a poetical repetition of the substance of the first, containing its principal ideas in an inverted order,—heavens, earth, created,—made, earth, heavens. The natural termination would then be at the close of v. 4, and only an impossibility of otherwise disposing of the commencement of v. 5, would justify the continuation of the title in this latter verse. Moreover the sentence beginning with '5, for, plainly supposes an assertive proposition before it, and not a mere title assuming a fact. In any case also the interposition of the heavens at the end of v. 4, between the earth and the plants of the field, would be a very harsh and unnatural arrangement.

NOTE B.

(Page 66, note).

THE explanation given in this note of the manner in which the order of the planetary names of the days of the week originated, namely, by the resolution of the planets into two series, reckoning outwards from the sun and the moon, and an alternate enumeration beginning with the sun, might have been justified by the authority of Selden and Bede. The former thus writes: -Quod verò ad Planetariæ denominationis ordinis Rationem spectat; sanè mihi nondum persuasum est aut à proportione musicâ, aut ab Horarum præfecturis, nedum à triangulis laterumve aut basium ratione seu oppositionibus, hujusmodi ordinem manâsse; sed à simpliciori multò origine, eâque quidem alternationi illi, de quâ loquitur Beda, proximante.—De Jure Naturali et Gentium juxta Disciplinam Ebræorum, L. iii. c. 21, p. 433. Bede's explanation, as quoted by Selden, p. 430, is as follows:—Hæc erat stultitia gentilium, falså ratiocinatione subnixa, qui quasi jure primam diem Soli, quia maximum est Luminare; secundam Lunæ, quia secundum Luminare est, se consecrare putabant, (et) de inordinatâ alternatione tertiæ diei primam à Sole Stellam, quartæ primam à Luna, quintæ secundam à Sole, sextæ secundam à Luna, septimæ tertiam à Sole præponebant. Selden himself only differs from this in supposing, that setting out with the sun and going back to the moon, as the two greater luminaries, for the two first days, they perceived an interval of two planets passed over, and that taking this interval as their guide, going on from the sun outwards, they after each step went back over two planets for the succeeding days (p. 435).

NOTE C.

(Page 126, line 15).

On the question of the possibility of miracles being performed by created beings of superhuman powers, Hugh Farmer's "DisNOTE C. 249

sertation on Miracles, designed to show that they are Arguments of a Divine Interposition," may be consulted with advantage. He says, ch. ii. sect. 3, "The order of the world seems to make it necessary that all created agents should be effectually restrained or disabled from disturbing that order, in the manner they might do, did they possess the power of miracles. And there must be a divine law or constitution, preventing the interposition of superior beings in this manner upon our globe in particular. Unable as we might have been to determine by speculative reasonings, or arguments à priori, what constitution of the universe it became God to establish; yet we may discern the wisdom, the fitness, and in some degree the necessity, of that constitution which we see he has actually established, and consequently the impossibility of its being subjected to the arbitrary will of any of his creatures, from whose dominion and control we find it in fact to be exempted. The laws which the wisdom of God ordained for the general good, his omnipotence carries into certain execution, without the least danger of being checked or controlled by any opposing power. Hence arises the impossibility of miracles being ever performed without the order of God. Not that the works themselves, abstractedly considered, require the exertion of an infinite power; but the course of nature being a divine settlement, it cannot, in any instance whatever, be overturned by any finite power, without God's express appointment. This is affirming nothing more than that there is no being in the universe capable of opposing the Deity with success." To the allegation, "that superior intelligences, evil as well as good, do not want the natural power of working miracles, but only the liberty of exerting it. And notwithstanding they may be restrained from using it frequently or commonly; yet that it can never be proved (as a great writer," Dr. Clarke, "expresses it) that they are under such restraints, universally, perpetually, and without exception," Farmer replies:-"I would observe in answer to this objection, First, that were the Deity to lay superior beings under such a general

restraint as is here supposed, the removal of that restraint, and the setting them at liberty on any particular occasion, on purpose that they might work particular miracles, and with no other view, would be giving them more than a bare permission (as some represent it); it would be giving them both a power and a commission to perform those particular miracles on that special occasion. The miraculous works in this case could not be considered in the same light as the ordinary actions of free agents to whom God indulges the use of their natural powers; but would argue a special licence, and even the express appointment of the Deity. Now, we are not contending, that God may not commission and empower whom he pleases to work miracles; this being, in effect, the same thing as performing them himself. And he can never give his sanction to imposture. So that the objection we are considering, were it well grounded, can never serve the main cause of those by whom it is urged, or enable them to show that miracles may accompany a false doctrine. Secondly, there is, however, no manner of foundation for the objection. For our judgments are to be guided by facts, not by arbitrary hypotheses; and, therefore, unless it can be shown that there is full and sufficient evidence of the truth of miracles, which cannot be fitly ascribed to God; there is just the same reason to believe, that superior created intelligences are universally and perpetually restrained from working miracles, as that they are generally so." Ch. ii. sect. 2.

Professor Mansel, in Aids to Faith, p. 33, referring to Farmer, says, "The objections which may justly be urged against Farmer's argument, when carried to the extent of denying the credibility of demoniacal miracles of any kind, do not apply to it when limited to such miracles as are wrought in evidence of a religion, and to the question, not of their theoretical possibility, but of their actual occurrence. It may be unsafe to reason à priori, from our conception of the divine attributes, that the permission of such agency is inconceivable; but we may fairly refuse to attach any practical importance to

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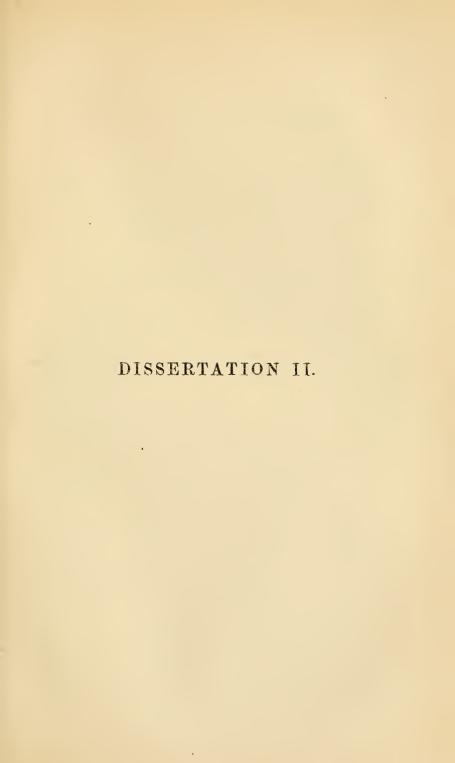
the supposition, until some evidence is brought forward to show that it has actually been realised. It remains yet to be shown that in all human experience any instance can be produced of a real miracle wrought by evil spirits for purposes of deception." When Mansel says it may be unsafe to reason from our conception of the Divine attributes, that the permission of such agency is inconceivable, he appears to have overlooked the fact that our conception of God's attributes is the only guide, and the necessary limit, to what is conceivable respecting him, unless we use the word conceivable to signify what is imaginable. As a possible thing, we cannot conceive God acting otherwise than in accordance with the conception we are obliged to form of his attributes and character. But, not to insist on this, neither Farmer nor Mansel have remarked, that on the supposition that Satan either possessed a real serpent, or assumed the form of a serpent, on the occasion of the first temptation and the Fall, and in this form articulated with human speech, there would have been a very striking and decided instance of a miracle wrought by the evil being for man's deception. It is remarkable that though Farmer in the Dissertation referred to, discusses generally the alleged Scriptural instances of miracles wrought by other beings than God, he takes no notice of this. It is plain, however, from the way in which he represents our Lord's temptation to have taken place, that he would not have hesitated to explain the serpent as symbolical, and to treat the temptation of Eve as effected in the manner of our ordinary temptations.

[In connexion with this subject I have quoted in p. 129 a passage from Bp. Sherlock's second Discourse on "The use and intent of Prophecy," in which he assigns reasons for thinking that a real serpent was not employed by Satan in the temptation of our first parents, and that the serpent is only mentioned as an emblem of the deceiver. He afterwards, however, added an Appendix to his third Dissertation contained in the same work, in which he gave his adherence to the supposition that a real

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serpent was concerned in the transaction. He alleged that this had been drawn up some years before to meet the objections of a writer that had died after it was written. It was supposed, however, that he had in view some contemptuous remark of Middleton on the literal interpretation of the history of the Fall, and that Middleton's freedom of thinking and speaking on sacred subjects had led him to change his mind on this point. Whether this were the case or not, or whether or not Middleton supposed it to have been the case, Middleton shortly after published a violent attack on the Bishop in "An Examination of the Bishop of London's Discourses on the use and intent of Prophecy," to which he added an Appendix on the historical interpretation of the history of the Fall, with special reference to what the Bishop had said on the subject of the serpent. In the style of contempt with the use of which he was so familiar, he pointed out the objections to this interpretation in a way that will well repay the reader.

The occasional occurrence of serpent-worship in the heathen world would have been a good reason for representing the serpent as the agent of man's downfall and the recipient of a curse from God, in addition to other reasons already mentioned, but not for the employment of a serpent by Satan, as Sherlock supposes in the above-mentioned Appendix was done.





GENESIS AND ITS AUTHORSHIP.

II.—ON THE USE OF THE NAMES OF GOD IN THE BOOK OF GENESIS, AND ON THE UNITY OF ITS AUTHORSHIP.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS.

I.—THE ORIGINAL HEBREW TEXT.

Great stress has been laid by modern critics on the diversity of usage in regard to the names by which the Divine Being is designated in the book of Genesis, and various speculations in respect to the authorship of the book have been founded on that diversity, or have at least originated in it. On the one hand stands the traditionary character of the book, as substantially, and in its integrity, the work of Moses. On the other hand are the several hypotheses, either of an earlier document containing an outline of the history, in which the author uniformly and exclusively employs the name Elohim or its shorter collateral form El, which usage he carries a certain way into the book of Exodus also, while a later writer has interpolated this sketch with passages of greater or less extent in which the name Jehovah is also freely used; or else of a compilation of several independent documents by an editor who is supposed to have "exercised a moderate control over his materials," as Dr. Davidson says, and occasionally added something himself. It is only a careful and exact survey of the entire book, and an attentive examination of the facts that can

lead us to any safe conclusion in regard to these speculations. But before we enter on this detailed examination of the entire book, there are some preliminary considerations of a general nature which must be taken into account, as having an important bearing on the enquiry.

A question that offers itself to our consideration at the outset, as one that most materially affects the entire discussion, has reference to the state of the Hebrew text, and that, more particularly, in regard to the names of God. Have we the original text, or is the present Hebrew text, as regards this book of Genesis and other earlier parts of the Old Testament, the result of revision by an editor who may have substituted more recent names and phrases for those of an earlier date, or in any way so far modified the original readings as to throw doubt on any conclusions founded on the verbal text as it now exists? That such an alteration has been made in one important instance, and that in what is considered the part of the supposed Elohistic document of most moment to the whole enquiry,-namely by the substitution of Jehovah for Elohim in the first verse of the seventeenth chapter, is essential to the theory of its existence prior to the Jehovistic portions. What has thus for the sake of theory been assumed to have taken place, at any rate in one instance, may have happened in other cases as well, where the text is now favourable to the views of the theorists, but may not have been so in its original form.

And here we have first to notice the fact that the Alexandrian translators in their version have by no means followed the present Hebrew text as regards the names of God. In between fifty and sixty places in this book of Genesis they vary from it, either substituting one name for the other, in their Greek representatives, $\kappa \dot{\nu} \rho \iota \sigma$ and $\dot{\sigma} \theta \dot{\sigma} \dot{\sigma}$, or else combining the two where one or other exists separately in the present Hebrew, the presumption in this latter case being either that their Hebrew copies contained the same combination, or else varied in the use of the single names, the combination being intended by the

translators to indicate this uncertainty. At any rate it will be seen that in eight instances they have introduced Jehovah either in place of Elohim, or in combination with it, all these except one being in the supposed Elohim document, in which, according to the theory, Jehovah could have no place whatever; and five of these variations are in the Elohistic part of the history of the deluge, from the partition of which, more than from any other source perhaps, except the seventeenth chapter, from which even in its existing Hebrew state Jehovah has to be forcibly expunged, the peculiarities of diction supposed to distinguish the Elohist and the Jehovist have been derived. In whatever way this difference between the Greek and Hebrew has happened, it equally serves the purpose of the present argument. If it has arisen from an actual difference in the ancient Hebrew copies, it shows how uncertain must be all conclusions drawn from the existing state of the Hebrew text, as regards these names of God, not only throwing doubt on the readings in which it actually differs from the Greek, but rendering all less certain than is needful to sustain so important a theory as that in question. But even supposing that the LXX. departed from a text agreeing with that now extant, in a capricious or careless neglect of the distinctions existing in it, and used either name indifferently as it occurred to them, then should the present Hebrew be only a modernised version or revision of the original now wholly lost, in this case the actual inexactness of one set of translators, would unquestionably render more probable the already not improbable inexactness of another set, in a matter which they were not likely to think very important, as the LXX. plainly did not think it to be by the hypothesis, or such as to preclude the exercise of their own discretion.

On the possibility of the present Pentateuch being such a translation or revised edition in a more modern form, as has just been suggested, Professor Rawlinson, Essay in Aids to Faith, p. 251, remarks, that "the Pentateuch may have under-

gone an authoritative revision by Ezra, when the language may have been to some extent modernised, and a certain number of parenthetic insertions may have been made into the text. The Jewish tradition on this head seems to deserve attention from its harmony with what is said of Ezra in the book which bears his name. And this authoritative revision would account at once for the language not being more archaic than it is, and for the occasional insertion of parentheses of the nature of a comment." It would also account for anachronisms of a verbal nature, on which objectors, such as the Bishop of Natal, so much rely, for instance, the use of the name Gilgal, of Dan for Laish, and the occurrence of the word prophet, נביא, instead of seer, ה'אָר, if it be meant in 1 Sam. ix. 9, that the latter was the more ancient term, and the former only of recent introduction in Samuel's time.1 It would also in some measure account for the difficulties in regard to numbers which present themselves in the Pentateuch. An obscurity in regard to numbers would be the more likely, as in the original they might have been specified not in words, but by numerical signs. That there actually was conjectural emendation in regard to one or both of two different recensions of the fifth chapter of Genesis is quite evident. While the Hebrew and the Greek for the most part agree in the total ages of the patriarchs as set out in that chapter, they generally differ by a century in the ages at which they are represented as begetting their sons, while in the lengths of their subsequent lives this difference is compensated by the addition or subtraction of a century in order to preserve the same aggregates. The impossibility of determining now in which case the emendation was made, or whether both are the result of conjectural alteration, tends to throw great doubt on the correctness of the numbers in general as specified in the

At a later period, such as the time of Isaiah and of the writer of the Chronicles, Roch or Seer appears to have come into use again, exemplifying the saying of Horace, Multa renascentur quæ jam cecidére. The comparison, however, in 1 Sam. ix. 9 seems to be only between the usage in the time of the writer of the history, and that of Saul's time, and not between the latter and that of an earlier period, which may have been very different.

existing copies of the Pentateuch, and especially of the larger numerals, which in proportion to the greater number of signs which may have been employed, would have been exposed to greater chances of corruption, or of the loss of the meaning of some of the signs employed.

The Jewish tradition, to which Professor Rawlinson refers in the words above quoted, is developed in 2 Esdras xiv. into the story, that the Pentateuch having been burnt at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, Ezra re-wrote it by divine inspiration. This extravagant story would have had an historical basis in such a modernised revision or translation as may be supposed not devoid of foundation on the following considerations:-2

While the substantial sameness of the present Biblical Hebrew throughout the entire range of the Old Testament writings has been deemed so unlikely a characteristic of a language subsisting through such a lengthened period, as to occasion in the minds of many scholars the suspicion that the earlier books are not so ancient as they pretend to be, we have an express testimony that after the return from Babylon, the Pentateuchal Hebrew, at any rate, had become so unintelligible to the bulk of the people, as to need interpretation. We read in Nehemiah viii. 8, that when Ezra assembled the people that the law might be read to them, his assistants "read in the book, in the Law of God distinctly," lit. מַלַרָשׁ, a separated part or paragraph,3 "and gave the sense, and caused to understand

¹ The statement of Irenæus preserved by Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. v. 8, is to the same effect, except that the phrase, διαφθαρεισῶν τῶν γραφῶν, is perhaps capable of being understood of a corruption of the text without implying its absolute destruction.

2 The remark of the Bishop of Natal on this supposition is simply ridiculous:—

[&]quot;The idea of Ezra undertaking to revise, in a later age, words believed to have been written down by Moses, and to have Divine authority, etc., modernising language so venerable and sacred, must surely seem very strange to many an English reader."—
Pentateuch Critically Examined, Pt. ii. p. 178. Why should it seem strange to people
who are aware that they only know the writings by a translation themselves, and who
know that our Lord and his Apostles quoted them from a translation, which they can by their Reference Bibles perceive to have differed often very much from those writings as they have been handed down to the present day; and especially when they know that Ezra, to whom this performance is attributed, was himself included in the number of inspired writers? That he altered or corrupted the sense of the original is not of course to be imagined.

³ The word מְבֹרָשׁ is the participle of Pual, and does not agree with the preceding

the reading." This manner of interpreting, paragraph by paragraph, shows that the language of the Law was to some extent unintelligible to the common people; and the notion has prevailed in consequence that the Biblical Hebrew had ceased to be vernacular at this time, the use of it being supposed to have been lost during the Captivity. But if so, it seems strange that a succession of writers who addressed themselves to the Jewish people at large during the period after the return from Babylon down to Malachi, including the authors of the post-captivity Psalms, for a century and a half from the first commencement of the return, should have continued to write in that now obsolete dialect. While it may be inferred from this continued employment of it, that the Biblical Hebrew was still in use amongst the people, there are also indications of a different kind from which the same may be concluded. The language spoken in Babylon and Assyria at the time of the captivity was the Aramæan, ארמית, or Syriac. That it was the language of the Assyrians is evident from 2 Kings xviii. 26, where Rabshakeh is requested to speak in the Syrian language and not in that of the Jews. And that it was the language spoken in Babylon, and identical with the Biblical Chaldee, is plain from Dan. ii. 4, where it is said that the Chaldeans, when brought before Nebuchadnezzar, "spake to the king, ארמית, in Syriac." This is mentioned not because they were likely to have spoken to the king in any other language, but because the narrator, having written thus far in He-

א בְּחֹרֶת which is feminine, but is used substantively as the accusative after the verb read. The Talmudists evidently thus understood it: Distinctè lectum per periodos et

brew, was about to introduce their words in the language in which they spoke, namely the Biblical Chaldee.2 And having given

read. The Talmudists evidently thus understood it: Distinctè lectum per periodos et commata. See Grotius in loc.

1 It is expressly said in Ezra v. 1, that it was to the Jews, evidently not to the priests only but to the people at large, that Haggai and Zechariah prophesied preparatory to the resumption of the building of the temple on the accession of Darius. Hence we find in their books besides parts addressed to the rulers and priests, other parts expressly directed to the people: Haggai i. 13, "Then spake Haggai in the Lord's message unto the people;" Zech. vii. 5, "Speak unto all the people of the land and to the priests." Similarly the first chapter of Malachi is "The burden of the word of the Lord to Israel," while the second begins, "And now, O ye priests, this commandment is for you."

2 It is supposed, however, that the Chaldeans, being a non-Shemitic race, did no

their words in this dialect he continues to use it to the end of the narrative, apparently for the purpose of giving the words of the interlocutors in the language in which they were spoken. The remaining Chaldee portion of this book is a collection of documents unconnected with one another or with what precedes, one of them being a writing by Nebuchadnezzar, and another by Daniel, but introduced by a preface which mentions him in the third person, and states that he wrote this account of a dream that he had, and spake what follows. In the remaining portion of the book, in which Daniel appears as his own historian and speaks throughout in his own person, the language is Hebrew. This Aramæan or Chaldee thus used in the Book of Daniel, and distinguished from the Hebrew or Jews language, יהודית, in 2 Kings xviii. 26, and in the corresponding passages of Chronicles and Isaiah, was also the language spoken by the colonists who had taken the place of the Jews in Palestine at the time of the captivity. In Ezra iv. 7 we are told that certain adversaries of the Jews, of course some of these colonists, wrote to Artaxerxes complaining of the proceedings of the Jews in rebuilding the temple. This letter, as addressed to the Persian government, is described by a word of Persian origin (נשׁתוֹן) and was no doubt written in the Persian tongue. But it is added that "the writing of the letter was written in Syriac, ארמית, and interpreted in Syriae." The only intelligible meaning of this statement is that the Persian copy was written in Syriae letters, and that there was also a draft or copy in Syriac, as the native tongue of the writers. And this would likewise have been the vernacular of the Jews if they had lost the use of Hebrew in Babylon. But instead of that we find in Neh. xiii. 24 the Jews language described by the same word, הוֹרִית, by which it is distinguished from the Syriac in 2 Kings xviii. 26, while it is here distinguished from

speak the same language as the general inhabitants of Babylon, at least in their professional proceedings. And thus is explained by some the necessity of Daniel and his companions learning the tongue of the Chaldeans, Dan. i. 4. But this might be explained by the difference between Hebrew and Syriac.

the speech of Ashdod, which may have been some form of Syriac. And then we read in Esth. viii. 9 of letters written to the Jews, and to the rulers of the provinces from India to Ethiopia, "unto every people after their language, and to the Jews according to their writing, and according to their language." From this it may be concluded that the Chaldee was not the vernacular of the Jews at this time. Had it been, it would not have been necessary to distinguish the language in which they were addressed from the languages in which the letters to the several provinces were written, amongst which, of course, the Syriac or Chaldee was included. It is clear, therefore, that the Biblical Hebrew had not as yet gone out of use amongst the Jews, however the intercourse with the colonists, and the growing use of the Greek language after the time of Alexander the Great, may have subsequently occasioned its disuse in Judea. The foregoing remarks may be fortified by the arguments of Carpzov, who, Crit. Sacr. Vet. Test. Pt. I. c. v. §. 5, in proof that the Jews had not lost the vernacular use of Hebrew in Babylon, urges,—1. That it would have been next to a miracle, if the Jews, in the space of seventy years, living together as a colony, had lost their vernacular speech, especially as after their return there were some who remembered the first temple and wept.—2. That Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi recited their writings to the people, and wrote for the use of the people in general.—3. That after the return, not only the public reading of the Law, and the public prayers were in the Hebrew language, but also that the covenant subscribed by the people, Neh. ix., x., was in Hebrew.— 4. That according to Neh. xiii. 24, it seemed strange that the children of the mixed marriages spoke after the speech of Ashdod, and of the Moabites and Ammonites, instead of the vernacular language of the Jews.

If now the Hebrew of the later books of the Old Testament was in common use amongst the Jews in the time of Ezra, it is impossible that the language of the Pentateuch in its present

form could have then needed interpretation, such as is plainly described in Neh. viii. 8, which seems too precise to denote anything such as mere comment or explanatory discourse. "They read in the book of the law of God a separated portion, and gave the sense and caused to understand as they read." The inference therefore is that it was the original language of the Pentateuch which at this time had become generally unintelligible, and that the form, in which the Pentateuch at present exists is a translation or modernised version into the later Biblical Hebrew, the original being now lost. But if this be the case, as it is impossible now to ascertain on what principle the authors of such a modernised version proceeded in regard to the names of God, any conclusion drawn from their usage in this respect, must needs be highly precarious, especially with the example of the Alexandrian translators in this matter in view. The singular consistency indeed which is observable in the first portions of the book as regards the manner of using these names, confirmed as that is in regard to the earliest document by the usage of the LXX., renders it highly probable that, as regards these portions, a like consistency existed from the commencement. And this probability is sufficient to justify the reserved and cautious use that has been made of this peculiarity in the preceding Dissertation, as helping, in connexion with a distinctness and completeness of subject matter, to mark off those documents as separate from the rest, and to be treated as subject to any such principle and mode of interpretation as they may seem to require, on considerations proper to themselves, without involving the necessity of adopting a like manner of interpretation in reference to the remaining parts of the book to which they are prefixed. As regards the book in general, however, enough has been said to show how very precarious must be any conclusions, for the certainty of which it is necessary to suppose that the names of God as they exist in the present Hebrew copies are exactly as they came from the hand of the original writer or writers, to whom the several parts of this book are ascribed.

II.—THE NAMES OF GOD, GENERIC AND PROPER.

THE uncertainty respecting the original use of the names of God which has been just insisted on, though sufficient to render the conclusions of modern critics very precarious, especially as it will be seen particularly to affect some of the passages of most importance in this discussion, may yet leave a large proportion of instances of their use unaffected. And perhaps it may be found that, whether we regard the present text as substantially conformable with the original, or due to editorial revision, a tolerably satisfactory account may in most instances be given of the use of each name as it occurs, on the ordinary principles which influence writers in the employment of contemporaneous terms. Supposing that the two names, Jehovah and Elohim, were co-existing names of the same nature and equivalent in their meaning, it would be nothing remarkable for the same writer, if only for the sake of variety, to use both indiscriminately and indifferently. Indeed it is not denied that one of the supposed writers of the book of Genesis, the so-called Jehovist, used both names freely. At the same time it would not be unlikely that a writer, having from whatever cause set out with one or other of these names, should in any short piece complete in itself, such as a psalm or brief narrative of some particular events or circumstances, occasionally adhere to the use of the same name throughout. Even on this supposition, therefore, the existing variation in the use of these names would have no great weight, unless it should appear that they were not in contemporaneous use at the time in which any of the documents in question are commonly supposed to have been written. But in fact these words are not both proper names, nor of co-ordinate value, however on particular occasions they might be interchanged without injury to the meaning of the writer; just as one might at times ascribe an action indifferently to the Emperor, or the Emperor Augustus,

or simply Augustus, and yet at other times it would be proper to use one rather than another. While Jehovah is strictly and essentially a proper name, Elohim is not a proper name at all, but is the generic name of deity, and may be applied equally to false gods or to the one living and true God. This is clearly implied in, and is the ground of, the common expression, "the Lord our God," Jehovah our Elohim, which is an assumptive proposition, of which the proper name Jehovah is the subject and the appellative Elohim the predicate. Hence the English Version of Deut. vi. 4. "The Lord our God is one Lord," is singularly infelicitous. The words as thus rendered only assert the singleness of Jehovah, as if any one had ever imagined that there was more than one Jehovah. Plainly it never could have been intended to make so unmeaning and needless an assertion. Manifestly the correct translation is, "Jehovah is our Elohim, Jehovah is one," or else, "Jehovah our Elohim, Jehovah is one," that is, one Elohim, having here the sense of unicus or solus, as in 1 Kings iv. 19, Is. li. 2, and 1 Chron. xxix. 1, and the object being plainly to inculcate the oneness of God, Jehovah the God of Israel being that one God. Both the LXX. and the Vulgate are consistent with the true meaning,—κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν κύριος εἶς ἐστι,—Dominus Deus noster, Dominus unus est. In the former, κύριος is not an appellative used without the article as the predicate; it is the subject, but has dropped the article, according to the usage of the LXX. when it represents the proper name Jehovah. The absur-

[&]quot;In that oft-recurring phrase, 'I am Yahveh, your Elohim,' it is clear that we could no more transpose the two words, than in the expression, 'I am Joseph, your brother,' we could interchange the words 'Joseph,' and 'brother.' 'Yahveh' stands as the personal name of the Being who is speaking; while 'Elohim' is in the nature of a common noun (though there is but one, in fact, who can be connoted by it)."—Crisis Hupfeldiana, by the Rev. W. Kay, D.D., Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta, p. 9. This brief work has many good remarks, but the theory of the difference in the significance of the names added to the observation just quoted, as the foundation of the variation in the use of them, has the same fault, that will presently be noticed as affecting Hengstenberg's views. It is too artificial, and is not directly evolved from the documents themselves. The pious considerations relied on have a value and truth in them, but do not serve the purposes of the present discussion.

dity of the English Version is less apparent, as the English word Lord, though representing Jehovah, is strictly speaking an appellative. But it becomes manifest by substituting Jehovah. And hence when the sacrifice of Elijah was consumed, the worshippers of Baal exclaimed, "the Lord, he is the God," Jehovah, he is the Elohim. And in other cases the same manner of speaking will be observed, only its significance is lost in the English Version, as in Deut. iv. 35, 39, where it has "The Lord he is God," the original being, "Jehovah, he is the Elohim; there is none else beside him,"—"he is the Elohim in heaven above and upon the earth beneath." There is no respect in which the English Version of both Old and New Testaments so entirely fails, as in its neglect of the article. The familiarity of the translators with the Latin Bible, and the long established practice of making Latin the vehicle of communicating the knowledge of other ancient languages, have doubtless been in great measure the cause of this grievous defect.

The co-existence of two such names is quite natural. system of Polytheism, besides the name of God in general, proper names to distinguish the several gods and goddesses in particular were absolutely necessary. In a system of Monotheism, if, as in the case of the Israelites, its opposition to the prevalent idolatry was to be strongly marked, a proper name in addition to the general name of God, was requisite to distinguish the one true God from the several false gods of the heathen. And apart from this, such a proper and personal name is needful for the higher purposes of devotion, and for all closer communion with God in worship. With us Christians the word Lord used singularly and definitely, the Lord, as a translation of the Hebrew Jehovah, the designations of the several persons of the blessed Trinity, used in a like singular and definite manner, and above all Jesus, the proper name of the Saviour, by whom God is especially revealed to the world, amply supply the need of proper names for the purposes of devotion, in strict conformity with the religious system to which these words belong. Mahomet,

whose object was on the one hand to oppose the polytheistic tendencies arising from contact with the heathen, and on the other the Trinitarian notions of the Christians, as in his view inconsistent with the unity of God, avoiding all other personal names, converted the generic name into a proper name, as in the Mahometan formula, La Elah illa Allah, which answers to that of Deut. vi. 4, and which declares that there is no God but Allah. But though the same word thus answers both purposes, that of a generic and of a personal name, it is as truly a proper name in one case as a general term in the other. Indeed Allah with the double consonant is properly an abbreviation of Al Elah, the God, commonly used to express the singleness of God. In the Patriarchal and Hebrew theology, which involved the closest personal relations between God and man, a proper and personal name of God was as essential as the generic, which was needed to describe the Being to whom the proper name was assigned. The same word used for both purposes, as in the Mahometan system, would have occasioned constant and inextricable confusion. Many occasions would occur where the proper and the general name could not be substituted one for the other; and in many eases, where perhaps either might make good sense, one in preference to the other would properly and naturally be chosen, in accordance with the particular devotional feeling of the time, or the particular circumstances in reference to which the mention of God is made. Often the choice is unconsciously made through some instinctive feeling, some impalpable, but not less real, subjective difference at the moment of writing or speaking. But besides these causes of variation in the use of the names of God, the mere disposition to avoid sameness, and to enliven one's discourse with an agreeable variety, would lead to a promiscuous and indiscriminate use of such names. Even pure seeming accident, in the absence of any adequate determining cause in the writer's consciousness,

¹ This use of the generic name with the article, to denote pre-eminence or singleness, was frequent with the later Hebrew writers, as will be seen hereafter.

may occasion such diversified use. "One name might still be generally preferred perhaps, but this would depend upon habit rather than upon reason; while the slightest variations of occasion or feeling might produce the most complete change of usage, without any sufficient cause or motive being apparent. Who would be prepared to account for his own employment of the various divine titles in use amongst ourselves? Who would attempt to assign a reason why one Christian speaks of God's Son as Jesus, another as Christ, a third as our Lord, a fourth as our Saviour, and so on? Who would venture to decide upon the genuineness, integrity, and date of the Epistles, by reference to their usage of the divine titles? (See p. 15 note.) Causes and reasons for all things no doubt there are; but their connection with the phenomena is so slight and uncertain, so liable to variation from the least disturbing circumstance, that to deduce the one from the other is a hopeless task. Just so we might expect that it would be with the Jewish names for God. So soon as Jehovah and Elohim became fully established on an equal footing, it was to be expected that their usage would become subject to variations, for the most part quite incapable of explanation." Hence Hengstenberg's very elaborate attempt to apply to the whole Pentateuch, with special reference to each passage in particular, the highly artificial theory by which the use of either name on the occasion of its occurrence is sought to be explained, seems as uncalled for, as it has certainly proved unsatisfactory. This seems quite as little requisite to account for the phenomena, as any of the theories involving different

¹ The Mosaic Origin of the Pentateuch, by a Layman, p. 79-80. The note referred to in the passage quoted above is as follows: "In the Epistle to the Romans, St. Paul uses the name Jesus 5 times, Christ 33 times; in the two to the Corinthians, Jesus 16 times, Christ 77 times; in Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians, Jesus 4 times, Christ 37 times; in the Epistles to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon, Jesus twice, Christ 4 times; in all, Jesus 27 times, Christ 201 times, or nearly 8 times as often. In the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, however (whose genuinesenses has been defended by such critics as De Wette, Meyer, and Jowett), we find precisely the reverse usage, Jesus 13 times, Christ 4 times; a conclusive proof no doubt of diverse anthorship." The reasons which influence this excellent author in not allowing their full weight to the remarks above quoted, as applied to the book of Genesis, will be considered in due course.

authorship and the fragmentary or interpolated condition of the writings.¹

The generic name in its simplest form El, is expressive of the power of God, and in its plural is denotes the "mighty ones." So does the larger form Elohim when used as a plural; but used as it most frequently occurs, as a singular noun with plural form, it rather denotes the concentration of all powers in the divine Being, the summing up in God of all that is implied in his omnipotence. It is rather the pluralis excellentiae, than the pluralis majestatis. Its generic character is evidenced not only from the frequent use of it with the article, but also from its very frequent use in such a connexion as would render

¹ It would be difficult to give a clear and concise abstract of Hengstenberg's prolix and laboured, and it must be added, cloudy discussion of this subject. Having endeavoured at great length to show that in the Biblical usage, the closest connexion exists between the name and the nature of the thing signified, so that the one is not to be considered as a mere name or sign, but as embodying the nature and essence, in which he is so far correct, as that names are for the most part significant, and that the word name may be understood often to denote the nature or essence, while at the same time of necessity, this word, and particular names however significant, must often be used as bare signs, he gives as the result of this enquiry, Authentie, i. p. 286:—1. That the names Jehovah and Elohim are not identical, but depend on a twofold aspect of God.—2. That as it is clear that the Pentateuch describes a revelation of God advancing step by step, until at last He as it were assumes flesh and blood in the theoracy, so it is to be expected from the close connexion between the name and the thing signified by it, that the actual difference between the earlier and later periods would be indicated by a designed and accurate interchange of the different names of God. -3. That as it is certain that Elohim is the more indefinite (algemeinere), Jehovah the deeper and more significant name of the Godhead,* we should also from this point of view already beforehand expect to see them, in the period preceding the full establishment of the theocracy, interchanged in a manner far otherwise than afterwards. This, as the period of the gradual selfdisplay of God to the world, and the gradual advancement of the knowledge of God depending thereon, has a mixed character. On the one hand the religious condition of the period seems allied to that of the later heathen world, on the other hand we already descry in it the same elements which afterwards were concentrated in the theocracy. But then the mixed character of this pro-theoratic period must occasion the mixed use of the names Jehovah and Elohim. According as the one side or the other, the relation to the earlier or the later, the analogy with the heathen world or the theoracy, predominates, must one name or the other be employed. He admits indeed theocracy, predominates, must one name or the other be employed. He admits indeed that this view is likely to seem too artificial on a superficial consideration of the subject; but then he says that from his point of view, it is so natural, that one must set out on the enquiry with the confident expectation of finding it confirmed. Men who set out on an enquiry with such an expectation generally do find it confirmed, at least to their own satisfaction. But the lengthened endeavours of the author to display this confirmation, by a discussion of the several passages throughout the Pentateuch in which either name is used, seem only to confirm what he admits would be the first impression, that his view of the matter is too artificial to be true. the first impression, that his view of the matter is too artificial to be true.

^{*} It is plain from the way in which algemeinere is here opposed to the deeper and more significant meaning of Jehovah, that the author uses it in the sense of more indefinite and less significant, rather than in the logical sense of more general.

any other than a general term improper, as in the First Commandment. On the other hand, Jehovah never appears as a general term, never has an article or pronominal suffix, and is never qualified by being connected with any other word in the genitive case. The only instance that may be adduced as an exception is the phrase, "the Lord of hosts," Jehovah Sabaoth, This, however, is not perhaps a real exception. It is probably an elliptic expression abbreviated from the larger phrase, "the Lord God of hosts," lit. Jehovah the Elohim of hosts, Hosea xii. 5. And this will appear the more probable by a reference to Amos v. 27, where we find, "Jehovah whose name is the God of hosts." The word Jehovah is used invariably and strictly as a proper name, applied to but one God, and never used of any other being, while Elohim is continually employed with all the characteristics and in all the circumstances proper to an appellative or common name.

*** Use of Elohim with the Article.

How completely the word Elohim was in its original nature a true appellative, and continued throughout to retain this character, may be seen from its use with the article, which in Hebrew is never prefixed to a true proper name. That the word is commonly used without the article, where it does not simply mean a god, but stands for the one God in the mouth of those who were not idolaters, and in the mouth of heathen men is used to denote the generalised deity, with a verb in the singular number. is indeed quite true. Instances of the former usage are too frequent to need any example; as regards the latter may be adduced Gen. xli. 39, where Pharaoh says to Joseph, "Elohim hath showed thee all this." Here the word is not used as denoting Joseph's God in particular, but as a generalised designation of deity; just as in the previous verse he speaks to his own servants of Joseph, as one in whom is a spirit of Elohim,—not the spirit of Elohim as in the English Version, but a spirit

of Elohim, or a divine spirit. In like manner this way of speaking was used by Moses himself in Exod. xxxv. 31, where he says that Jehovah had filled Bazaleel with α spirit of Elohim, meaning not the personal Spirit of God, but a divine spirit or influence. This generalised use of the word without the article was common with the Greeks also, as in such phrases as $\partial \hat{\alpha} \nu \theta \partial \hat{\beta} \partial \theta \partial \gamma$, though the genius of the Greek language preferred in such cases to use the article.

Amongst the believers in but one God the word is commonly thus used, however, not only in such cases as the above, where merely the idea of divinity in general is intended, but also where it stands for the personal God. Gesenius, Heb. Gram. Ed. Rödiger, §. 107, says it "is often so used without the article because it approaches the nature of a proper name." It would certainly have this quasi character of a proper name, if the writer or speaker had not the option of using a true proper name. But as it is equally so used where the choice of a proper name existed, it is rather to the frequent application of the term to a singular being, where no reference or distinction was intended, that its use without the article is to be ascribed. The tendency to abbreviate in cases of very frequent occurrence would naturally lead to the loss of an unnecessary addition to the word. And so it will be found that it is just in those cases which are extremely frequent in their recurrence, that the article is deficient, as when the word is the nominative, or accusative without TN, or has a prefix. In most instances indeed of its occurrence with prefixes, it may be doubted whether the article was used or not, because where its presence was only indicated by the vowels, the word might have been originally pronounced as if it had the article, though shortened in process of time before the vowels were introduced into the text. However this may have been, it is certain that it is only in these very frequent cases that the word habitually occurs without the article, while it will be found that in all the less frequent constructions the article is present or absent, just as it would be in the case of any other

appellative. Indeed it will be found that in the Pentateuch at any rate, and it may be added in the earlier historical books, a sufficient explanation of the existence of the article can be given in all cases, either on grammatical grounds, or for some special reason in the particular circumstances of the occasion. respect it will be seen that the earlier books are remarkably distinguished from such late writings as the Chronicles, and the books of Jonah, Daniel, and Nehemiah, to which may be added Ecclesiastes. In these Elohim frequently has the article, not only in cases where a special reason for its use existed, but also where in the earlier books it would have been without the article. This difference is of some moment as bearing on the supposed late date of the Pentateuch, or of some parts of it, and as indicating a different habit prevailing when it was written, from that which prevailed near the time of, and after, the Captivity.

It will be well to make a careful examination of the usage in this matter, not only as thus throwing light on the date of the earlier Biblical writings, but also as proving what has been maintained in regard to the true appellative character of the word, whether with or without the article. And this is the more needful as a force unwarranted by the usage has been ascribed to its presence or absence. Thus, while Gesenius ascribes to Elohim without the article the quasi character of a proper name, he at the same time speaks of it as equivalent to Jehovah, where the article is prefixed: "הָאֵל הִים, הָאֶל הֹים ὁ θεὸς, the only true God = יְהֹוֶה," ubi supra. Fuerst also, Heb. and Chald. Lexicon, translated by Davidson, s.v. אלוה, says, "As an epithet of Jehovah, Deut. iv. 35, 1 Kings xviii. 21, 'N oftener stands with the article, האלהים Gen. v. 22, vi. 9, 11, xvii. 18, etc.," the irrelevancy of which instances to the purpose for which they are adduced, will as we go on be made sufficiently So likewise Keil, Biblical Commentary on the Old Test., on Gen. v. 22, vi. 9, and other instances, maintains that Ha-Elohim denotes the personal God. Thus in regard

to Gen. v. 22, he says:—"The article in קיצרוים gives prominence to the personality of Elohim, and shows that the expression cannot refer to intercourse with the spiritual world." Yet there is no word in the singular number here agreeing with Elohim, and if this word is used at times to denote the heavenly powers in general, as Hengstenberg supposes it is used in Gen. xxxv. 7, it would in such a case properly take the article. It will be seen, however, that the article is prefixed here for a very different cause. But the strangest of all mistakes in this matter is made by Mr. Ernest de Bunsen in his book of dreams and fancies, The Hidden Wisdom of Christ, vol. i. p. 86, 87.1 In reference to the words in Gen. i., "Let us make man in our image," he says, "It must be allowed that in this part of the Elohistic account, as in the rest, God is not represented as a creator in the fullest sense of the word, inasmuch as other beings, who are like him, participate in the creation of man. And this is what we should expect the writer to state, since he knows no other name for God, than 'Elohim' or 'gods.' The name Elohim entirely corresponds with the Egyptian idea of four uncreated gods,-spirit, matter, time, and space,-which probably formed a Divine unity, symbolically represented by the serpent. Of these the first, the aboriginal spirit, was called, as we have seen, 'the good God,' and as such must have been regarded as the God above all other gods. For sometimes 'Elohim' is preceded by the article, and then 'Ha Elohim' evidently means the God of gods or Lord of lords.-What more natural for a believer in more than one uncreated god, than to attribute the principal part in the creation to 'the good God,' that is to the God the Spirit? And this is what he does, when he writes, that although in the beginning 'the Gods' created the heaven and earth, yet that 'the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.' The other Gods co-operated in the

¹ This work makes a great show of learning; but what can be thought of the author as a guide in the more unbeaten tracks of knowledge, when, in regard to a well-known matter, he talks of Origen as the successor of Clement as Bishop of Alexandria? Sec vol. i., p. 305.

creation of heaven and earth, and so did they in the creation of man." Now in this passage it is evidently implied that the article is prefixed to Elohim in the phrase rendered, "the Spirit of God," or as the author, varying the expression, has it, "the God, the Spirit." It so happens, however, that Elohim has no article all through this chapter, neither has the word spirit. For it is not רוֹה מֵּלְהֹיִם, the spirit of God, but רוֹה מֵּלְהֹיִם, a spirit of Elohim, a divine spirit, influence, wind, or breath, as one may decide on explaining the expression.

The latest author who has attributed importance to the use of the article with El and Elohim, apart from purely grammatical considerations, is the Bishop of Natal, who in Part V. of his work on the Pentateuch, Crit. Anal. p. 234, in reference to Gen. xlvi. 3, thus speaks: "I am (L., as in xxxi. 13, comp. xxxv. 1, 3, 7. N.B. As Boehmer notes, p. 270, 'This singular form with the article [which occurs only with this writer, as in the above instances,] denotes the only true God;' and so no doubt does the plural form with the article, v. 22, 24, vi. 9, 11, xvii. 18, xx. 6, 17, xxii. 1, 3, 9, xxvii. 28, xxxi. 11, xxxv. 7, xli. 25, 28, 32, 32, xlii. 18, xliv. 16, xlv. 8, xlviii. 15, 15." The stress laid by the Bishop on this use of the article, as denoting the true God, and in the case of El characterising a particular writer, will be found, after the usage has been examined at large, to be wholly groundless.

The examination of this usage will in some cases be extended to the entire of the Old Testament, with the exception of such parts as habitually or very commonly reject the article, such as the book of Job, the Psalms, and Proverbs. In some cases it will suffice to examine the usage throughout the Pentateuch, in which, as indeed in all the earlier books, it will be found uniform with what is observed in the book of Genesis in particular.

A. The instances in which Elohim occurs without the article will be found throughout to be:—

¹ Namely, the Jehovist.

- 1. When it occurs in the nominative case, with no special reason for prefixing the article.
- 2. When it is in the accusative case, except with the particle The cause of this exception will be noticed hereafter.
- 3. When it occurs with prefixes which suppress the , in which case the vocalisation might have originally been such as to imply the article, but shortened from frequency of use before the vowels came to be introduced into the text. The instances where the pointing is for the article are in Exod. xxii. 19 (20), "He that sacrificeth," not as in the English Version, "to any God save unto the Lord only," but exactly, "to the Gods, except Jehovah by himself," where the article denotes the entire class, the Gods in general; and Ps. lxxxvi. 8, "There is none like thee among the Elohim," the class in general, as in the preceding case. The prefixed preposition 2, which is seldom used before the article, is used with Ha-Elohim in 1 Chron. v. 22, and 2 Chron. xxv. 20. The use of Elohim with the article in the later books, where it would have been rejected in the earlier, will be noticed hereafter. There are only a few instances of the article after the separate prepositions, which cases will also be noticed by and by.
- 4. Cases in which Elohim is the governing noun in *stat*-constr., the governed noun being a proper name and so rejecting the article which might else have been transferred to it from Elohim, or else having a suffix which supplies the place of an article, or another genitive after it similarly circumstanced.
- 5. When Elohim is the genitive after an indefinite noun, and so has properly no article. Thus Gen. i. 2, רוֹה אֵלוֹהִים, a divine spirit, as already noticed. So likewise, Gen. xli. 38, where Pharaoh says of Joseph, "Can we find as this, a man in whom is a divine spirit," not "the Spirit of God" as in the English Version. In Exod. xxxi. 3, xxxv. 31, Bezaleel is said to have been qualified for his work by a divine spirit similarly expressed. In Numb. xxiv. 2, a spirit of God, or divine influence, comes upon Balaam, as in 1 Sam. x. 10 and xi. 6 it comes upon

Saul, and in 1 Sam. xix. 20, 23, it does upon the messengers of Saul, and then upon Saul himself, whereby they prophesy. Exactly similar is the expression denoting the evil influence that came upon Saul, as described in 1 Sam. xvi. 15, 16, 23, and xviii. 10, while in the last reference is added the adjective "evil," "an evil spirit of Elohim," or an evil influence from God, whereby is described Saul's madness. In xvi. 14 we are told, that "the Spirit of Jehovah departed from Saul," (where, in translating, the article may be prefixed to Spirit, as Jehovah is a proper name), and that "an evil spirit from Jehovah troubled him;" and this in xix. 9 is called an evil spirit of Jehovah, or the evil spirit by way of reference, if the article be supplied, as it may, Jehovah being a proper name. The other instances of the same form are 2 Chron. xv. 1, where a divine spirit or influence comes upon Azariah the son of Oded, and Ezek. xi. 24, where a spirit takes the prophet and brings him in the vision, in a spirit of Elohim, to the Captivity; that is, in the same vision that was upon him in the previous verses, while it was not till he was brought thither that the vision, that is, this same vision left him. It is worth while to notice the inattention to exactness in representing the article in the English Version, which supplies it to spirit of Elohim where it is absent, and omits it from vision where it exists. Job xxvii. 3 and xxxiii. 4 are irrelevant, as the poetical character of the writing renders the presence or absence of the article precarious. Gen. i. 27, v. 1, and ix. 6, have בצלם אלהים, not "in the likeness," as in our Version, but indefinitely, "in a likeness of God," some undefined resemblance, not the absolute and perfect likeness. Gen. xx. 11, "There is not fear of God, יראת אלהים, in this place," that is, any fear of Elohim, not to say the true religious fear of the true God. Similarly Nehemiah, v. 15, says he was not chargeable to the people like other governors, through fear of Elohim, that is, through a religious fear. 2 Sam. xxiii. 3 is irrelevant, in consequence of the poetical character of David's last words in which the expression occurs. So also is Neh. v. 9, as there is a suffix to Elohim.—Gen. xxxv. 5, "There was הַחַלָּת אָ a terror of Elohim, upon the cities that were round about them," a divinely caused terror, or else a very great terror, not as in the English, "the terror of God." Similarly in 2 Chron. xx. 29, "A fear of Elohim, מַהָר אֱלֹהָים, was upon all the kingdoms of the lands when they heard that Jehovah fought with the enemies of Israel."-Gen. xxi. 17, xxviii. 12, xxxii. 1 (2), מַלְאָבָי and מֶלְאָבָי, an angel, and angels of Elohim, not the, as in the English; so Jacob says in xxxii. 2 (3), "This is a host of God." On the contrary, in Exod. xiv. 19, it is the angel, referring to xiii. 21.—Gen. xxxiii. 10, בְּנִי אֲלֹהִים, not "the face of God," as in the English Version, but "as though I had seen a divine face," a face as of a God.-Exod. viii. 15 (19), xxxi. 18; Deut. ix. 10, אָצָבֶע אֱלֹהִים, "a finger of God," that is a divine finger as opposed to a human finger. In the former place the magicians may have meant some God indefinitely. In the two latter it means the true God, but the appellative use of Elohim in immediate contrast with Jehovah is worthy of notice. Jehovah delivered the two tables of stone written with a finger of Elohim.-Exod. xxiii. 13, a name of other Elohim is not to be heard in their mouth.-Numb. xxii. 22, אָלְהִים, indefinitely God's anger.—Deut. v. 23, קוֹל אֱלֹהִים, indefinitely. In v. 22 the people say, "If we hear the voice of Jehovah our Elohim any more we shall die," where, Jehovah being a proper name, the article may be supplied. But then they add, "Who of all flesh hath heard a voice of living Elohim speaking out of the midst of the fire as we and lived?" "Living Elohim" is here opposed to dumb idols. We may compare with this voice of Elohim used indefinitely the אָכֶרְי אֵל, divine oracles, of Numb. xxiv. 4, 16, and דָבר מלהים, a divine message, in Jud. iii. 20, and 1 Sam. ix. 27.— An instance outside the Pentateuch, worthy of note on its own account, is in Josh. xxiv. 26. In the English Version we read, "Joshua wrote these words in the book of the law of God." In the Hebrew it is במפר תוֹרת אלהים. This passage has been supposed to refer to the Mosaic code of the Israelites, as if the precept to which it relates was added by Joshua to this book of the law of Moses, as mentioned in viii. 31, and xxiii. 6, and in 2 Kings xiv. 6, and Nehemiah viii. 1. The title, "the law of Moses," without the word "book," occurs in Josh. viii. 32, 2 Kings xxiii. 25, and Mal. iv. 4; and the expression, "Book of the law of Jehovah by Moses," in 2 Chron. xxxiv. 14. But apart from the absence of any definite article, the expression, "law of Elohim," instead of "law of Moses," might well make us doubt that this book or code was here intended, however probable it might be, or indeed we may say certain, that such a code existed. It was not until the later times, as of Nehemiah, that this was called "the law of Elohim," as in Neh. viii. 8, 18, x. 29, 30. Then in these instances the expression is definite, תורת האלהים, the law of Elohim, not as it is in this passage of Joshua. In fact, this has no reference to the law of Moses at all, and the LXX. have given the true sense of the words, as in Grabe's Edition:—εἰς βίβλιον, νόμον τοῦ θεοῦ, "in a book, a law of God," or divine law. The Vatican reading indeed is νόμων. But the plural is manifestly incorrect, and if "book" governs the subjoined words as genitives, it is still to be rendered indefinitely, "in a book of a divine law." The apposition, however, is the most natural way of taking the words. There seems no reason therefore, as far as this passage is concerned, indeed no reason at all, to suppose that the "book of the law," so called, as distinguished from any of the other parts of Scripture, contained anything more than what is found in the Pentateuch. On the other hand the indefiniteness of this expression on the occasion under consideration destroys the force of the Layman's argument, "Mosaic Origin of the Pentateuch," p. 303-4, where the able author refers this to the book in which

^{1 &}quot;The law of Jehovah" occurs in Exod. xiii. 9, 1 Chron. xxii. 12, 2 Chron. xii. 1, xvii. 9, Ezra vii. 10, Nch. ix. 3, Ps. xix. 7 (8), Amos ii. 4. The expression, "the law of God," in Ps. xxxvii. 31, Is. i. 10, and Hosea iv. 6, does not mean the law of Moses specifically. "The book of the law," simply, also occurs several times, but it is always definite. It is found in Josh. i., as in the closing chapters of Deuteronomy, and seems to denote the Pentateuch only.

Moses wrote the covenants of God with Israel,—Exod. xxiv. 4, 7, xxxiv. 27, Deut. xxxi. 9, 24-6,—to which he supposes Joshua made additions from time to time, from whence the compiler of this history, as well as of the book of Deuteronomy, derived his material.

This examination of the instances in which Elohim wants the article, shows that while in the cases of more frequent occurrence, as the nominative and simple accusative, the frequency of use led to the habitual omission of the article, and gave it the quasi character of a proper name; on other occasions the article is absent either from grammatical causes, or the proper indefiniteness of the word in each particular instance, as in the case of any common appellative. And this will be the more apparent when the instances of its use with the article have been subjected to examination.

- B. We are now to consider the cases in which Elohim either itself bears the article, or as a governing noun in *stat. constr.* transfers its article to the genitive following it.
- 1. As we have just seen that Elohim, when genitive after an indefinite noun, wants the article, so on the other hand, when governed by a definite word, it takes the article from it invariably, as in the case of any other appellative. It will suffice to examine the instances of this in the Pentateuch: -Gen. vi. 2, 4, בני הְאֱלֹהִים, "the sons of God," as distinguished from the daughters of men. The article in the second instance might be used in reference to the first, but in the first case it denotes the class, according to a well-known usage.—Gen. vi. 11, Exod. xviii. 12, לפני האלהים, "before the face of Elohim," and Numb. xxiii. 27, with בְּעֵינֵי, "before the eyes." Plainly in both cases it takes the article only as genitive.—Gen. xxxi. 11, Exod. xiv. 19, מְלְאֵךְ הָאֶלֹהִים, "the angel of Elohim," the article being in both cases used for reference. In the former Jacob refers to the command of Jehovah in v. 3, communicated no doubt by an angel; in the latter the reference is to xiii. 21, and is explained in the succeeding clause, "The angel of God that went before

the camp."—Exod. iii. 1, iv. 27, xviii. 5, xxiv. 13, הַר הַאֵּל הָים, the well-known mountain, which if not previously, at any rate after the events recorded in this history, came to be so designated.—Exod. iv. 20, xvii. 9, מְמָה הָאֵלְהִים, "the rod of Elohim," that particular rod, so called in consequence of its use in working miracles, the reference being to iv. 17, "Thou shalt take this rod in thine hand," the rod previously turned into a serpent, v. 2.—Exod. xviii. 16, הַקֵּי הָאֵלהִים, "the decrees of Elohim," not some particular decrees, but the divine commandments generally, the article denoting the class; or else it refers to v. 15; the people come to Moses to enquire of God, and he tells them the decrees of God given in reply.--Exod. xix. 17, לְּכְרֵאת, , at the calling of Elohim, or to the meeting with Elohim, the infinitive used substantively and governing a genitive to which it transfers its article, which refers to the appointed meeting with God mentioned in v. 11.—Deut. x. 17, מלהי האלהים, not God of the gods, but the God of Gods.—Deut. xxxiii. 1, חלהים, not Moses a man of Ha-Elohim, but Moses the man of God, specially and pre-eminently, the article plainly belonging to man.

2. Akin to the preceding is the use of the article with Elohim when preceded by governing particles. This usage is plainly to be reduced to the case of regimen, as may be inferred from the particles taking the pronominal suffixes. In every case in which Elohim is preceded by אוֹנ bears the article, except where it is rendered definite by a suffix, or followed by some genitive depending on it. There are fourteen instances of Elohim thus bearing the article in the Old Testament, with the exception of the poetical compositions as already exempted from this examination. There is no instance where it wants the article in this connexion, unless Josh. xxiv. 14, 15, and 1 Sam. ix. 27 be insisted on. In the former we have אַרּרֹבֶּרְ אָרִרְּבֶּרְ אָרִרְּבֶּרְ אָרִרְּבֶּרְ אָרִרְּבֶּרְ אָרִרְּבֶּרְ אָרִרְבֶּרְ אָרִרְבֶּרְ אָרִרְבֶּרְ אָרִרְבֶּרְ אָרִרְבֶּרְ אָרִרְבֶּרְ אָרִרְבֶּרְ אָרִרְבָּרְ אָרִרְבְּרְ אָרִרְיִי the Gods which your fathers served, where the word is plural in sense, while in the latter, אַרִּרְבְּרְבְּרְ אָרִרְיִי לְּבִּרְ אָרִרְיִי לְּבִּרְ אָרִרְיִי לְּבִּי לְּבִּי לְּבִּי לְּבִּי לְּבִּי לְּבִּי לְּבִּי לְבִּי לְבִּי לְבִּי לִבְּי לְבִּי לִבְיּי לְבִּי לְבִּי לִבְּי לִבְי לִבְּי לִבְּי לִבְּיִי לְבִּי לְבִּי לְבִּי לְבִּי לְבִּי לְבִּי לְבִּי לְבִּי לְבִי לְבִי לְבִי לְבִי לְבִי לְבִּי לְבִי לְבִי לְבִי לְבִּי לְבִי לְבִּי לְבִי לְבִּי לְבִי לְבִילְים לְבִי לְבִי לְבִי לְבִי לְבִי לְבִי לְבִי לְבִי

the word following it, in being transferred to the genitive Elohim, is lost through the indefiniteness of the meaning: "I will cause thee to hear a divine message."

Similarly there are eighteen instances of Elohim having the article when governed by the preposition 38, the exceptions being only in Deut. xxxi. 18, 20, where as above in Josh. xxiv. 14, 15, Elohim is plural in sense, "other gods." Then we have an instance of Ha-Elohim preceded by 5, Exod. xviii. 19; by Dy, xx. 21 (18); by Jy, xxii. 8; and by Dy, Gen. xli. 32, 2 Chron. x. 15, xxiv. 16. On the other hand there are no instances of any of these particles preceding Elohim without the article, except in the case of Dy in Gen. xxxii. 28 (29), and 1 Sam. xiv. 45. The very great prevalence of this usage, would, apart from all reference to particular passages, lead one to suppose that the article must be due to the governing particles. And in fact the grammarians regard them as having been originally nouns governing the genitive in stat. constr., and there must have been something definite in their original use which would occasion the transfer of the article to the word governed by them. In some of these instances the Elohim would no doubt of itself have been definite, and the import of each particular passage will show this. It is the prevalence of the article in cases where it is plainly indefinite according to the ordinary usage, that shows how the article is due to the governing particle.

As regards the particle א, and its kindred forms both in Hebrew and the cognate dialects, it unquestionably originally denoted *being*, existence, essence; see Fuerst, Lexicon, s.v.v.,

י As in Gen. ii. 11, הַּנְּהַב הַנְּהַב.

That the article is due to the preposition here and in the previous verse, where it is \(\)N, is evident from the fact that immediately after it becomes Elohim without the article. This shows that Elohim does not mean judges here, but God. They were to bring the matter before Elohim, and whomsoever Elohim should condemn, he should pay double. So also in xxi. 6. If the article was before Elohim to denote the judges it should have been retained in v. 8 (9), when Elohim becomes the nominative to the verb. Gesenius, Heb. Lex., s.v. Elohim, refers to Deut. xix. 17, to show that Elohim does not mean judges in these places but God, Elohim being there represented by Jehovah, and a different word used for judges.

and אית and Garnett, Philological Essays, p. 93-4.1 This nature of the particle as a substantive accounts not only for its bearing the pronominal suffixes, but also for its existence before a nominative case when the verb is passive or neuter. It was probably used to sustain any relation which might be gathered from the connexion, and which therefore was not expressed by a preposition. Hence it came to be used as a preposition itself; and it is only in this way that the great variety of significations it has when so used can be explained. It needs only a cursory look through the books of the Old Testament, to see that as a general rule it gives the article to words in themselves indefinite. Thus we may notice Gen. ii. 7, אַר־רָאָרָם, not the man, but a man. In the same phrase in i. 27, the article might denote the genus if it occurred thus in the first instance. But the previous expression of God's purpose, "Let us make man," has man without the generic article, and this is the case with regard to other creatures also, which are described indefinitely, such as grass, herb, tree, living soul, creeping thing, etc. The article therefore to man in the second place of its occurrence is rather to be attributed to its connexion with the particle in stat. constr. Hence, in the case of the great whales and the beasts which are construed with and the article, these should also probably be understood indefinitely, not the whales, the beasts, but whales and beasts.—Gen. vi. 17, את־המבול, not the deluge, of which no previous mention was made, but "a deluge, waters upon the earth." Waters is in apposition, otherwise the article would have passed on to it.—Gen. viii. 7, 8, את־היונה, not the raven and the dove, as some

In the Semitic languages, this author remarks, "the present of the verb substantive is often denoted by an abstract noun denoting being, combined with the oblique cases of the different personal pronouns. The Hebrew word is בוֹ (yesh); but as there might be some question as to the real nature and import of this word, we prefer adducing the Syrine form אַ (ith)," evidently the counterpart of the Hebrew און "the plural of which is employed in statu regiminis along with the pronominal suffixes to express the various persons of the verb 'to be,' according to the following paradigm: ''נוֹ (ithai, literally, existentiae mei = sum," etc.—"Ithai is unequivocally a noun plural, and the pronominal suffixes are not nominatives in apposition or concord with the noun, but oblique cases sub regimine."

would say, the raven and dove of the well-known story, but a raven and a dove.—Gen. ix. 23, אָמִרהַשָּׂמְלָה, not the garment, of which no previous mention had been made, but a garment. Out of the book of Genesis we may instance 2 Kings xxi. 13, אָת־הַצְּיֵלְת, not the dish, but a dish, and a passage that will be again referred to, Numb. xiii. 33, "We saw, אָת-הַנְּבָּיִלִים, אֶת-הַנְּבָּיִלִים, giants, the sons of Anak greater than the giants." These instances will suffice as regards other words; and if we compare with these the cases where Ha-Elohim occurs, we shall see that the stress laid on the article in these latter cases is unwarrantable. Thus in Gen. v. 22-4 Enoch is said to have walked with God, את־האב, and in vi. 9 Noah similarly. Keil remarks on this, that "the article in gives prominence to the personality of Elohim, and shows that the expression cannot refer to intercourse with the spiritual world," as if the remark that Elohim took Enoch, immediately after these two instances of Ha-Elohim, did not imply as much personality. It is now apparent that the article is only due to the prefixed TN, and the seeming inconsistency of saying that Enoch walked with Ha-Elohim, and was not, because Elohim took him, is thus explained. Similarly in connexion with the preposition , when we are told, Exod. xix. 3, that Moses went up to Ha-Elohim and Jehovah called to him, we are not to suppose that the article gives any significance to Elohim as identical with Jehovah; it is merely owing to the prepositions. We have been the more particular in discussing these cases, as the conclusion at which we have arrived will be found of much moment in its general bearing on the interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures, and the origin of this use of the article, now shown to have preceded from the particles preceding, has not been adduced by other writers as accounting for what else seems so often to be inexplicable, and has been frequently relied on as evidence of a significance which had no existence in the mind of the writer.

3. We now pass to cases in which Elohim being in stat. constr., and governing genitives of words not proper names, or

otherwise definite themselves, transfers to them its article. In all such cases the article belongs to Elohim, and this will be found properly definite in its use on these occasions. Thus Gen. xxiv. 3, 7, "The Elohim of heaven and the Elohim of earth;" xxxv. 2, "The Elohim of strangeness, or the strange place, that are among you," where even if Elohim was not definite in its sense it would have the article from the prefixed TX; Exod. iii. 18, v. 3, vii. 16, ix. 1, 13, "The Elohim of the Hebrews;" Numb. xvi. 22, xxvii. 16, "The Elohim of the spirits of all flesh;" Deut. vi. 14, xiii. 7 (8), xxix. 17 (18), "The Elohim of the nations," in the last of which we have TN also prefixed; xxxi. 16, "The strange Elohim of the land." In all these cases, whether the word denotes the true God, or false gods, it is alike definite in sense, and out of regimen would have had the article. But in these cases, being in stat. constr., it has transferred it to the subjoined genitive.

4. It now remains to examine the cases of Elohim where it is not in any kind of construction, but takes the article for different reasons according to circumstances. These may be reduced to the following classes:—

a. Where the article denotes the genus or class, as when in Gen. iii. 1 we read that "the serpent was more subtile than any beast of the field." This is a common use of the article, and as regards Elohim it occurs occasionally. Thus we read in Gen. xliv. 16, "The Elohim hath found out the iniquity of thy servants;" xlv. 8, "It was not you that sent me before you, but the Elohim;" Exod. xviii. 11, "Jehovah is greater than all the Elohim;" xix. 19, "The Elohim answered with a voice;" 1 xx. 17 (20), "The Elohim is come to prove you;" xxi. 13, "If a man lie not in wait, but the Elohim deliver him into his hand;" Jud. vii. 14, "The Elohim hath delivered Midian into his hand;" Jud. xiii. 9, "Manoah intreated Jehovah, and Ha-Elohim heard him;" but this may be a case of simple re-

¹ But this may be a case of reference to Elohim in v. 17, the article prefixed to which is due to the stat. constr.

ference,—the Elohim just before spoken of, namely, Jehovah, or the man of God,—a divine manifestation; 1 Sam. x. 7, "The Elohim is with thee;" 2 Sam. ii. 27, "As the Elohim liveth;" 2 Chron. ii. 4 (5), "Great is our God above all the Elohim," not "all gods," as in the English Version without the article. In all these instances, except two, Elohim is used as a singular noun, notwithstanding the generic sense, as in the case of "the serpent" already noticed. This generic use does not imply a plurality of gods, but it generalises the conception, making it somewhat of an abstract, just as we would say "the deity," and the expression is equivalent to our Providence. The important point to be observed is, that this usage is as far as possible from denoting the individual or personal God, as some suppose, but rather the abstract and impersonally conceived power of God. Hengstenberg would put Gen. xxxv. 7 in this class, especially as the verb to which Ha-Elohim is nominative is plural in that place. But it will be seen that it is rather a case of reference.

- b. In Jud. xvi. 28 the prefixed article is the sign of the vocative case, while in 2 Kings v. 7, the prefixed aspirate is the sign of interrogation.
- c. Cases of simple reference form an important class. In Gen. xx. 3 we are told that Elohim came to Abimelech in a dream, בּוֹלְלוֹם. This word is here of course indefinite. But it would be exactly the same if the preposition were prefixed to the definite מוֹל ; and accordingly when it is so used again in v. 6, though the same dream is evidently intended, yet the ambiguity of the word renders the reference uncertain. The English translators therefore fell into the mistake of supposing a different dream, and rendered "in a dream," in stead of "in the dream," in v. 6. This ambiguity, however, is avoided in the original by prefixing the article to Elohim; the Elohim that had been speaking to him spake again in the dream.

¹ Hence the fine drawn remark of Keil, that "Abimelech recognises the Lord, Adonai, i.e. God (ver. 4); whereupon the historian represents האלהים (Elohim with the article), the personal and true God, as speaking to him," is all imaginary.

Gen. xxii. 1, 3, 9 will also be explained by regarding the article as indicating reference. It is to be remarked that this chapter stands in the closest connexion with the preceding, which left Abraham at Beersheba, while on the return of Abraham from Moriah, he goes again to Beersheba. Then it is to be noticed that in the last verse but one of that preceding chapter we are told that Abraham planted a grove, and there called on the name of Jehovah El-Olam; that is, the name by which he there invoked Jehovah was El-Olam, as is expressed by the LXX. by using θεὸς αἰώνιος as an indeclinable: ἐπεκαλέσατο ἐκεῖ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου, θεὸς αἰώνιος. Now it was evidently the custom to localise the worship of God under special titles. Thus in Salem, Jehovah is El-Elion, at Beer-Lahairoi, he is El-Roi, at Beersheba, El-Olam, at Salem in Shechem, El-Elohe-Israel, where we should translate, not as in the English, that Jacob called the altar he there built by this name, but that he there invoked to or upon the altar, וְיָּקְרָא-לוֹ, El-Elohe-Israel; and similarly, on his return to Bethel, in ch. xxxv., he invoked on that place El-Bethel. Then, besides these localised designations, he is often El-Shaddai, and at Bethel, in ch. xxviii., Jehovah says to Jacob, "I am the Elohim of Abraham, and the Elohim of Isaac" where Elohim is definite, but does not give the article to Abraham and Isaac, as these are proper names. Then, when reference is made to this in xxxv. 7, "where the Elohim appeared" to Jacob, the verb is plural, these Elohim of Abraham and of Isaac being regarded as diverse, not in person, but in respect of local manifestation or personal relation. So also when Laban, in ch. xxxi. adjures Jacob at their parting, though in v. 49, 50 he speaks

¹ Fuerst, Heb. and Chald. Lexicon, s.v. אָרָיִם בְּיוֹרְאֵלָ, says of mount Bethel, that "the altar there erected by Jacob, with the name El-Bethel, Gen. xxxv. 7, gave perhaps to this height with its sanctuary the name אַרְיִּבְּיִלְּבְּיִּבְּיִלְּבְּיִּבְּיִלְּבְּיִרְּבְּיִלְּבְּיִרְרִיאָלְ 1 Sam. x. 3." This cannot possibly have been the case; a compound designation of this kind, having no appellative sense, would be so strictly a proper name, that it could not have borne the article which is prefixed to the Elohim. Moreover the Elohim is not in stat. constr. as in the phrase El-Elohe-Israel, Gen. xxxiii. 20. The only admissible translation is that of the LXX., and of the English Version, "to God, to Bethel." The preposition of the kind, having no appellative sense, which gives the article to Elohim, extends its significance of direction to Bethel as well.

of Elohim as identical with Jehovah, and as a single witness between them, yet he afterwards prays that the Elohim of Abraham, the Elohim of Nahor, the Elohim of their father should judge between them, using a plural verb, while Jacob in preference swears by the fear of his father Isaac. Now, though there might have been an uncertainty in Laban's mind as to the singleness of Elohim, yet his identifying Jehovah with Elohim in v. 49, 50 would rather indicate that the plural verb was to be explained by this plurality of manifestation, and of personal or local relation, as in the previous case, than by plurality of gods.

Now returning to ch. xxii., we perceive that the article prefixed to Elohim in v. 1 refers to the Elohim of the grove Abraham had planted in Beersheba, to which he had invoked Jehovah by the title El-Olam. The Elohim which manifested himself there tempts Abraham as related in this chapter. And then, though Abraham himself speaks only of Elohim without the article, the narrator in v. 3, 9, speaking of the place to which Abraham had been commanded to go, describes it as the place "of which the Elohim told him," the same Elohim that tempted him, and that Abraham had invoked on his grove at Beersheba. The article is that of simple reference.

Gen. xxvii. 28 is another instance of simple reference. In v. 27 Isaac says that the smell of Jacob is as the smell of a field which Jehovah hath blessed. The word field has no article, and there is no ground therefore for Keil's note, "the field which Jehovah blessed, that is, the garden of Paradise." Neither is there any for the distinction which he then draws, "God (Ha-Elohim, the personal God, not Jehovah, the covenant God)." Plainly the reference of Ha-Elohim in v. 28 is to the Jehovah of v. 27. Having said that Jacob's smell was like the smell of a field blessed by Jehovah, he then prays that that Elohim, namely Jehovah, might give to Jacob "the dew of heaven, and the fat of the fields of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine,"—the very blessing of the field

which was ascribed to Jehovah in the previous verse. The reference in xxxv. 7 to xxviii. 1, 3 has been just noticed; Jacob returns to the place where the Elohim had been manifested to him. We may compare the definite in r. 1, where God bids Jacob return to Bethel and build an altar to the God that appeared to him when he fled from Esau. The next instance, or set of instances, will be found in Gen. xli. 25, 28, 32. Hengstenberg in this case supposes that the Ha-Elohim in Joseph's mouth is the substitute for Jehovah, of which name Pharaoh knew nothing, while Pharaoh only uses Elohim. And in connexion with this he refers to xlii. 18, "I fear God, את-האלהים, not Jehovah, but yet a personal God." But in this latter place nothing can be inferred from the article, as it is due to the stat. constr. with the particle TN as already shown. But, in fact, the cause of the article in ch. xli. is very different. In v. 16 Joseph says, "It is not in me; God shall give Pharaoh an answer of peace." Here he does not use the article, as he should according to Hengstenberg's view, in order to be consistent. But though this expression would to one familiar with the Hebrew usage sound correct and consistent, to a polytheist as Pharaoh, it would seem to say, "a God shall give an answer of peace." The writer then considers not how the words would be understood by his Hebrew readers, or might have been understood by Joseph himself, but how they would have seemed to the person to whom they were addressed. To him the expression was indefinite, a God, and it would have been very unmeaning to have said again, referring to this, that a God showeth what he is about to do,—what a God is about to do, he showeth,—it is established by a God,1 and a God will shortly bring it to pass. To a person understanding v. 16 to speak of a God, the subsequent verses would require the article, the God who was there spoken of. Else it might seem as if the same God was possibly not intended. Common

¹ The article before Elohim in the first instance in v. 32, is due to the $stat.\ constr.$ with Dyg, and that Elohim would appear indefinite if the following one was so.

sense will show how incorrect this manner of speaking would seem.1

Then there are the cases of anticipative reference, in which the article is explained by something that follows. This is sometimes done by a genitive to which the article is transferred as already noticed, sometimes by a subjoined adjective with the article, which is equivalent to a relative with the verb substantive, and sometimes by a relative clause. Thus in Gen. xlviii. 15 we have "Jehovah, the Elohim before whom my fathers did walk, the Elohim which fed me all my life long." Then in Deut. vii. 10, "The El, the faithful," or who is faithful; x. 17, "The El, the great," or who is great; 1 Sam. iv. 8, "The Elohim, that smote the Egyptians;"2 1 Sam. vi. 20, "The Elohim, the holy," or who is holy; Ezra i. 3, "The Elohim which is in Jerusalem;" Neh. viii. 6, "The Elohim, the great," or who is great; ix. 7, "Jehovah, the Elohim who didst choose Abraham."

d. Another class is that in which the article marks preeminence, and is distinctive, or even exclusive. Thus in Deut. iv. 35, 39, vii. 9; 1 Kings viii. 60, xviii. 39; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 13; Is. xlv. 18, we have "Jehovah, he is the Elohim." And this expression, הוא האלהים, seems to have become a formula, as we find it used with the pronoun thou in 2 Sam. vii. 28, 1 Chron. xvii. 26, Is. xxxvii. 16. Then in Josh. xxii. 34, 1 Kings xviii. 21, 37, 1 Chron. xxii. 1, 19, 2 Chron. xxxii. 16, Dan. ix. 3, we have "The Lord, the Elohim," the verb substantive being in some cases understood.

This use of the article in the sense of pre-eminence, and marking distinction or even exclusiveness, became a manner of speaking that very remarkably distinguishes some of the later books from the earlier. We have seen that in all the

nature of the article here.

¹ On the other hand Pharaoh afterwards speaks indefinitely, according to his notions, not merely in v. 38, speaking of Joseph, in whom he says there was a divine spirit, "a spirit of Elohim," where this expression would perhaps in any case have wanted the article, but in v. 39 also, saying to Joseph, "Forasmuch as a God hath showed thee this," not God without the indefinite article as in the English.

2 Or the article in this case might denote the genus; but the other seems the true

instances hitherto examined a good and sufficient account can be given of the use of the article with Elohim, as if it were any common appellative, while in the Pentateuch and other earlier historical books, Elohim, except in the oblique cases, is ordinarily without an article, the frequency of its use having given it this quasi character of a proper name. In the later books, namely Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Jonah, and Daniel, and in a very remarkable degree in Ecclesiastes also, the case is quite opposite. In these books Ha-Elohim, not Elohim, is generally used as a nominative, and sometimes in other cases where the article would be absent in the earlier, while in the genitive it is frequently used in Chronicles without the article. In Chronicles there are twenty instances, in Ezra one, in Nehemiah three, in Ecclesiastes eighteen, in Jonah five, and in Daniel two instances of Ha-Elohim thus used as a nominative where there seems no particular reason for prefixing the article, and where simply Elohim would have stood in the earlier books. This usage seems to have arisen at the later period from an endeavour to counteract idolatrous tendencies at first, and afterwards a return to idolatry. With this view God came to be habitually spoken of as the Elohim, as such distinctively and exclusively. So remarkable a difference in usage between these later and the earlier books marks a very decided difference in the age of their authorship, and is entirely adverse to the supposition of the supposed earlier books having been originally composed at the time of Ezra. Even if a considerable modification in dialect, or otherwise, took place in these earlier books at the later period, they must still have presented this difference in their earlier state, in a manner sufficiently marked to have caused it to be retained in the more modern recension.

¹ The places referred to are 1 Chron. v. 22, xiv. 11, 14, 16, xvii. 2, 21, xxi. 15, xxv. 5, 5, xxviii. 3; 2 Chron. xiii. 12, 15, xviii. 5, xix. 3, xxiv. 20, xxv. 8, 20, xxvi. 7, xxix. 36, xxxii. 31; Ezra i. 5; Neh. iv. 9, v. 13, xii. 43; Eccl. iii. 11, 14, 14, 15, 17, 18, v. 1, 5, 17, 18, 19, vi. 2, 2, vii. 14, 29, viii. 15, ix. 7, xi. 9; Jonah i. 6 (perhaps a case of reference to "thy God" immediately preceding), iii. 9, 10, 10, iv. 7; Dan. i. 9, 17. In some of these books the instances are few, yet they are all for which the subject matter afforded occasion.

The reader who has been at the pains to go through this protracted and perhaps tedious discussion, will it is hoped excuse it for the importance of the results. These are,—the dispelling of the supposition that any essential difference existed, at least in the earlier books, between Elohim with and without the article, any difference at all, but such as the exigences of each occasion in respect of sense or grammar would have made in the case of any common appellative,—the illustration of the use of the article with particles and prepositions, elucidating many passages of Scripture, and explaining many seeming causes of perplexity,the light thrown generally on the passages referred to,—and the establishment of an important characteristic difference as regards the usage in the case of Elohim with or without the article, between the earlier and later books of the Sacred Canon, the book of Ecclesiastes being, as far as this evidence goes, a work of the later period.

III.—THE INTRODUCTION OF THE NAME JEHOVAH.

The use of the name Jehovah in the book of Genesis must be considered in connexion with what is said in the book of Exodus respecting the previous knowledge of that name, or of its true significance. On the supposition that Exodus vi. 3 indicates the introduction of the name Jehovah, as virtually a new name not before in general use amongst the Israelites or their fathers, it has been argued that the parts of the book of Genesis, in which this name has been employed as if in previous use, could not have been written by the writer of that text in the book of Exodus, that therefore only certain parts purely Elohistic were written by him, and that he purposely abstained from the use of the name Jehovah until he came to the period at which he announced its actual introduction. That a new name of God should have been introduced at the time of Samuel, to whom the Bishop of Natal, amongst others, assigns its introduction, or at any period subsequent to the Exodus, is

wholly without evidence; and Samuel himself would never have been fixed on, except for the sake of fathering its introduction on some notable personage, on the supposition that it was not due to Moses himself. But if Samuel, or any one at so late a period, had thus introduced a new name of God, and represented its introduction to have been made through Moses and recorded in a writing of the time of Moses, he must have been infatuated to have imagined that he could persuade an entire people, priests and laymen, that they had not only the record of this event for several ages in their sacred books, but also the name itself in general use in their public and private devotions, if not in their common conversation. He must either have persuaded himself that he could create this belief, which is quite incredible, or he must have acted solely with a view to posterity. Now whatever motive Samuel in particular might be thought to have had for introducing a name, which might bring God into a closer and more personal relation to the people in their apprehension, at the time when the change in the character of the theocracy might have been thought likely to weaken the present sense of God in their minds, he could have had no probable motive to do this merely for posterity, much less to resort to fraud and falsehood for the sake of producing such a future effect. On the other hand, if it be assumed that the true interpretation of Exod. vi. 3 is that which makes it indicate the introduction of this as an entirely new name, nothing would have been more natural than that such a name should have been adopted at the The Israelites were then about to assume time of the Exodus. a separate and independent national existence, in which state they were to stand in a special relation to God as his people, and he to them as in his own person their king as well as their God. This might well have occasioned the adoption of a new name to designate the new relation, while at the same time they were entering into a state of the strictest seclusion in regard to religion, and, with a view to the maintenance of that, on a state of social separation from the surrounding nations. This would

render still more likely the introduction of a new name of God, to supersede in more general use any personal name that had been previously employed, which their fathers might have had in common with the other Shemitic nations, and which may amongst the latter have been employed with reference to the objects of their idolatrous worship. Such may have been the name El-Shaddai,1 which is specially mentioned in contrast with Jehovah in Exod. vi. 3. Now if this were done by Moses, nothing would have been more natural than that he should have endeavoured to promote the use of this name by freely employing it in the course of his history, at any rate when he speaks in his own person. Perhaps he might even have thought it of less moment to observe dramatic propriety by excluding the name from the mouth of the interlocutors in his narrative, as he has done with regard to all not of the chosen race, except where a special reason for the contrary can be discerned, than to familiarise the people with its use by occasionally, or even frequently, making some of his speakers employ it. In such a proleptic use it would stand only as the new substitute for the proper name actually used by those of earlier days, all danger of mistake being avoided by the knowledge of the people themselves, and the writer's own intimation in Exod. vi. 3 of the recent introduction of the name. Had he thrown back its pretended introduction to an earlier period, as is imputed to Samuel, or some other later writer to whom some attribute the authorship, then, indeed, this would be liable

י Shaddai, which afterwards appears by itself as a proper name, is used in Exod. vi. 3, and in the book of Genesis, as an addition qualifying and rendering specific the generic El, as in the case of El-Elion and El-Olam. In signification it is similar to the appellative יצורא. Lord, and to the name Baal, which is identified with the idolatry of the Canaanites and other eastern nations, to the allurements of which the Israelites were about soon to be exposed. Shaddai is also related to the word ישרים, which stands for false gods in Deut. xxxii. 17 and Ps. evi. 37, being in both places used in connexion with the sacrifice of their sons and daughters, and which in its Syriac form denotes demons. It is possible that this name, as one in general use, may have been felt less suited to the exclusive worship of the Israelites, and it may have been thought desirable to introduce a name expressive of a different attribute of God, which might in great measure take the place of the other. The word Seid, or Lord, is the modern Arabic representative of Shaddai, as in Seid Issa, the Lord Jesus.

to the objections already made against the supposition that it was done by such later writer. But as Moses is represented as openly announcing the introduction of the name through himself, the proleptic use, even in the mouth of the speakers who are represented as using it, is less objectionable than it otherwise would be; and such a proleptic use must, at any rate, be admitted in Gen. iv. 1, 26, whoever was the author of that chapter. For the writer of it, the same who described the Confusion of Tongues, and who certainly knew the prevalence of other and equally original dialects of the Shemitic language, and was aware that the Biblical Hebrew, or a closely allied dialect, was the language of Canaan, could scarcely have imagined the existence of Jehovah totidem literis in the primitive language of mankind.

But whatever difficulty may be thought to attend the supposition of this proleptic use of the name Jehovah throughout the book of Genesis, that, as well as any argument against the unity of its authorship drawn from the use of this name viewed in connexion with Exod. vi. 3, depends entirely on the correctness of the interpretation by which that verse is made to indicate the first introduction of Jehovah as the proper name of God. But, however the words considered by themselves may seem to admit of this interpretation, there are certain verbal peculiarities in them which throw some doubt on its correctness, and suggest another view of the meaning much more suitable to the words of God which follow in immediate connexion with them. To translate as in the English Version, "by the name of Almighty God," it is necessary to supply in the first clause an ellipsis of the word name from the second. The more natural place for the ellipsis would be in the second clause, where its supply from the first would be a matter of course. Moreover, there is nothing in the verb of the first clause to render this

¹ The meaning of the latter of these verses has been already discussed, in remarking on the import of the fourth chapter, in the former part of this work. It will not be necessary to state over again here what was then said.

ellipsis by anticipation more natural. The words, "I appeared," rather throw the reader off the scent of the word supposed to be understood, which would be more readily suggested if the commencing words were, as in the second clause, "I was known." To appear by a name is a harsh expression, and the more natural meaning of "I appeared by (or in) El-Shaddai," would be "in this character," namely, as God Almighty, in the character of a mighty Lord. Then, in the second clause, where the word "name" is introduced, and the verb is changed to "I was not known," it is at least possible that the omission of the preposition before the word "name" is designed to avoid the interpretation in question. The construction, "and my name Jehovah, I was not known to them," is the regular form for a very different meaning. A word put absolutely, and followed by a verb with which it is not grammatically connected, is properly to be translated as in the sentence, "As for this Moses, we wot not what is become of him." The meaning would thus be, "as for," or as regards, "my name Jehovah, I," not it, "was not known to them." And then, as the first clause suggests, not the name, but the character of El Shaddai, so here it may be, not by the name, but as regards the character which the name denotes, that God was not known to the Patriarchs.1 In what sense it was that God was thus not known in respect to the import of the name Jehovah, the sequel proceeds to explain. Let it be remembered that יהוה, apart from the modern vocalisation, which is only adopted from Adonai, which

¹ It has been supposed by some, as most recently by Dr. Kay, Crisis Hupfeldiana, p. 18, that the verb being in the Niphal conjugation, 'Living,' the primitive reflexive force of that conjugation would give the meaning that God had not made himself known to the Patriarchs by the name of Jehovah, and that it was intended to be understood that God had not fully revealed himself in the character of Jehovah. But this is not the reflexive meaning of Niphal, but the causative import of Hiphil and Hophal. The reflexive meaning of Niphal would be, "I was not known to myself." This meaning, of course, is out of the question, and the more usual though later passive sense must be adopted, "I was not known." Ranke, Untersuchungen weber den Pent., ii. p. 17, notices the peculiarity of construction as intended to obviate a misunderstanding. If it had been, "My name, Jehovah, was not known to them," the sense might have been doubtful. To hinder the mistake of supposing that it was the name itself, and not its import, that was unknown, the construction is, "My name, Jehovah, I was not known to them."

was substituted for it in later times by the Jews, who had a superstitious objection to pronounce the Tetragrammaton, is only the third person future of the verb of existence, the first person being adopted in the אַדְיָה, I am, of Exod. iii.; only that in the proper name, the form of the verb הוה, instead of הנה, is adopted for the sake of easier pronunciation, the other form יהוה, "yihyeh," being too difficult for a word in very frequent use. This present-future of the verb substantive denotes continuousness, and when not limited would signify continuousness in every respect, and so would imply the unchangeableness of God's purposes, and the certain fulfilling of his promises. As long as God's promises were unfulfilled, there was no experience of the continuousness of his purpose, and the unchangeableness of his character. The Patriarchs had only the promises unfulfilled; in respect to the fulfilment of them, "they received not the promises." God is now about to fulfil the great promise to give the land of Canaan to their seed, and so he announces himself to Moses in the words, "I am Jehovah," and tells him, that while the Patriarchs had manifestation of God in his character as El-Shaddai, they had not experience of him as regards this name, which implied the continuousness and unchangeableness of his gracious purposes towards them. He had indeed, he says, established his covenant with them, to give them the land wherein they were strangers; he has now heard the groans of their descendants, and remembers his covenant. He therefore bids Moses tell them emphatically, "I am Jehovah," promises to deliver them, to take them to be his people, while he will be their God, whereby, he says, "Ye shall know that I am Jehovah" (not as in the English Version, that I Jehovah am) "your God that bringeth you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians; and I will bring you into the land concerning which I did swear to give it, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, and I will give it to you for an heritage. I am Jehovah." This emphatic repetition of the phrase, "I am Jehovah," and the assertion that the Children of Israel should now come

to know this by their deliverance, plainly shows that it was not only as a mere name, as merely a vocal sound, that they should now become acquainted with Jehovah, and that it was in respect to the import of the name and the character implied in it, and not merely to the name itself, that God was not known to the Patriarchs. Hence when Moses was first commissioned to go to the Children of Israel, and when he asked what he should tell them was the name of Him by whom he was sent, attention is drawn away from the name as a mere name, to be fixed on its import, by the change in God's reply from the usual form in the third person, הוה, to the first person, אהנה. The usual form, as commonly in the ease of a familiar name, or one becoming familiar by frequent use, would be heard without recalling its import; the change of person forces this on the attention of the people: "I am,"—I that am and ever will be,—"hath sent me unto you." And this import of the name thus made known, and proved by the evidences of God's unchangeableness then afforded, continued to the close of the sacred records to be constantly urged on the minds of the covenant people: "I, Jehovah, change not, therefore ye sons of Jacob are not consumed," Mal. iii. 6. Not only therefore in the mere verbal construction of Exod. vi. 3, but in the import of the entire passage, there is strong ground for concluding that something else than the simple introduction of a new name was intended. And if this be the case, all that is built on that interpretation falls to ground.

At any rate it is quite plain that henceforward this name Jehovah, whether now for the first time introduced, or revived after having fallen into disuse, or only now invested with new and special significance, was to be the great name of God amongst the Children of Israel. And if from this point of view we now look back on the book of Genesis, we cannot fail to see a constant effort to identify Jehovah with every title and designation by which God had previously been worshipped, to make it absorb into itself all other names, and take up every form of worship

that had before been offered to God under whatsoever designation. Thus in Gen. ii. 4 the Elohim of creation is Jehovah Elohim that made heaven and earth; in iv.-ix. Jehovah is the Elohim of the first parents of mankind and of their descendants to the time of Noah and the flood. After that the first sacrifice is offered to Jehovah, and he is Jehovah the Elohim of Shem from whom the chosen race was to descend. It is Jehovah that calls Abraham, and to whom the Patriarch offers his first localised worship at the several places of his sojourn on coming into the land of Canaan, xii. xiii. He is Jehovah El-Elion, the God of Melchizedek, xiv. He is Adonai, or Lord, when addressed by Abraham, xv. xviii. In xvi. he is the El who hears Hagar's affliction, by reason of which her son is to be called Ishmael, and the localised El-roi of the fountain Lahairoi, at which the Angel of Jehovah appeared to her. Then in xvii. Jehovah announces himself as El-Shaddai, the name on which so much stress is laid in Exod. vi. It is Jehovah that Abraham invokes at the grove he has planted at Beersheba under the name of El-Olam in xxi. 33. In xxiv. he is the Elohim of heaven, and the Elohim of the earth. In xxvi. Jehovah appears to Isaac as before to Abraham, and renews the promise of the land of Canaan. Again, when Jacob is on his way to Mesopotamia, Jehovah appears to him at Bethel as the Elohim of his fathers, and Jacob yows that if God brings him back in safety to his father's house, and Jehovah will be his Elohim also, that shall be the house of God, ch. xxviii. In xxxi. it is Jehovah bids Jacob return, and to whom he appeals to watch between himself and Laban; while in xxxii. he prays to him as the God of his fathers who had bid him return; again, by reference at least, he is the God who bids him go to Bethel and make there an altar to the God that appeared to him when he fled, who was Jehovah, and hence in fulfilment of his vow, it is Jehovah that is the El-Bethel, to whom he builds the altar at Bethel, because God there appeared to him, that God having been Jehovah (comp. xxviii. xxxv.) Lastly, it is Jehovah for whose salvation Jacob has waited, when

at the last he takes leave of his sons, xlix. 18, having previously by reference, if not by name, implied the care of Jehovah for him and his fathers, as in xlviii. 15, 16. And this identification of Jehovah with other names and manifestations of God is much more explicit in the earlier parts of the book than in the later, as if the author had sufficiently effected the purpose of establishing it, and felt himself afterwards more free to use the names that offered themselves, with less regard to this particular end. And if these identifications are mainly confined, according to the views of the partitionists, to passages of Jehovistic authorship, that is only because their assumption, that the writer of the so-called Elohistic narrative knew nothing of Jehovah, necessarily, and as a consequence, excludes from the part assigned to that writer all passages where Jehovah is mentioned. Still against these critics stands the famous seventeenth chapter, which has been relied on as one of the main pillars of the theory,1 but which cannot be made to serve this purpose but by the arbitrary assumption of an interpolation or alteration in v. 1, by which the name Jehovah is said to appear in that place. But to assume that this is the case in order to make this passage Elohistic, in spite not only of the existing Hebrew text, but of the LXX., who so often differ from the Hebrew elsewhere, and of the Samaritan Pentateuch, which has Jehovah also, and then to argue from the characteristics of this passage thus made exclusively Elohistic, in proof of the Elohistic origin of other passages, is most unwarrantable. Yet the critics who thus distrust even the Hebrew text, when it is opposed to their theory, rely on its correctness when it is in their favour, in passages where the readings of the LXX. throw discredit on it, as already noticed in the case of the Elohistic part of the history of the deluge.

¹ As by Kuenen, p. 30.

*** Jehovah not a Phænician God.

This is the place to notice a theory which has found some advocates, that Jehovah was a name in use amongst the Phœnicians, and designated the deity known also as the Sun God, Adonis, and Dionysus. After the very complete view of the objections to this supposition, given in the article Jehovah in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, it may seem unnecessary to enter on the discussion of it here. But the Bishop of Natal has, notwithstanding, brought it forward again in the last volume of his work on the Pentateuch, affirming the notion with much confidence; and he not only devotes a chapter to the exhibition of the proofs on which he relies, but also in an appendix presents an abridged translation of a chapter from Movers' Phönizier, in which it is maintained that not the Hebrew Jehovah, but a kindred form, הוה, written with ה instead of 7, was employed by the Phænicians to denote the Sun God, Adonis, and Dionysus, as the source and giver of life. As usual, the Bishop goes beyond those whom he makes his authorities. In this case he not only leans to the notion that it was the Hebrew form, Jehovah, the Phœnicians had, but, whereas Movers only supposes that the two names existed collaterally, the Bishop maintains that the Israelites borrowed the name from the Phonicians after their settlement in Palestine. It seems therefore desirable to review the grounds of this supposition, and see how far they bear out the conclusions built on them with such unhesitating confidence.

If the Patriarchs were acquainted with the name Jehovah, and had it in use, it is clear that the name must have been one of ancient Shemitic origin, and was probably brought by Abraham with him from Mesopotamia.\(^1\) And that a name of Hebrew

¹ That the name Jah, used in the Bible only in poetry and the composition of proper names, was originally an independent name, is not impossible. It has just now been found in use amongst the tribes of Central Arabia, recently visited by Lieut.-Col. Pelly and Mr. Palgrave, as the name of the pole-star, though it is doubtful whether it is used as expressive of adoration. Lieut.-Col. Pelly, British Political

origin should have been known to the Phœnicians, who spoke a dialect closely allied, would be by no means unlikely. But the evidence that they had this name in use as denoting one of their gods, or that the Israelites borrowed it from them, has absolutely no existence. That which is adduced as evidence is insufficient even for an antiquarian conjecture, prone as antiquaries are to form conjectures on the slightest grounds; much less is it of weight in regard to a conclusion of so much moment as that in question. We now proceed to make good this confident assertion.

1. Of all the alleged authorities, none lays claim to any high antiquity, but that of the apocryphal Sanchuniathon, which is only known to us by the report of Philo Byblius, whom some suspect to have been himself the pretended Sanchuniathon, while the report of Philo is only known to us through Porphyry, and that of Porphyry through Eusebius. Porphyry's statement is, that "by far the most correct description of the affairs of the Jews, and that most consistent with their places and names, is given by Sanchuniathon, who received his memoirs from Hierombalus the priest of the god Ieuo. He having dedicated his history to Abibalus, the king of the Berytians, was admitted by him, and by those who examined it along with him, to have given a correct account.—Philo Byblius translated the work of Sanchuniathon into the Greek language." The name Hierombalus is plainly

Resident at the Persian Gulf, thus writes of the Wahabees:—"They respect the polar-star, which they call Jah, as the one immoveable point which directs all travellers by sea and land." Edin. Review, for October, 1865, Art. on Mr. W. G. Palgrave's Travels in Central Arabia, from which the following is extracted:—"Whether the name Yah or Yahee (for I have heard now one occur and now the other), which is by them and by them alone, as it would seem, applied to the polar-star, has any connexion with credence or worship, I am unable to say."—Vol. ii. p. 262. Fuerst, Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon, infers from Isaiah xxvi. 4, and Ps. lxviii. 5, "that a more mysterious, perhaps a holier name (אור היי בי בי existed from primitive times besides the short name of God אור שולים, under whose form אור היי may have been conceived of as invested with higher attributes." However, in the absence of any other evidence, one may doubt the existence of such a name, and be content to regard the D as a preposition, at any rate the apposition of Jah and Jehovah in those places, and also in Isaiah xii. 2, would seem to indicate the independence of these names, one of the other.

1 'Ιστορεί δὲ τὰ περὶ 'Ιουδαίων ὅτι ὰληθέστατα καὶ τοῖς τόποις καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν αὐτῶν συμφωνότατα Σαγχουνιάθων ὁ Βηρύτιος, εἰληφὼς τὰ ὑπομνήματα παρὰ

the Hebrew Jerubbaal; and some of the older and less critical writers, as Bochart, did not hesitate to think that Gideon himself was the informant of Sanchuniathon. It is probable, however, that the name was taken from the book of Judges, as one imagined to have been connected in some way with Berytus, from the mention of the adoption of Baal-Berith as a god after Gideon's death. He would naturally have been described by one imperfeetly acquainted with Israelitish affairs as a priest of Jehovah, from his having built an altar to him and invoked upon it Jehovah Shalom. But whoever this Hierombalus was, or was pretended to be, there is no assertion that the God 'Ievà was worshipped by the Berytians, but only that they acknowledged the correctness of the information derived from this priest of Ἰενω in reference to Jewish matters. Plainly it is as a competent authority respecting Jewish, not Berytian affairs, that this priest of Jehovah was alleged as the source of Sanchuniathon's information. Whether, therefore, this allusion to the name Jehovah be genuine, or only a forgery of Philo Byblius,—at best it is apocryphal,—it gives not the slightest countenance to the notion that the Phœnicians had that name in use amongst themselves. Whenever Sanchuniathon may have lived, if he ever lived at all, Philo was himself a contemporary of Adrian.

2. From the antiquity, pretended or real, of Sanchuniathon, we arrive after a long interval at the testimony of Diodorus Siculus. With what relevancy to the present discussion this is adduced it is hard to see, as he mentions the name $Ia\hat{\omega}$ in connexion only with Moses and the Jewish people. He merely says,1 that amongst the Jews it was reported that Moses claimed to have received the laws, which he enacted, from the God called Iao. Except as identifying this name with the Jehovah of the

^{&#}x27;1ερομβάλου τοῦ ἱερέως θεοῦ τοῦ '1ευὼ, ός 'Αβιβάλω τῷ βασιλεῖ Βηρυτίων τὴν ἱστορίαν ἀναθεὶς ὑπ' ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἐξεταστῶν τῆς ἀληθείας παρεδέχθη.—τὰ δὲ τοῦ Σαγχουνιάθωνος εἰς Έλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἡρμήνευσε Φίλων ὁ Βύβλιος. —Τα δε του Σαγχουνιάθωνος εἰς Έλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἡρμήνευσε Φίλων ὁ Βύβλιος. —Porphyrius, iv. Contra Christianos, apud Scaligeri Fragmenta Græc. Vet. Emend. Temp. Addita.

¹ Παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ᾿Αριμασποῖς Ζαθραύστην ἱστοροῦσιν τὸν ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα παραποιήσασθαι τοὺς νόμους αὐτῷ δίδοναι —παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις Μωσῆν τὸν Ἰαῶ ἐπικαλούμενον θεόν. Diod. Sic. Hist. i. 94.

Hebrews it does not affect the question at issue. So far as his words enable us to judge, Diodorus knew nothing of the name as having been employed by the Phænicians.

3. The pretended oracle of the Clarian Apollo, of unknown date, but preserved by Macrobius, who wrote about A.D. 400, is relied on as identifying the god Iao with Dionysus, as well as with Zeus, Hades, and the Sun. Then as Dionysus was the Berytian Adonis, and Manasses, according to the report preserved by Suidas, set up an image of Jupiter with four faces in the temple of Jerusalem, in this way it is made to appear that Iao was a Phænician deity. The oracle is as follows:—

'Οργια μὲν δεδαῶτας ἐχρῆν νηπευθέα κεύθειν.
'Εν δ'ἀπάτη παύρη σύνεσις καὶ νοῦς ἀλαπαδνός.
Φράζεο τὸν πάντων ὅπατον θεὸν ἔμμεν' 'Ἰάω,
Χείματι μὲν τ' Αἴδην, Δία δ' εἴαρος ἀρχομένοιο,
'Ἡέλιον δὲ θέρευς, μετοπώρου δ'ἀβρὸν 'Ἰάω.

The Bishop of Natal relies on the elegance of the versification for the genuineness of this oracle. Apollo seems, however, to have breathed into it as little poetry as sense. The second line seems quite unmeaning, at least in its connexion with the preceding, and certainly the Bishop in making sense of it does not translate it correctly. His translation of the oracle is as follows:-" It was right that those knowing should hide the ineffable orgies. For in a little deceit there is prudence and an adroit mind. Explain that Iao is the most high God of all,in winter Aides, and Zeus in commencing spring, and Helios in summer, and at the end of autumn tender Iao." Now ἀλαπαδνὸς, rendered adroit by the Bishop, does not bear this meaning. It is rendered by Liddell and Scott, easily exhausted, i.e., powerless, feeble. It must be construed with both σύνεσις and νοῦς, or the sentence will be self-contradictory, unless we take παύρη as a nominative agreeing with σύνεσις. In one case, a little deceit, in the other deceit in general, is represented as devoid of sense and prudence, whereas the first verse would seem to recommend it as needful in order to conceal the ineffable mysteries, if that

¹ Saturnalia, i. 18.

be the meaning of the word $\nu\eta\pi\epsilon\nu\theta\dot{\epsilon}a$. "The most high God," in the third line, is not a title answering to Elion, which was in use no doubt amongst the Phœnicians as well as the Hebrews. The genitive $\pi \acute{a}\nu \tau \omega \nu$ shows that only the highest of all the gods is meant by this expression. The Bishop feels the awkwardness of the last line so much that he several times refers with approval to the emendation of it proposed by Lobeck, who reads $\partial \beta \rho \partial \nu$ " $A \delta \omega \nu \nu \nu$, for $\partial \beta \rho \partial \nu$ ' $I \delta \omega$. This emendation is grounded of course on the epithet $\partial \beta \rho \delta \nu$. But though that epithet is very proper as applied to the effeminate and youthful Adonis of the Greeks, it is very absurd as used in regard to the Phonician Sun-God. However, the oracle is not worth any attempt at emendation, being of doubtful genuineness, and of no weight in proof of the notion in support of which it is adduced.1

As regards the genuineness of the oracle, suspicious in itself, it is doubly suspicious from the source whence Macrobius derived it. For it cannot be too particularly noted that Macrobius speaks of it as existing amongst the so-called Orphic verses. These verses he quotes in proof that Bacchus was identical with the Sun, as well as with Zeus and Hades. The well-known verse to that effect,—

Είς Ζεύς, είς "Αδης, είς "Ηλιος, είς Διόνυσος,

is founded, he says, on the authority of the Clarian oracle, in which another name is also given to the Sun, who in the same sacred verses, amongst other names, has that of $\dot{I}\dot{a}\omega$; for Apollo having been consulted as to which it was of the gods, who was thus named, answered in the verses above quoted.² Evidently it

¹ If a conjectural emendation could make an authority available as evidence in a discussion of this kind, it would be as admissable on one side as the other. Why then discussion of this kind, it would be as admissable on one side as the other. Why then might not the reading μετοπώρου Ἐβραῖου Ἰάω be adopted as well as ἔβρου Ἄδωνιν? Or we might read Ἄβραξας Ἰάω, this being the well-known title on the Basilidian amulets, and thus connect the oracle with Gnostic sources. We may remark that in Stephens' Greek Thesaurus, Ed. Valpy, s.v. ἄβρα, sive, ἄβρα, aneilla, the following is attributed to Kuhnius, ad J. Poll. iv. 151:—Ipse Eustathius vocem pro peregrina habet. Fallor, an ab Ταλίν, quod notat Hebræam. Nam Syrorum Hebræorumque puellas Ethnicis serviises proving neutla humaniari ignatum. Ethnicis serviisse, nemini paullo humaniori ignotum.

2 It is better to give at full length the words of Macrobius himself:—Physici

was amongst the Orphic verses that he found this oracle, which appears to have been introduced into them in order to justify the identification of the four names as denoting one supreme God. Now these Orphic verses have the same character amongst the learned as the Sibylline verses. A large part of them were forged, either by Jews like Aristobulus, or by Christian and Gnostic grammarians, who found a market for such wares amongst the early apologists. These unsuspectingly received them as genuine, and quoted them in their controversies with their pagan opponents, who, on the other hand, readily admitted them also, as showing that a purer theism underlay the current mythology, and thus enabling them to reject Christianity as unnecessary. Some of the pagans may have also composed verses of this kind, with the view of sustaining paganism, when Christian ideas began to prevail amongst the people generally. Hence there is nothing so suspicious as quotations ascribed to pagan authors, but containing Jewish or Christian ideas more or less distinctly expressed. Orpheus and the Orphic verses became a favourite authority to which these were referred; and therefore the mere fact of a saying being ascribed to such a source is enough to create a doubt of its genuineness. The Cornelius Labeo, who

Διόνυσον, διὸς νοὺν, quia solem, mundi mentem esse dixerunt. Mundus autem vocatur cœlum, quod appellant Jovem. Unde Aratus de cœlo dicturus ait:

'Εκ διδς ἀρχώμεθα.

Liber à Romanis appellatur; quod liber et vagus est, ut ait Nævius:

Hâc quâ sol vagus igneas habenas Immittit propius, jugatque terræ.

Idem versus Orphici εὐβουλῆα vocantes boui consilii hunc deum præstitem monstrant-Nam, si conceptu mentes consilia nascuntur; mundi autem mentem solem esse opinantur auctores, à quo in homines manat intelligendi principium: merito boni consilii solem antistitem crediderunt. Solem Liberum esse manifestè pronuntiat Orpheus hoc versu:

"Ηλιος όν Διόνυσον ἐπίκλησιν καλέουσιν.

Et is quidem versus absolutior, ille vero ejusdem vatis operosior: Εῖς Ζεὺς, εῖς "Αδης, εῖς "Ηλιος, εῖς Διόνυσος.

Hujus versus auctoritas fundatur oraculo Apollinis Clarii; in quo aliud quoque nomen Soli adjicitur, qui in isdem sacris versibus inter caetera vocatur Ἰάω. Nam consultus Apollo Clarius quis deorum habendus sit, qui vocatur Ἰάω, ita effatus est : "Οργια μὲν δεδαῶτας κτ.λ. Nothing can be plainer than that Macrobius represents the Orphic verses as the source from whence this oracle is quoted.

Macrobius tells us had commented on this Clarian oracle, was doubtless some obscure contemporary of Macrobius, or of that period. Had he belonged to a much earlier date, it is probable that having survived so long, he would have been mentioned by some other writer. Or if he was a man of any eminence in the time of Macrobius, it is strange that no other trace of his existence should have come down to us.

But whether a genuine remnant of the times when the Oracles still spoke, or a forgery of more recent times, this Clarian oracle gives no real support to the notion of a Phænician Jehovah. It does indeed identify the owner of the name Iao with the heathen deities mentioned in it, and by implication with Dionysus. But this is only in accordance with a prevalent notion of those times, that the Hebrew worship of Jehovah was in some of its forms similar to the orgies of Bacchus, and that Bacchus and Jehovah were therefore the same deity. This notion is mentioned by Tacitus, who, however, dissents from it. He says that because the Jewish priests used a trumpet and drums in their worship, and wore fillets of ivy, and because a golden vine was found in the temple, some thought that they worshipped Father Liber, though, as he thinks, the rites were very different, that of Bacchus being festive and cheerful, but the Jewish rite absurd and mean.1

4. The disposition to identify the orgies of Bacchus with certain Jewish rites appears also in the passage of Plutarch alleged in this discussion as favouring the notion in dispute. In the fourth book of the Symposiac Problems, Prob. 5, the question is proposed whether it was from a feeling of reverence or of disgust, that the Jews abstained from swine's flesh? One person is represented as attributing it to the respect that was supposed to be paid by some nations to swine, as having taught the art of ploughing by the habit which that animal has of

¹ Quia sacerdotes eorum tibiâ tympanisque concinebant, hederâ viuciebantur, vitisque aurea templo reperta, Liberum Patrem coli domitorem orientis, quidam arbitrati sunt, nequaquam congruentibus institutis. Quippe Liber festos latosque ritus posuit: Judacorum mos absurdus sordidusque. Hist. v. 5.

rooting in the ground. Another suggests that swine's flesh was thought to produce leprosy, and that because of this, and the filthy habits of the animal, the Jews abstained from its use. But then it is added that, if a reason derived from mythological considerations must be given, the boar was the animal that slew Adonis, who, according to some, was beloved by Dionysus, according to others was Dionysus himself. And then it is alleged that the Hebrews practised rites which strongly resembled the rites of Bacchus, such as the feast of tabernacles at the time of vintage, the procession with palm branches resembling, thyrsi, and so forth. Also they had persons who played on harps in their worship, and were called Levites (λεύιται), either from λύσιος, an epithet of Bacchus expressing the loosening of the tongue and like effects produced by wine, or else from εὔιος. They likewise observed the Sabbath, and some called the Bacchi Sabbi even so late as that time. In all this there is not a word of allusion to the Phænicians, or to the name Jehovah. But the Phonicians worshipped Dionysus under the name of Adonis, and evios is imagined to have in it some trace of the root 717 from which Jehovah is formed,2 and putting

The derivation of these words from הוה or a similar Hebrew root is extremely uncertain. But even if this origin be admitted, the Sun God having been regarded as the source of life and existence, nothing is proved as to the use of the name הוהו.

¹ Εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ τὰ μυθικὰ προσλαβεῖν, λέγεται μὲν ὁ ''Αδωνις ὑπὸ τοῦ συὸς διαφθαρηναι, τὸν δὲ ''Αδωνιν οὐχ ἔτερον, ἀλλὰ Διόνυσον νομίζονσι' καὶ πολλὰ τῶν τελουμένων
περὶ τὰς ἐορτὰς βεβαιοῖ τὸν λόγον. This resemblance is presently more fully explained
by another of the company:—Πρῶτον μὲν ἔφη τῆς μεγίστης καὶ τελειοτάτης ἐορτῆς
παρ' αὐτοῖς ὁ καιρός ἐστι καὶ ὁ τόπος Διονύσφ προσήκων. τὴν γὰρ λεγομένην νηστείαν
ἀκμάζοντι τρυγητῷ τραπέζας τε προστίθενται παντοδαπῆς ὁπώρας, ὑπὸ σκηναῖς,
καὶ καθιᾶσιν ἐκ κλημάτων μάλιστα καὶ κιττοῦ διαπεπληγμέναις, καὶ τὴν προτέραν τῆς
ἐορτῆς σκηνὴν ὀνομάζουσιν. ὀλίγαις δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἄλλην ἐστὴν οὐκ ὰν δι'
ἀινιγμάτων ἀλλὰ ἄντικρυς Βάκχου καλουμένου τελοῦσιν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ κρατηροφορία
τις ἑορτὴ καὶ θυρσοφορία παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἐν ἢ θύρσους ἔχοντες εἰς τὸ ἰερὸν εἰσίασιν
εἰσελθύντες δὲ δ, τι δρῶσιν οὐκ ἴσμεν. εἰκὸς δὲ Βακχείαν εἶναι τὰ ποιούμενα: καὶ γὰρ
πάλπιγξι μικραῖς ὥσπερ 'Αργεῖοι τοῖς Διονυσίοις, ἀνακαλούμενοι τὸν θεὸν χρῶνται. καὶ
κιθαρίζοντες ἔπεροι προσίασιν οὐς αὐτοὶ Λευίτας προσονομάζουσιν, είτε παρὰ τὸν λύσιον,
εἴτε μᾶλλον παρὰ τὸν εἴιον τῆς ἐπικλήσεως γεγενημένης. οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν σαββάτων
ἑορτὴν μὴ παντάπασιν ἀπροσδιόννσον εἶναι. Σάββονς γὰρ καὶ νῦν ἔτι πολλοὶ τοὺς
Βάκχους καλοῦσι, καὶ ταὐτην ἀφιᾶσι τὴν φωνὴν ὅταν ὀργιάζωσι τῷ θεῷ. This ery,
answering to the name Sabbi, was doubtless the title Sabaoth, and the open invocation
of Baechus without ænigma was taken perhaps from the title Adonai, identified with
Adonis, who was also Dionysus. Or some form of the verb ਜ̄Ξৄ, '' to weep,'' as in
Ps. exxvi., which, as one of the Psalms of degrees, was sung at the feast of Tabernacles, might have sounded to a Greek like the name of Baechus.

² With εἴιος are joined εὖα, εὖοῖ, and other similar words used in the Baechie worship.

these facts to what Plutarch says, the advocates of this notion think that they have some support from his remarks. Plutarch never dreamed of any such thing, even if we could suppose that euros was a possible etymology for the name Levite, and that the word Sabbath was akin to the name by which the Bacchi were sometimes designated.

5. An authority greatly relied on is Johannes Lydus, a Byzantine writer born A.D. 490, who, speaking of Dionysus, says that "the Chaldmans call that God Iao, which in the language of the Phœnicians means intelligible light." He adds that "he is called frequently Sabaoth also, as the God presiding over the seven poles, namely the Demiurge."1 This statement re-appears with a certain difference in Georgius Cedrenus, a much later writer, namely of the twelfth century, who says that " $\dot{\eta}$ a\omega is interpreted by the Chaldmans to be intelligible light in the language of the Phœnicians; and Sabaoth, he that is over the seven poles, that is, the Demiurge."² The Chaldeans here spoken of are plainly not the ancient inhabitants of Chaldra, but the astrologers of far later times. Thus Aulus Gellius, Noct. Att. xiv. 1, speaks of those, qui sese Chaldaos seu genethliacos appellant. And the expression $\phi \hat{\omega}_S \nu o \eta \tau \hat{o} \nu$, as a name applied to God, belongs not the ancient Phænician, but to the neo-Platonic theology. For so we find it used by the pseudo-Dionysius, the Areopagite, who says that "the good Being is so called because he fills every super-celestial intelligence with intelligible light."3 Then "the language of the Phænicians" would in these late times, when the Jews had been dispersed, and Syro-Phænicians were the principal inhabitants of Palestine using an Aramaic or Hebraistic dialect, denote in the

¹ Οἱ Χαλδαῖοι τὸν θεὸν Ἰαὼ λέγουσιν ἀντὶ τοῦ φῶς νοητὸν τῆ Φοινίκων γλῶσση. καὶ Σαβαὰθ δὲ πολλαχοῦ λὲγεται, οἶον ὁ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐπτὰ πόλους, τουτέστιν ὁ Δημιουργός.—J. Lydus, De Mensibus, iv. 38.

^{2 &}quot;Οτι ή ὰω παρὰ Χαλδαίοις έρμηνεύεται φως νοητόν τῆ Φοινίκων γλωσση καὶ Σαβαωθ δὲ ὁ ὑπὲρ ἐπτὰ πόλους, τουτέστιν ὁ Δημιουργὸς θεός.—G. Cedrenus, Ed. Bekkero, vol. i. p. 296.

³ Φῶς νοητὸν ὁ ἀγαθὸς λέγεται, διὰ τὸ πάντα μὲν ὑπερουράνιον νοῦν ἐμπιμπλάναι νοητοῦ φωτός. De Divinis Nominibus, cap. iv., sect. v., Apud Suiceri Thesaur. Theol. s.v. φῶς.

mouth of a Greek, not the language as spoken by the ancient Phænicians, but the then current Syriac. Or, at any rate, either name might have been used indifferently, as in the well-known words of Lucian in the Pseudo-Mantis, describing Alexander as φωνάς τινας ἀσήμους φθεγγόμενος, οἶαι γένοιντ' ἄν Ἐβραίων ἢ Φοινίκων. Lydus is not reporting an ancient opinion of the Chaldwans but something they alleged in or about his own times. And, at any rate, whether this was alleged as an ancient saying or not, certain it is that in no Shemitic dialect, ancient or modern, did 'Iaω or ή ἀω as Cedrenus has it, signify φως νοητόν. These Chaldmans therefore were imposed on, or themselves practised imposition in giving this as the meaning of the name; or else there is an error of transcription in both these statements, as in any case there must be in one, whether Cedrenus copied from Lydus or both from some common source. It is plain that nothing is said, at any rate, of a Phænician use of the name to designate Dionysus. It was the Chaldwans themselves who said that Dionysus was indicated by the name in question, as well as by Sabaoth, in the interpretation of which, as denoting seven, they were as much astray, as in the case of $Ia\dot{\omega}$ or $\dot{\eta}$ $\dot{a}\dot{\omega}$, except that there is some slight resemblance between Sabaoth in this its Greek form and the Hebrew word for seven; in its Hebrew form there is none. These testimonies of Lydus and Cedrenus may therefore be dismissed, as giving no support to the view which they are adduced to prove.1

Καl τρὶς τρεῖς δεκάδες σύν γ' ἐπτά. γνοὺς δὲ, τίς εἰμι, Οὐκ ἀμύητος ἔση θείης παρ' ἐμοὶ γε σοφίης. If it were worth while to offer another guess in addition to those already made to

¹ The taste of the philosophizing heretics, forgers of apocryphal writings, and others of those days, for manipulating with the Tetragrammaton, already become a mystical name as early as the time of Philo, may be instanced in the "Αβραξας 'lάω of the Basilidians already noticed. The word ''Αβραξας, which numbers 365, was intended to express the 365 spheres over which 'lάω presided. Then in the Apocalypse of Moses, as recently published in Tischendorf's Αροασμηρεε Αροκτηρία, we find p. 16, 18, Eve addressing God by the name 'lαηλ. This is plainly a substitute compounded of the shorter forms, Jah and El, for the Jehovah Elohim of Gen. ii. iii. In the Sibylline verses also, Pradicatio Noachi, apud Fabricii Cod. Pseud. Vet. Test. vol. i., 234, the following description of his own name is put into the mouth of God:—

'Εννέα γράμματ' ἔχω, τετρασύλλαβός εἰμι, νόει με, Αί τρεῖς αὶ πρώται δύο γράμματ ἔχουσιν ἐκάστη, ''Η λοιπη' δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ, καὶ εἰσιν ἄφωνα τὰ πέντε.

Τοῦ πάντος δὲ ἀριθμοῦ ἐκατοντάδες εἰσὶ δὶς ὀκτὰ, Καὶ τρὶς τρεῖς δεκάδες σύν γ' ἐπτά. γνοὺς δὲ, τίς εἰμι,

6. The authority of Tzetzes, ad Lycophr. 831, is also adduced in support of this notion, being made available, however, only by a conjectural emendation. Tzetzes in his notes on Lycophron, says that Adonis was called Tavas by the Cyprians. 1 It is assumed that the worship of Adonis passed into Cyprus from Phœnicia, and that this name was originally 'Iavas, but that the I was converted into Γ by the copyists. As the authority of Tzetzes is relied on, it would only have been fair to have given the whole of what he says on this subject. But first it will be requisite to give the passage of Lycophron, in which the poet represents Cassandra as foretelling that Menelaus in search of his wife should visit various places, amongst which, she says,-

> Οψεται δὲ τλήμονος Μύρβας έρυμνον άστυ, της μογοστόκους ' Ωδίνας έξέλυσε δενδρώδης κλάδος, Καὶ τὸν θεῷ κλαυσθέντα Γαύαντος τάφον Σχοινίδι, μοοσόφθαρτον, 'Αρέντα, Ξένη, Κραντήρι λευκώ τὸν ποτ' ἔκτανε πτελάς.

It is plain that Adonis is here spoken of, and that Lycophron regards him as the son of Myrrha. Tzetzes, however, after subjoining certain other comments to the note above given, then proceeds to say that there was a Cyprian Adonis and a Biblian Adonis, that the former was the son of Cynaras, and the latter of Myrrha, but that some, not knowing this, confounded the two, the poet on whom he is commenting being evidently regarded by him as sharing in this mistake.2 Whatever therefore the authority of Tzetzes may be worth in this discussion, it is

explain this trifling, one would be tempted to suggest יהוה אלהים as the name intended. This combination has nine letters, of which five are consonants, the N and Then looking only at the written letters, and leaving out of view the unwritten vocalisation, the three first syllables have two letters each, and the last three, being four syllables in all. Reekoning the 3 as 1000, מהלים numbers 1645. The number yielded by יהוה is only 26. If this be doubled we shall have the specified sum 1697. The fact that this name had a K'ri, or spoken substitute for the written form, might have been made a pretext for doubling its number, in order to render the description more anigmatical.

^{1 &#}x27;() '' Αδωνις Γαύας παρά Κυπρίοις καλείται.
2 'Εκ τοῦ εἰπεῖν δε ὅτι ἐπόψεται τάφον 'Αδώνιδος, τὸν τόπον λέγει, ἔνθα κεῖται ὁ '' Αδωνις, ἡ τὴν Βίβλον, ἡ τὴν Κύπρον καὶ ἐν τῆ Βίβλφ γὰρ ἦν '' Αδωνις, καὶ ἐν τῆ Κύπρφ ἔτερος '' Αδωνις, ὁ Κυνάρου. ἄπερ ἀκριβῶς τινες οὐκ εἰδότες συγχέουσὶ τοὺς νέους πως, οἱ μὴ γινώσκοντες τὸν Μύρβας '' Αδωνιν Βίβλιον εἶναι, τὸν δὲ ὁν εἴπομεν Κύπριον, νησον 'Αδώνιδος την Κύπρον φάσιν.

plainly adverse to the notion it is adduced to support, as he distinguishes the Cyprian Taúas from the Phænician Adonis. Let it, however, be admitted that the Phœnician was the original and only Adonis, about whom the Greeks afterwards gathered their contradictory stories, and let it be admitted also that the Cyprians received their notions of Adonis from Phœnicia; still a testimony that has to be altered by an emendation, which it does not of itself require or suggest, is really no testimony at all. If the question was already settled beyond dispute, there might be a good ground for an ingenious conjectural emendation; but a matter of question in dispute cannot be allowed to suggest an emendation, and then to derive proof from what it has thus altered in its own favour. It is not necessary, however, to resort to conjectural emendation for a derivation of the name Γαύας. The Hebrew to shoot forth, to be high, majestic, glorious, used of God, or its kindred 713, was probably the root of this name. Under the latter word, Fuerst, in his Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon, says, "In Phenician 114 (Gawan) = 1383 (elevated) is the proper name of the old deity of the Byblians; אַ (majesty), hence the proper noun בּוְעֶלִיּן (Givalius, i.e., -iun, majesty of Elyon)." He also explains the Gunebel of Plautus, Pænulus, v. 2, 67, by אני בל, majesty of Baal. He gives no authority, however, for the word by itself as a proper name, nor does it appear as such in the Mon. Phan. of Gesenius.2

7. The name of a Tyrian suffete mentioned by Josephus, $^{\prime}A\beta\delta a\hat{\imath}os$, is said to represent the Hebrew or Phænician answering to Obadiah, and denoting the servant of Jah, proving that this word Jah was in use amongst the Tyrians, and by consequence, it is assumed, the fuller form also. But the analogy of like Hebrew forms, when transferred to Greek, is in favour of a very different spelling. Thus this very name in the case of the prophet Obadiah is $^{\prime\prime}O\beta\delta\iota as$, as given by the LXX.

Of course, if Tzetzes is to be amended, so must Lycophron also, and that doubly.
 For in order to adapt 'laúas to the metre, we must read κλαυσθέντι 'laύαντοs instead of κλαυσθέντα Γαύαντοs.
 See Note B, p. 633.

And then we have the well-known forms Esaias, Elias, not Esaios and Elaios. Bitias as mentioned by Virgil, Æn. i. 738, Tum Bitiæ dedit increpitans, is adduced as a Punic name, having the same element Jah in its composition. It is true Bitias or Bithias was a real Carthaginian name, and occurs in Livy's history of the Punic wars, but that it contains Jah is a mere assumption. The name Bithiah, daughter of Jah, given to Mered's Egyptian wife (1 Chron. iv. 18), is of purely Jewish origin, and is necessarily feminine. Another of Dido's courtiers mentioned on the same occasion, the crinitus Iopas, would have been just as much to the purpose. Why is not this name adduced as containing evidence of the same element in its composition as appears in Jochebed, Joash, and many others? But if Dido's harper has been passed over, not so has been the wind Κολπία. by means of which Sanchuniathon says that mankind were formed.2 If this word is only the Hebrew קוֹל פּי יָה, "the voice of the mouth of Jah," as has been supposed, this is evidently derived from the book of Genesis, and that, too, after the Jehovistic additions had been made to the original Elohistic account of the Creation, if those who resolve the book of Genesis into separate documents of different date and authorship are to be believed. To this and other sayings of the apocryphal Sanchuniathon, we may apply the dry and pithy remark of Jortin on the Orphic verses:-"Clemens observes that Orpheus borrowed his thoughts and expressions from the Scriptures, and so far he is certainly right;" so far, at any rate, as the borrowing from the Scriptures.

8. The name " $Ia\kappa\chi o_{S}$ is supposed to be identical with ", written with the ", and pronounced yachweh. Indeed it seems that this harder form has only been thought of with a view to this possible identification with " $Ia\kappa\chi o_{S}$.

First, it is to be observed that it is impossible to separate

¹ See Note C, p. 633.

² Euseb. Prep. i. sab tit., Philo Byblius de Theologiâ Sanchuniathonis:—Εἶτά φησι γεγενῆσθαι ἐκ τοῦ Κολπία ἀνέμου, καὶ γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Βάαυ, τοῦτο δὲ νύκτα ἐρμηνεύειν, ᾿Αιῶνα και Προτόγονον θνητοὺς ἄνδρας οὕτω καλουμένους.

"Iakyos from $B\acute{a}\kappa\chi_{0}$ s, as derived one from the other. The Greek language presents other instances of like double form, as $\beta a \gamma \delta s$ and άγὸς, βαδὺς and ἡδὺς, βάλλω and ἰάλλω, the two last being exact counterparts to $B\acute{a}\kappa \gamma o_{S}$ and " $Ia\kappa \gamma o_{S}$. The question then that next arises is, which should have the priority? In answer to this it is to be considered that Bacchus might more readily degenerate into Iacchus, passing through the v sound of b, and thence through the w sound, into a vocal breathing. And this would be the more likely in a word used repeatedly, as in the celebration the Bacchic rites, and uttered in loud cries. On the other hand the assuming of the B from an original vocal beginning would have been more difficult and unlikely. Then, again, a real word affords a highly probable origin for Bacchus, while for Iacchus we have only the hypothetical Phænician name suggested. The Phænician Bacchus, the same as Adonis, is the Tammuz of the Bible. The wailing of the Bacchæ in the celebration of the orgies is well-known, and is presented to us in the "women weeping for Tammuz" of Ezek. viii. 14. Hence the verb בכה, bacha, to weep, would have afforded to the Phænicians a word connected with these rites that would in time have passed into a proper name. And so in Fuerst's Hebrew Lexicon we find, "Εςς Ηesych. βακχόν κλαυθμόν, from Εςς." This derivation for the name is at least more probable than that proposed for Iacehus, inasmuch as it is a real, and not a mere conjectural word, which is suggested as the origin.

The fact that Iacchus was regarded as a mystical name has been relied on in connexion with the secresy attached to the name Jehovah. But the word mystical has a very different sense as applied to these two names. Jehovah was a mystical name in later times, in so far as its pronunciation was avoided, and was kept secret from the multitude. Iacchus was not a secret name at all, but well-known from the cries of the Bacchanalians;

Βακχὸν, κλαυθμὸν, Φοίνικες. ² Thus Arrian, Exped. Alex. ii. 16, says, καὶ δ Ίακχος δ μυστικός τούτ φ τ $\hat{\varphi}$ Διονύσ φ οὐχι τ $\hat{\varphi}$ Θηβαί φ ἐπάδεται.

¹ See Davidson's Translation, p. 251. Hesychius ascribes this to the Phænicians:—

it was only mystical as used in the mystical rites of Bacchus, and perhaps having a mystical significance attached to it.

9. The last particular that calls for notice in reference to this question, is the use of Baal in the formation of proper names in the same manner as El and Jah, or interchangeably with them. This might have arisen in one case from idolatrous tendencies, in another from familiarity with Phonician proper names, and sometimes by the employment of Baal in its common sense without any reference to its use as applied to the god so called. Baal was an appellative signifying lord or master, and so when applied to this deity it always took the article, Hab-Baal, the Lord. In this way it may have been used in one of the Biblical names thus formed, Bealiah (1 Chron. xii. 5). As Elijah means "Jah is God," or "my God," so Bealjah will signify "Jah is lord," or "my lord." Another instance is Eliada, a son of David, called Beeliada in 1 Chron. xiv. 7. In this case the LXX. follow the former reading, as it is in 2 Sam. v. 16. That in this instance it was not a mere interchange of equivalents, but a substitution of an unobjectionable for a highly objectionable name, may be inferred from the change in the case of two sons of Saul, Eshbaal and Meribbaal, 1 Chron. viii. 33, 34, and ix. 39, 40, who in Samuel appear as Ishbosheth and Mephibosheth. The like change occurs also in the case of Jerubbaal, who in 2 Sam. xi. 21 is called Jerubbesheth. The word Bosheth, or Besheth, signifying shame or confusion, is used in Jer. xi. 13, and elsewhere in the prophets, to denote Baal, and the substitution of this word for Baal in these proper names shows how odious the latter must have been felt by the right-minded as thus used in the formation of proper names. There are no other Israelitish instances, however, but these noticed.

The reader who has duly considered these evidences of the supposed Phœnician use of Jehovah, will probably feel convinced of their inadequacy as proof of such use, and will think that apocryphal writings, and statements of authors who lived late in the Christian era, or at any rate after its commencement,

rendered sometimes more convenient by conjectural emendations and fancied etymologies, are not the kind of proofs on which so important a conclusion should be rested. And if it did result, as it does not, from these evidences that the Phœnicians had this name in use, the very lateness of the authorities would render it more likely that they had borrowed it from the Hebrews, than the Hebrews from them; 1 and much more probable than that this should have been done by the religious teachers themselves, who were so constant in their resistance to the idolatrous tendencies of the people. That they should have adopted a name identified with rites which they held in abomination, as the highest and most sacred name of the true Goda name expressive of his nature, as well as distinguishing him as their national God—is quite inconceivable. Such a supposition may well be dismissed as being in itself as improbable, as it is destitute of the slightest basis of evidence, however they might have retained it, if they had had it all along in use simultaneously with its employment by their idolatrous neighbours. This was the case with Elion, and Adonai, from which the Greeks derived their Adonis. In such case it would have been sufficient to have rejected the false God and his worship under some distinctive name not in use amongst themselves, as Baal, without abandoning a name deeply rooted in their own popular use. There is no proof, however, as we have shown, that Jehovah was thus simultaneously used. True, this name, if known and in use amongst the Patriarchs, could not have been wholly unknown to the inhabitants of Canaan at an early period. That the name, however, is not put into the mouth of any of these, except when a particular reason for its use exists, which will abundantly appear hereafter, is a sufficient proof that it was not in familiar use amongst them. Had this or a kindred name been known by the Israelites to have been in use amongst the heathen occupants of the country, there could have existed no motive for carefully excluding it in this book of Genesis and

¹ See Note D, p. 634.

elsewhere from the mouths of any but the chosen race, except in the cases where it was merely adopted by others with reference to its use amongst them.

IV.—ORGANIC STRUCTURE AND DIVISIONS OF THE BOOK.

While the book of Genesis certainly does not resolve itself naturally into the parts ascribed to different authors, it is by no means an unbroken and continuous narrative. Hence in examining more particularly the usage in respect to the names of God throughout the entire book, and considering the other evidences for or against the general unity of its authorship, regard should be had to the structural organization of the whole, and the subdivisions into which it is resolvable in accordance with that structure. To neglect these structural divisions, and merely to resolve the book into passages longer or shorter in which particular usages occur, and then to assume the different authorship of these two sets of passages, merely on the ground of this difference of usage, is a highly arbitrary and unwarrantable course. The legitimate mode of proceeding is first to observe the structural arrangement of the book; and if there be any well defined arrangement of this kind, it is by no means allowable to separate parts of these natural divisions, and to combine them with parts of others, merely to help any theory one might form in regard to the particular subject in question It will be observed hereafter that this has been done in respect to the history of the deluge. The verses vi. 5-8, which are admitted by Davidson and others to belong to a different section, are yet connected with the succeeding section as an integral part of the history of the deluge as it now exists, while by the structural division of the book it forms no part of that history at all. The effect of thus regarding these verses as part of the existing history of the deluge is to give a certain countenance to the notion, that that history has been made up of two independent narratives of the same events, pieced together by a subsequent compiler, without much regard to the consistency of the entire. More particular notice will be drawn to this hereafter. If it should appear that there are portions naturally and evidently complete in themselves, and characterised by a peculiar usage of any kind, then it may fairly be maintained that these portions have a certain distinct documentary character, not necessarily indicating different authorship, but, at any rate, a different mental habitude in the writer, at the time of their composition, from that which existed in the composition of parts differently characterised, except so far as there might be something in the subject matter of the passages themselves, to account for the peculiarity observable. But if such documentary portions are found to be subordinated to a more general structure, into which they are naturally and consistently interwoven, and that more general structure is plainly the original plan of the entire work, then the unity of the whole is highly probable, in spite of the supposed peculiarity in these several passages.

That the entire book is characterised by a very marked and consistent structural arrangement will presently appear, though several causes have tended to obscure it, and divert attention from its observation. One of these causes has been the arbitrary division of later times into chapters, such as they appear in our present Bibles. Prior to these divisions, the structure had been obscured by the Jewish subdivision of the Pentateuch into fiftyfour Perashim or sections, in order that the entire might be read through in one year, provision being made for the intercalary as well as the ordinary Sabbaths. These divisions effectually turned away men's eyes from the real subdivisions of the book, the two classes of separate portions being, though equal in number, rarely conterminous, and never so at both beginning and ending. These divisions of pretty equable length having been adopted for the convenience of public reading, any earlier marks of subdivision would have been apt in course of time to disappear from the MSS. Another potent cause is the fact that the book is to a great extent made up of narratives more or

less complete in themselves, sometimes treating of particulars separated from those mentioned in the preceding or subsequent parts by considerable intervals of time, though all having a certain order of progress and tending to the general advance of the entire history. The distinctness of these several narratives has caused them to pass with those who have looked beyond the mere arbitrary division of chapters or Jewish Perashim, for the natural and only subdivisions of the book; and this has tended to help the theory that the book is a compilation of passages of various authorship and of different ages brought together at some subsequent period. That the writer may have availed himself of existing documents, or of traditional statements preserved with sufficient care to have the value of documents, is very possible. And if a writer of sufficient authority should have stamped such documents incorporated into his narrative with the seal of his approval, then they come to us with the same weight, as regards his belief in their substantial accuracy, as if they were entirely his own. Tables of genealogy, indeed, he may have taken, just as he found them in the registers or the traditions of the people, without intending to youch for their accuracy; and inaccuracy in these should be regarded as no more invalidating the general truthfulness of the genealogy or of the history at large, than the omission of certain names in the genealogy of the Saviour in St. Matthew's gospel is supposed to have such an invalidating effect. The reader will not be displeased by the introduction here of an extract from Dr. Hannah's Bampton Lecture for 1863, Lect. v., p. 151, 2, in reference to the employment of earlier materials, and the use of traditions existing in the author's time:-"It is important to point out that the principle which has been thus asserted, stands in the strongest possible contrast to the theories which would disintegrate the books of Scripture, and distribute them among the earlier documents of which they are alleged to be compounded. That view is destructive of all real authorship, as claimed for the several writings in their existing form; an

authorship, which in many instances is sufficiently ascertained, though in others, when it has not been decided by testimony, it forms a legitimate subject for critical enquiry. That authorship, be it known or unknown, rests in each ease with the inspired writer who produced the book acknowledged in the canon; and the belief that he availed himself of earlier materials, would no more entitle us to rend his work in pieces and re-assign its fragments to imaginary claimants, than the same argument would destroy the rights of an uninspired historian to the work which he had moulded into unity, and impressed with the full stamp of his own intellectual character from such materials as he was able to command."

As regards this book of Genesis, however, even distinguishable documents characterised by their own peculiarities, genealogical tables which were possibly preserved from earlier times than those of the writer of the book, and adopted by him perhaps only on their recognised authority, and episodes and narratives more or less complete in themselves, while less closely connected with those preceding or following them than in their own internal contents, are not the only or the principal subdivisions of the book, though they are often the natural subsections of the greater portions. These latter, forming the larger structural divisions of the entire book in its organic integrity, claim our attention first.

1. Besides the Exordium which consists of the first chapter and the three first verses of the second, the book consists of a series of *Toledoth*, generations, or histories founded on genealogical relations, but in most cases embracing much more than the particulars of family descent. In some cases these particulars of family descent occupy a very subordinate place, as in that commencing at Gen. vi. 9, where the history of Noah contains only the mention of his three sons; while in one case, namely the first, commencing at ii. 4, "The generations of the heavens

¹ It seems strange that Ranke and others, who recognise the expression, "These are the generations," as generally an initial and not a terminal formula, should

and the earth," it is only in a highly figurative sense that the genealogical idea is at all implied. This figurative representation is indeed in full keeping with the allegorical nature of the representation in at least the first part of this portion as already pointed out, and it is only in the second of these divisions of family history, commencing with chapter v., that the true and literal sense of the word is implied. This is the true beginning of the genealogical history which it is the author's design to trace down from Adam to the twelve patriarchs, and accordingly, while each of the other sections begins with the formula, "These are the generations," this fifth chapter commences with the fuller and more formal expression, "This is the book of the generations," the Sepher Toledoth, from Adam in the line of Seth. We have then first the Exordium, then,—(1.) "The generations of the heavens and the earth," the mystical generations, from ii. 4 to the close of ch. iii., and the sequel in ch. iv. to the birth of Seth.—(2.) "The book of the generations of

regard it in the latter character in Gen. ii. 4. It is vain to urge that the pronoun these (\overline{n}_{c}) may as properly refer to things preceding as following, and to say that it is used five times in chap. x. with a retrospective signification. It is not on the nature of the phrase itself, that its initial character here depends, but on the invariable use of this particular expression, "These are the generations," as a superscription throughout the remainder of the book. It is also to be noted that Ranke mistranslates the word Toledoth in this instance. He says that in Gen. ii. 4 the meaning is, Diess ist die Entstehung, this is the origin of the heavens and the earth. It has been noticed on a former occasion, that it is not the generation, in the sense of the generating, which Toledoth could not signify, but the generations or genealogical descendants, and in a wider sense the offspring and family history in a descending line, that this word denotes. See Untersuchungen ueber den Pentateuch, i. p. 160. The same remark applies to the title of the Elohistic narrative, the "Book of Origins," adopted by Kuenen from Ewald in his work, The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined, as translated by the Bishop of Natal, chap. xv. p. 33. In no sense could this title be properly used, except we were to understand the first origin of the successive descending steps in the narrative. The plural form, however, shows that the word Toledoth denotes the successive steps themselves, these being products not origins. It is curious that while Ranke considered it of moment to the unity of the book to insist on the retrospective import of this phrase here, as tending to disprove the partition at ii. 4, which he calls the $\pi \rho \hat{\omega} \tau \sigma \nu \psi \epsilon \hat{\omega} \delta \sigma$, later writers, as Kuenen and Colenso, favour the same view of it, as not wishing to give this phrase, especially as an initial formula, to the Jehovist.

"The first step in what may be technically called the narrative of history is taken at the beginning of the fifth chapter of the book of Genesis, in the words, 'This is the book of the generations of Adam,'—words which are followed by the briefest possible summary of the previous account of creation, and then by the order of a lineage, and then the regular chronicle of dates and ages."—Dr. Hannah,

Bampton Lecture, 1863, Leet. v., p. 164.

Adam," ch. v. to vi. 8, where Noah is introduced on the scene. -(3.) "The generations of Noah," containing the history of Noah and his family until his death, from vi. 9 to the end of ch. ix.—(4.) "The generations of the sons of Noah," describing their descendants, the overspreading of the earth, and the scattering of men abroad by the Confusion of Tongues, from the commencement of ch. x. to xi. 9.—(5.) "The generations of Shem," in the line of Arphaxad to Abram, Nahor, and Haran, the sons of Terah, from xi. 10 to 26.—(6.) "The generations of Terah," containing the history of Abraham to his death, Terah not Abraham being made the head, as the chosen race was to be derived, not merely from Abraham in the male line, but from Terah in the female line also, through Sarah and Rebekah. Terah is therefore made the head of this descent as including both the male and female lines. This section extends from xi. 27 to xxv. 11. It does indeed seem strange that "The generations of Abram" should not form a distinct title, if we consider the important place he holds in this history. If that title had ever existed, it will shortly appear that its probable place was immediately before the last clause of xii. 4.—(7.) "The generations of Ishmael," from xxv. 12 to v. 18. -(8). "The generations of Isaac," containing his history and that of his family to his death, extending from xxv. 19 to the end of ch. xxxv.—(9.) "The generations of Esau," ch. xxxvi. 1 to v. 8.—(10.) "The generations of Esau," in Mount Seir, xxxvi. 9 to xxxvii. 1.—(11.) "The generations of Jacob," containing the remaining history of Jaoob and his sons to the date of his own death and that of Joseph, from xxxvii. 2 to the end of ch. l. and the close of the book. Thus the entire book consists of twelve principal sections including the introductory portion, in which divisions the history is successively carried on, on the principle of genealogical descent, some of these sections which relate only to collateral branches and less closely concern the immediate object of the writer, being brief and not resolvable into lesser divisions, while others are full and extensive, and naturally divide themselves according to their subject matter into smaller portions, which are in some cases less closely connected than in others with the preceding or following parts, but still always help on the general course and progress of the history.¹

We have to notice here a peculiarity in this organic structure and arrangement of the history, that bears in an important manner on the present inquiry. It will be found that while, generally speaking, in each of these successive Toledoth the narrative in general is carried down to the close of the period embraced in it, at the commencement of each succeeding portion there is for the most part a brief repetition of so much of the previous account as is needed to make it an intelligible narrative in itself,—a peculiarity which will be found to extend to the lesser subdivisions also. In some instances this resumed narration is as concise as possible, and in others more full. Thus the first of these Toledoth, commencing at ii. 4, just in the slightest manner alludes to the day in which God created the earth and the heavens as set forth in the first chapter. Then the second portion, v. 1., contains a brief but more explicit reference to the same first chapter, and the account in it of the day in which God made man in his image and likeness, male and female, giving them the name Adam and

¹ This organic structure is very partially and imperfectly recognised by Davidson. He first remarks, p. 135, that "the book of Genesis may be divided into two leading parts, viz., chapters i.-xi., and xii.-l." He then subjoins, "These two great divisions contain eleven minor parts, viz.: i.-ii. 4; ii. 4-iv. 26; v. l-vi. 8; vi. 9-ix. 29; x. 1-xi. 9; xi. 10-26; xi. 27-xxv. 11; xxv. 12-18; xxv. 19-xxv. 29; xxxvii.; xxxvii. 1-l. 26. Most of these have appropriate titles." If he had fixed the boundaries correctly, and recognised the title as the indication of a new section, he would have perceived that all his subdivisions after the first have appropriate titles. That he did not take the title as a guide, but divided on other considerations is apparent from his making but one section of ch. xxxvi. instead of two, and his commencing the next section at the first, instead of the second verse of ch. xxxvii. The importance of correctly observing the true commencement of this last, or rather the proper termination of the preceding section will be seen hereafter. That a subdivision made without reference to the titles should so well agree with that made according to them, is so far a confirmation of the correctness of the latter. It will be observed that one of his greater parts ending with ch. xi. divides one of the lesser, in the above subdivision of the book by Davidson. As already noticed, Kuenen, who in this is followed by the Bishop of Natal, violates the uniformity with which the phrase, "These are the generations," occurs as a superscription, attaching the first clause of Gen. ii. 4 to the preceding passage, in order to avoid giving to the Jehovist one of these titles, which "it is assumed belong especially to the Elohist." Similarly, "The generations of Isaac," xxv. 19, must on this account be Elohistic. See Kuenen, p. 44.

blessing them in the day when they were created. The next, beginning at vi. 9, "The generations of Noah," recapitulates the character of Noah, the names of his sons, the degeneracy of mankind, and God's determination to destroy all flesh. "The generations of Noah's sons," at chapter x., not requiring any fuller recapitulation, as purely genealogical in its early part, simply repeats the names of Shem, Ham, and Japheth, with a casual allusion to the flood. "The generations of Shem," at xi. 10, being merely genealogical has just a similar casual allusion to the flood. "The generations of Terah," at xi. 27, repeats that Terah begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran, this having been only just mentioned in the verse immediately preceding which closes "The generations of Shem." Next when after the death of Abraham, "The generations of Ishmael" follows, he is described as Abraham's son, whom Hagar, the Egyptian, Sarah's handmaid, bare unto Abraham, though the circumstances of his birth had already been fully set forth in the previous family history of Abraham. And similarly with "The generations of Isaac" commencing at xxv. 19, Isaac's paternity, and that of Rebekah his wife, and her relation as sister to Laban the Syrian, are repeated. At "The generations of Esau," in ch. xxxvi. 1, Esau's wives are again enumerated, though with a certain variation from the names mentioned in the previous accounts of his marriages at xxvi. 34 and xxviii. 9, to which variation between the several accounts attention will be drawn hereafter. At xxxvii. 2, "The generations of Jacob," we do not find that his sons in general, who had been fully enumerated with the names of their mothers just at the close of "The generations of Isaac," are again mentioned. Still there is a certain resumed mention in so far as it is stated that Bilhah and Zilpah were wives of Jacob, when it is mentioned that Joseph was with their sons feeding the flock; and the mention of Joseph's age as seventeen years takes us back a dozen years before the death of Isaac already recorded.1

¹ Isaac was sixty when Jacob was born, and an hundred and eighty at the time of

An instance in which the peculiarity now exhibited, as regards the principal sections, is of especial moment to this enquiry is in the history of the deluge. Those who maintain that the book of Genesis is compiled from several narratives, one being by the Elohist as he is named, and another by the Jehovist, conceive that this history of the deluge affords strong proof of the combination of two different accounts. And overlooking the organic subdivision of the book, and the prevalence of the recapitulation now pointed out, at the commencement of the successive portions, of particulars, the mention of which would be needful to make these portions more complete in themselves, and thus regarding this history of the deluge as it now exists to commence with the fifth verse of the sixth chapter, instead of at "The generations of Noah" in vi. 9, they have fancied that in the renewed mention of the particulars with which this division begins, such as Noah's character, the names of his sons, and the degeneracy of mankind, with God's determination to destroy all flesh, the narrative of the supposed Elohist is to be found, as distinguished from the previous mention of the same particulars attributed to the Jehovist. But in fact, in the present case, this resumed mention of previously related circumstances is only in accordance with the general character of the book as just exhibited, with this difference merely, that it is more full in its recapitulation than in other cases. The desire to make this division in itself a complete account of the deluge, and of Noah and his family in connexion therewith, and to trace the terrible event in this complete narrative of it to an adequate cause, will account for a fuller repetition of the particulars mentioned at its commencement, though already described in the preceding division, than takes

his own death. Jacob was therefore an hundred and twenty when Isaac died. Joseph was thirty when he stood before Pharach, and adding the seven years of plenty and two of famine, he was thirty-nine when Jacob came into Egypt, at which time Jacob was an hundred and thirty. Joseph, having been seventeen at the time of his sale into Egypt, was twenty-two years in Egypt when his father came. Hence Jacob was an hundred and eight when Joseph was seventeen. But he was an hundred and twenty when Isaac died, so that "The generations of Jacob" goes back twelve years previous to the death of Isaac.

place in other instances. The use of the names of God in these two passages, which constitute the close of one and the beginning of another section, as well as in the remainder of this latter section, together with another instance in it of repetition supposed to be attributable to different authorship, will be considered in the more detailed examination of the successive portions into which the book is resolvable. Another such instance may be found in xxv. 19, 20. The so-called Jehovist had given in xxiv. an account of Isaac's marriage with Rebekah. This is again repeated in xxv. 20, and is assumed to be the Elohist's account of the same event. But in fact, there is no ground in this repetition for assuming different authorship. The writer in commencing a new section, "The generations of Isaac," or family history of that Patriarch after the death of Abraham, recapitulates so much as is necessary to give it a certain independent completeness. Hence he mentions that Abraham begat Isaac, that Isaac was forty years of age at his marriage, and that it was Rebekah, the daughter of Laban the Syrian, whom he married. He then describes the birth of his children and proceeds with the history thus prefaced.

Another peculiarity of these Toledoth, or principal sections of the book, is that for the most part at their commencement there is some note of time, or some event specified which serves to indicate the date from which each commences. Thus, besides the Bereshith, "In the beginning," of the Exordium, we have in ii. 4, "The generations of heavens and earth when they were created, in the day," etc.; in v. 1, "The generations of Adam, in the day," etc.; in x. 1, "The generations of the sons of Noah," to whom "sons were born after the flood;" in xi. 10, "The generations of Shem," who was a hundred years old and begat a son "two years after the flood;" in xxv. 19, 20, "The generations of Isaac," who was "forty years old when he took Rebekah to wife;" and in xxxvii. 2, "The generations of Jacob; Joseph was seventeen years old." Thus of the twelve principal sections we have seven thus characterised, three of the others, namely the generations of Ishmael, and of Esau in the land

of Canaan, and in Seir, being more exclusively genealogical, but all noting the marriage, or the birth of sons, as a point of departure. It is further to be remarked, that in some of these eases the note of time, or event indicating the point of departure of the narrative, is expressed by a gerund-infinitive referring to the date or fact in an allusive manner, as already known to the reader by its previous mention. Thus in ii. 4 we have, "In the ereating of them;" in v. 1, "In the day of Elohim making man;" and in xxv. 20, "Isaae was forty years old in his taking Rebekah to wife." The characteristic now exhibited with regard to the principal divisions of the book, and, in particular, the assumptive and allusive manner of dating last noted, will be found of use in serving to determine the exact point of division in several of the lesser subdivisions also. Before we pass on to these we may remark that the structural organization which has been now displayed is a strong proof of the unity of design and authorship of the entire book. And though some of the larger divisions are resolvable into lesser subdivisions, which in some cases consist of narratives complete and independent in themselves, yet for the most part these are so needful to fill up and help on the history, and fit so well into their respective places, that they present no real difficulty in the way of admitting the unity of their authorship. For though some of these lesser divisions are not so closely connected with those preceding and following them as others, they all help on the progress of the history, and tend to make it more complete.

2. As the principal divisions of the book are usually characterised by a sort of recapitulatory preface, or repeat in their progress such particulars of the previous sections as may be needed to make them more complete in themselves and independent, so also the same characteristic will often be observed in the subsections into which these are resolvable. Whether this was designed to render these lesser portions more complete and independent for the purpose of recitation, either as lessons for the congregation or for private use, or it resulted from some

disposition on the part of the author to preserve a special structure and organization throughout, certain it is that this peculiarity will be found to distinguish several of the subsections, as well as the principal divisions of the book. The subsections generally will be ascertained and distinguished in the special examination that is presently to be entered on. It will be necessary here only to point out the instances of this repetition so often made with the view to render the separate portions more complete and intelligible in themselves,—partly as exhibiting more fully the organic structure of the book, and partly because these repetitions have in some instances been relied on as evidences of separate authorship.

The concluding subsection of "The generations of Noah" extends from v. 18 of ch. ix. to the end of the chapter, and contains the story of Noah's intoxication and the conduct of his sons in reference thereto, and the prediction of their future history in consequence of the same. To render this account more complete in itself, it is prefaced with the statement in v. 18, that "the sons of Noah, that went out of the ark, were Shem, Ham, and Japheth," although this was already sufficiently indicated, the exit from the ark being therefore now mentioned only allusively. On the score of this repetition it has been assumed by the partitionists, that this is the Jehovist's mention of the names of those who went out of the ark, the previous mention of the exit of the sons of Noah, whose names had been also mentioned on their entrance into the ark, being assigned to the Elohist. Any countenance that this repetition of their exit from the ark might afford to the supposition of diverse authorship will vanish, when it is perceived that such repetitions are common at the commencement of the several subsections, being evidently intended to make them more complete in themselves.

The succeeding principal section headed "The generations of the sons of Noah" has two subsections, one genealogical and ethnical, and the other narrative extending from the first to the close of the ninth verse of ch. xi. The former represents the tribes as already divided "after their families, after their tongues, in their lands, after their nations." The second subsection goes back to the period when the whole earth was of one speech and language, and again describes the dispersion and the variation of language from a different point of view, taking its departure from an event which, as in the case of some of the principal sections already noticed, is indicated by a gerund-infinitive:—"And all the earth was of one lip and one speech; and it was in their departing from the east, and they found," etc.

The portion entitled "The generations of Terah," is subdivided into several lesser narratives more or less complete in themselves. The first of these extends from xi. 27 to xii. 4, concluding in that verse with Abram's departure from Haran, and his taking Lot with him. This is evidently a portion complete in itself, the seeming break at xii. 1, as implied in the English "now," having no existence in the original where the simple copulative is found. It contains the history of the family up to the final momentous step, the departure for the land of Canaan. The next subsection, which relates the arrival and first proceedings of Abram in the land of Canaan, begins at the last clause of v. 4, which tells the age of Abram at the time of his departing, this departure from Haran being put in the assumptive form, "in his departing from Haran," as having been previously stated historically and directly at the close of the preceding section, other sections as already remarked, and as we shall further see hereafter, similarly beginning with a note of time and an assumption of the event last related now only indirectly mentioned. Indeed, considering the analogy of other portions, and the important place the Father of the faithful occupies in this history, one can scarcely help thinking that this section was originally here prefaced with the title, "These are the generations of Abram." To make its story more complete, it repeats the taking of his family and substance that he had gotten in Haran, Lot's departure with him, their setting out from Haran to go into the land of Canaan, and their arrival in that land. All this, except the actual arrival

in Canaan, having been implied in the previous subsection has, on the score of this repetition, been assigned to the Elohist as interpolated in the Jehovistic narrative, whereas it is really only the usual prefatory matter to make the new subsection complete in itself.

In the course of this subsection it is mentioned that the Canaanite was in the land when Abram arrived there. In the next subsection the same fact is again repeated, in connexion with Abram's return after a short interval spent in the land of Egypt, the occasion of the repetition being to render the part of the narrative where it occurs more intelligible.

Then follows the subsection, ch. xiv., which, as in so many other cases, commences with a note of time, "In the days of Amraphel," here specified in a direct form, as not having been previously mentioned. This passage is very complete in itself, but connected with the preceding one so far as that, when reference is made to Lot and to Abram, it finds Lot at Sodom and Abram at Mamre, where the previous chapter had left them. This, however, is not merely assumed, but made the subject of express mention when they first appear in the narrative. And to give greater completeness and independence to the story, Lot is described as "Abram's brother's son who dwelt in Sodom," and Abram as "Abram the Hebrew," who "dwelt in the plain of Mamre the Amorite." The mention of these particulars, so well known in the previous narrative, affords as much difficulty if the passage is assigned to the Jehovist, as if it be given to the Elohist; and hence Dean Stanley and others seem disposed to regard it as a more ancient document incorporated in the history at its proper place. It might be so; but the repetition of the particulars now adverted to does not necessitate such a supposition, as it falls in with the general practice, observable throughout the book, of repeating in each distinct narrative such particulars as may have seemed needful to give it greater completeness in itself. The only real difficulty is presented by the description of Abram as "the Hebrew." But this is

expressed in the subjectivity of the messenger that came to inform him of what had happened, not of the writer himself. One that had escaped from the disaster, a native of Palestine, would think and speak of Abram as "the Hebrew," whether this description be referred to his descent from Eber, or to his arrival in Canaan from the other side of the river. The writer throws himself into the spirit of the fugitive, and represents him therefore as telling "Abram the Hebrew" what had happened.

The fifteenth chapter, which has also a note of time referring to what was previously mentioned,—"After these things," contains an account of God's appearing to Abram, and promising him a son notwithstanding his complaint of childlessness, with an engagement that his seed should possess the land from the river of Egypt to the Euphrates. Then the next chapter contains an account of Abram's connexion with Hagar, her flight and return, and the birth of Ishmael. Now, these two narratives are quite distinct and complete in themselves, but at the point where they meet, we find a striking instance of repetition. In xvi. 1, 2, we are told that Sarai, Abram's wife, was childless, that she had a maid named Hagar, an Egyptian, and that she proposed to Abram, as the Lord had restrained herself from bearing, that he should enable her to obtain children by Hagar. And we are informed that Abram hearkened unto her voice. Immediately after, however, in v. 3, we are told that Sarai, Abram's wife, took Hagar her maid, the Egyptian, after Abram had dweltten years in the land of Canaan, and gave her to Abram to wife. The repetition of this with the same expressions designating Sarai as Abram's wife, and Hagar as her maid and an Egyptian, has been supposed to indicate that these passages have been put together from different original sources, the first, second, and third verses being by some assigned to three different authors. The repetition, however, may much more simply and naturally be explained by supposing that verses 1 and 2 belong to the previous narrative, with which they very readily connect themselves, inasmuch as

the promise of seed which should possess the land is thus contrasted with Sarai's barrenness, while she, despairing of the fulfilment of the promise in seed born of herself, suggests how its accomplishment may be otherwise brought about. Here, indeed, as elsewhere, the connexion is lost by the English "now" at the commencement of ch. xvi. But this represents only the Hebrew), which might even be adversative and rendered but. At any rate, there is nothing to hinder, and much to recommend the joining of xvi. 1, 2 to the subsection contained in ch. xv. And then the new subsection, containing the story of Hagar's flight, commences with the customary repetition sufficient to make it complete in itself, the note of time being added to this prefatory matter with the same allusive reference to the particular by which the time is reckoned, as observed before in similar cases: -"After ten years of Abram to dwell in the land of Canaan." This seems a much more probable solution of the difficulty than the supposition that a compiler should so foolishly have repeated the same matter from different sources, as the partitionists maintain here solely on the ground of the repetition itself.

The next instance of similar repetition offers itself at the close of ch. xvi. There we have it stated in v. 15, that "Hagar bare Abram a son, and Abram called his son's name, which Hagar bare, Ishmael." Moreover, the narrative has already given sufficient indication of Abram's age at this time. His union with Hagar took place, as we are told in v. 3, after he had dwelt ten years in Canaan, his age at his removal to that country from Haran having been previously said to have been seventy-five. Thus the connexion with Hagar was formed at eighty-five, and in due course Hagar conceived and bare Ishmael. But though all this is quite clear, still at the end of the chapter, immediately after the preceding statement of the birth of this son, Abram's age at his birth is specified; and even if it might have occurred to the writer to repeat the age, there was no sufficient reason for adding the clause, "When Hagar bare Ishmael to Abraham." Accordingly this repetition has been made a ground of assigning the

last verse to a different author from the writer of the preceding. It is a better ground, however, for detaching it from the preceding section, and placing it as the prefatory commencement of the next subsection with the customary recapitulation. This will then commence with the renewed mention that "Abram was fourscore and six years old when Hagar bare Ishmael to Abram," the mention of this event being, as in the note of time in the other instances already mentioned and to be remarked hereafter, given in the allusive form,-"Abram was fourscore and six years old at Hagar bearing Ishmael to Abram,"-this event having been just before stated directly, and therefore now only alluded to as already known. And then the narrative proceeds to say, that when Abram was ninety years old and nine, Jehovah appeared unto him. The reference to Abram's age at Ishmael's birth in the commencement of this new section was conducive to its completeness and independence, inasmuch as Abram, doubtful of the prospect of a son by Sarai, refers to Ishmael as more likely to fulfil the promise, and says, "O that Ishmael might live before thee." And then in connexion with this, the mention of Abram's age in xvii. 1 serves to indicate the age of Ishmael when he was circumcised, within the limit of the 23rd verse, which as we shall presently see is the conclusion of this section, that age being again mentioned in v. 24.

Another instance of this repetition, as just intimated, will be found after the history of the institution of circumcision in ch. xvii. That chapter begins by stating that Abram was ninety years old and nine when Jehovah appeared to him. After setting forth the various particulars and promises connected with the command to circumcise himself and his household, it states in v. 23 that "Abraham took Ishmael his son, and all that were born in his house, and all that were bought with his money, every male among the men of Abraham's house; and circumcised the flesh of their foreskin in the self-same day, as God had said unto him." This narrative is here complete; yet immediately after we find

the same particulars specified again, Abraham's age, and Ishmael's, which were both already implied in the previous account, and the circumcising of Abraham and the men of his house :-- "Abraham was ninety years old and nine, when he was circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin. And Ishmael his son was thirteen years old, when he was circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin. In the self-same day was Abraham circumcised, and Ishmael his son, and all the men of his house born in the house, and bought with money of the stranger, were circumcised." Now if this latter passage belongs to the preceding section, we have a quite needless repetition of a long series of particulars, while at the same time we have in the next chapter an entirely new subject, on a new occasion, commencing with the words, "Jehovah appeared unto him," not to Abraham, a manner of commencement not to be expected in a perfectly new passage. But if we take the verses containing the repetition as an introduction to this new subsection, we explain the repetition, as in accordance with the custom of the writer to give a recapitulatory preface to his new sections, and we remove the abruptness of the commencement of ch. xviii. We have also here again to remark the agreement of this as a commencement with so many other instances, in the allusive form in which the matter connected with the indication of time is mentioned, as already known by the statement of it at the close of the previous section :- "Abraham was ninety years old and nine in his circumcising the flesh of his foreskin." But it ought to appear that some reason existed for repeating in this introduction the matter which had been just previously told. That will be found in the connexion between Abraham's obedience to this trying command, which was the implied condition of his having a son, and the renewed appearance of Jehovah to repeat the promise shortly after. The expression repeated in this passage, "on the selfsame day," will in this part, taken separately from the preceding passage, mean the self-same day when he was ninety-nine years old, just as in the previous use of the same expression it not merely denotes the day Jehovah appeared to him, but that on which he was ninety-nine years old.

Again an instance of like repetition, with the same allusive reference to the event from which it sets out, will be found in ch. xix. 29, "And it came to pass, in Elohim destroying the cities of the plain, that Elohim remembered Abraham, and sent Lot out of the overthrow, when he overthrew the cities in the which Lot dwelt." Here the repetition falls in with the Elohistic character of the passage, as a supposed evidence of different authorship; and this verse is accordingly regarded as the Elohist's account of the overthrow of the cities of the plain, the previous narrative being the Jehovist's history of the same event. Indeed, apart from the Elohistic character of the verse, there is nothing unreasonable in regarding it as a concluding recapitulation of the preceding history. It seems, however, more in accordance with analogy to treat it as the recapitulatory preface to the story of Lot and his two daughters. Preparatory to this tale of wickedness, the divine vengeance on the cities of the plain for like abominations is indicated, and at the same time it is intimated that the divine interposition by which Lot was delivered was not for the sake of himself or his wicked daughters, but for Abraham's sake. By this means the divine favour as exerted on behalf of so undeserving a household cannot be adduced as an objection to the moral government of God, or an encouragement to such vice. The Elohistic character is thus accounted for also. The author's thoughts were directed merely to the divine origin of the interposition, and therefore, as will be more fully shown hereafter, Elohim is the name suitable to the occasion.

The next subsection seems to extend from Abraham's journey southward, xx. 1, to the birth and circumcising of Isaac, there being, as will be noticed hereafter, a close connexion between the close of ch. xx. and the commencement of xxi. Then taking the mention of Abraham's age in xxi. 5, "at Isaac his son being born to him," and this allusive mention of Isaac's birth, as indicating, after the example of other instances, the commencement

of a new story, the passage describing the circumstances which occasioned Sarah's displeasure, and the consequent easting out of Hagar and Ishmael, down to Ishmael's marriage, may be regarded as a new subsection; and we may thus explain the fulness of the description in v. 9 of Ishmael as "the son of Hagar the Egyptian, which she had borne unto Abraham," as adding to the completeness of this portion, though it would suffice in a continuous and undivided narrative to have simply named him. The partitionists assign this and the preceding verse to the compiler of the entire, called by Davidson the Redactor. The repetition, as we have seen, affords no ground for assuming a different author; but they wish to make the second departure of Hagar to be only another version of her previous flight, and the supposed Redactor must accordingly invent a cause for the second flight which he makes this passage to describe.

We now pass over a number of portions distinct and complete in themselves, but not presenting any instances of the recapitulation we have been observing, except those which occur at the commencement of the principal sections or Toledoth in xxv. 12 and 19, 20, which have been already noticed. The subsection, however, which commences with xxvi. 1 and extends to the end of v. 33, presents a slight instance of this characteristic allusion in the reference to the first famine that had been in the days of Abraham, as distinguished from that which now takes place, and which leads Isaac to go and sojourn in the country of the Philistines.

The two last verses of ch. xxvi., describing Esau's marriages, are wholly unconnected with the subject of what precedes, but are needful to explain the last verse of the next chapter, and therefore properly belong to it, and form the commencement of a new section. Having thus, apart from anything in the form of expression separated these from what precedes, and connected them with the sequel, we notice, as confirming our previous observation of the significance of the note of time at the commencement of a new section, the mention of Esau's age when he married. But

as nothing had been previously said of his marriages, the allusive form of reference to them is not adopted here, but they are mentioned in a direct historical manner. Then the section which commences with this mention of Esau's marriage, and describes the blessing surreptitiously obtained by Jacob, extends to the consequent sending of Jacob to Padan-Aram to Laban. This subsection extends to the end of xxviii. 4, and a new section commences at v. 5, with repetition of Isaac's sending Jacob away, and a renewed description of Laban as "the son of Bethuel the Syrian, the brother of Rebekah, Jacob's and Esau's mother." This repetition, strange in an unbroken narrative, comes quite naturally, as in other cases, at the beginning of a new section. It seems to make the narrative of this important part of Jacob's history complete in itself, and is in exact accordance with the other instances exhibited.

Then the portion which describes Jacob's return extends from xxxii. 1 to xxxiii. 17, and leaves Jacob at Succoth. A new subsection then begins with Jacob's settlement in Shechem and relates the story of Dinah. In the prefatory verse prefixed to this narrative it is said that "Jacob came to Shalem a city of Shechem, which is in the land of Canaan, when he came from Padan-Aram." This latter clause is supposed to be an interpolation, as unnecessary to the history which has already had Jacob in several other places since he came back from Syria. But in fact, this mention of the return from Padan-Aram is only a repetition to give fulness to the new story and mark its place in the narrative. Taken in immediate connexion with the previous verse, it would indeed seem strange as thus mentioning that the arrival at Shalem was on the return from Padan-Aram. But as the commencement of a new section, it naturally, and in accordance with other subsections, indicates a point of time, for which purpose, not the immediately preceding event, but the general period of the return from Syria is adopted as sufficiently exact in the writer's mind. This more general note of time, instead of the last mentioned particular, indicates a suspension

of continuity in the writer's thoughts, as natural when entering on a new subject. Perhaps, indeed, this mention of the return from Syria, taken in connexion with the description of Shalem as in the land of Canaan, may in the present case be due to the fact, that this was the first place strictly in the land of Canaan to which Jacob came on his return from Syria, the places previously mentioned having been east of Jordan. At any rate, in a case clearly marked otherwise as the commencement of a new section, we have the note of time introduced in the same allusive manner,—"In his coming from Padan-Aram"—already noticed in so many other instances, where the particular referred to had been previously mentioned.

In ch. xxxv. we have an account of Jacob's departure from Shechem, and of his arrival at Bethel, where he builds an altar, because God there appeared to him when he fled from the face of his brother. The death of Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, is then mentioned, after which in v. 9 it is said that "God appeared unto Jacob again, when he came out of Padan-Aram, and blessed him." The unsuitableness of the mention of Deborah's death in this place has been noticed, as we shall see hereafter, as an evidence of interpolation. In a continuous narrative, it certainly does come in awkwardly between v. 7 and 9. But if we perceive that v. 9 begins a new section, this awkwardness disappears. At the close of the section describing Jacob's arrival at Bethel, this event having taken place there comes in very naturally. In r. 9 a new section, describing the important vision which took place there, begins. And in this commencement we have the same note of time similarly expressed as in xxxiv. 18,-" At his coming from Padan-Aram,"-this being the second appearance of God to Jacob after his return.

We may now pass to the history of Joseph, and it will be seen that the first lesser portion ends with Joseph's sale into Egypt at the close of ch. xxxvii. Then is introduced the history of Judah's marriage and family relations, and this is succeeded with a new subsection in which Joseph is in Potiphar's house. This new part recapitulates the sale into Egypt, and the repetition has been taken advantage of to make out that there were two different accounts of the sale now blended into one, the purchaser having been originally different in each story. The interposition of the narrative respecting Judah and his family would, however, naturally account for the repetition, even if such repetitions were not common in this book. But even supposing that ch. xxxviii. is here interposed out of its proper place, the custom of recapitulating certain prefatory matter at the commencement of the several lesser sections, would sufficiently account for the repetition in the present case. In ch. xli. we have a slighter instance of this repetition. Joseph on his exaltation went out from Pharaoh in authority over the land of Egypt, a section evidently closing with this announcement in v. 45. A new section then commences describing the course of his administration. This begins with a statement, as in other like cases, of Joseph's age at this important point in his history when he stood before Pharaoh, and adds that he went out, from Pharaoh of course, this expression being repeated from the preceding verse. And here, too, the reference to his standing before Pharaoh is in the allusive form on which so much stress has been already laid:—"Joseph was thirty years old in his standing before Pharaoh."

An instance of great significance and moment in the present enquiry is at the commencement of the part which relates the arrival in Egypt of Jacob's sons for the purchase of corn, ch. xlii. The preceding chapter at its close represents the famine as extending over all lands, Joseph as established in full authority and having the issue of food at his disposal, and all countries coming to buy corn from him. While the famine is thus sore in all lands, Jacob learns that there is corn in Egypt, and bids his sons go down to buy, but will not send his youngest son Benjamin. The writer, having thus related the mission of the sons of Jacob, describes their arrival with others who came to buy, "for the famine was in the land of Canaan," and tells us that

Joseph was governor, and that it was he who sold to all that came. This repetition of particulars, already so fully set forth at the close of the previous chapter, has great weight with "The Layman," as evidence of a combination of different narratives. He says, "It will be observed that the writer has distinctly laid down, (1) Joseph's position in Egypt, (2) his selling corn to the people, (3) the extension of the famine to Canaan, and (4) the visit of his ten brethren for the purpose of buying corn. He is ready, therefore, to proceed at once to their reception by Joseph. Yet strange to say, every one of these four points is again repeated in the two next verses, before this is entered upon. 'And the sons of Israel came to buy grain among those that came; for the famine was in the land of Canaan. And Joseph was the governor over the land, he that sold grain to all the people of the land; and Joseph's brethren came,' etc. (xlii. 5, 6). Is it likely that any writer would have thus needlessly repeated himself, or have taken such pains to reiterate points on which he had already fully informed his readers only two or three sentences before? Regard these verses, however, as part of a different narrative which the Jehovist here transcribes verbatim, having replaced the previous portion by his own composition, and all is simple and natural." Now it is first to be observed that the repetition marked (4) in this passage is really no gratuitous repetition at all. In v. 3, "Joseph's ten brethren went down," etc., the departure of ten is told in opposition to Benjamin's remaining at home. In v. 4 their arrival is mentioned, and that not simply, but in the company of others who came with them, perhaps from the land of Canaan. And this seems of some significance to the narrative; coming in the crowd of purchasers, they might easily have escaped the notice of Joseph, who recognised them notwithstanding. The other repetitions lose all their significance as evidences of compilation,

¹ Mosaic Origin of the Pentateuch, p. 35. It will be seen hereafter that other partitionists leave all this to the Jehovist down to the end of v. 5, notwithstanding that this verse contains two of the repetitions complained of.

when it is perceived that a new subsection of the narrative commences with ch. xlii. 5, and that the writer, according to his custom, repeats as preliminary to this part of his story the particulars under consideration, in order to make it more complete and independent. When this is perceived it renders the whole matter much more simple and natural than the supposition of the needless introduction of a portion of a different writing repeating the same particulars,—so much more simple and natural, that it seems only necessary to point it out in order to gain the preference for it. And we may in this case also perhaps regard the expression, "In the midst of the comers," as an allusive indication of the date from which this part of the narrative sets out, so common at the commencement of new sections, and here equivalent to saying the sons of Israel came at the time already indicated, when others of all lands were coming.

In xlvii. 27 the narrative of Jacob's settlement and residence in Goshen till his death and burial commences. It is true his settlement in Goshen after his arrival in Egypt, and the gift to him of a possession there, were previously mentioned; but this being the commencement of a new subsection, the same particulars are repeated: "And Israel dwelt in the land of Egypt, in the country of Goshen; and they had possessions therein."

It will now perhaps be admitted that the examples of this kind of repetition are sufficiently numerous to establish it as one of the marked characteristics of the structure of the book. And if in some cases the subdivision might be less apparent but for the repetition at those particular places, yet the prevalence of it in more decided cases will justify the supposition of a subdivision as thus marked in the more doubtful instances. The indications ascertained in several instances, in the case of the principal sections, become a guide for the partition of the subordinate sections also. It may, indeed, have been that these

subdivisions had no other distinguishing marks in the original writing, than these very evidences of a resumption of his subject after a pause and suspension of his thoughts in the writer's mind. But the phenomenon of these repetitions having to be explained, the manner of accounting for them, which has now been proposed, it may be said with confidence, is much more probable, than that a writer compiling his narrative from several existing documents, or interpolating his own account with sentences adopted from another, should in the most needless manner have repeated the same particulars with only slight verbal differences. And it is to be observed that these repetitions are not given in the form of authorities cited, but incorporated into the substance of the narrative. Such a supposition as this is only one degree less improbable, than that the author writing entirely from himself should have in this manner immediately repeated his own statements but just made.

This view of the organic structure of the book brings our general observations to a close, and we may now proceed to the special examination of the several portions in detail.

SPECIAL EXAMINATION.

I.—EXORDIUM.

CH. I., II. 1-3. ELOHISTIC ACCOUNT OF CREATION.1

THE reasons for limiting this passage to the third verse of the second chapter have been already discussed, and will be again adverted to, when the next section is under consideration. The passage is strictly Elohistic, the LXX. uniformly observing the same usage, δ $\theta \epsilon \delta s$. The subject being the creation of the universe in its widest generality, and in its most material aspect, the writer seems quite naturally to have designated the Creator by the term most applicable to him in the character of abstract deity, a term in its import significant of his omnipotence. Hengstenberg remarks that as regards the creation of man in God's likeness, it would have been improper to have used Jehovah. So far as Jehovah is expressive of the one attribute of eternal self-existence, there could be no resemblance from the very nature of the ease in a created and therefore not self-existent being. But that the author adopted Elohim throughout with a design, as Hengstenberg thinks, of representing in these early chapters the gradual transition, in man's apprehension, from Elohim to Jehovah seems quite too artificial a supposition. The nature of the subject, the display of the divine power in creation, rather than the introduction of God in personal relations with mankind, seems to have led to the

¹ In this and similar instances throughout the sequel, the words *Elohistic* and *Jehovistic* are used, not to denote supposed different authorship, but the prevailing name of God adopted in each passage, whether Elohim or Jehovah.

spontaneous adoption of the general, in preference to the special and proper name. The only place in which the proper name would have been otherwise more suitable, as representing God in personal relation to man at his creation, is one in which, for the cause just mentioned, as noticed by Hengstenberg, that proper name would have been quite inapplicable, as more than any other name expressive of the difference rather than the likeness between the Creator and the created.

The Bishop of Natal, Pent., Pt. ii., p. 175, insists on the frequency with which the name Elohim is used in this passage: -"In i.-ii. 3 we have only Elohim 35 times, and in xxiv., only Jehovah 19 times. Can any one believe that these two passages were written by one and the same writer?" How he makes out that xxiv. contains only Jehovah 19 times it is hard to discover; but as regards any weight attached to the frequency of Elohim in the present passage the argument is perfectly futile. If the writer had both names in common use, and was otherwise indifferent as to his choice, the general unity of this passage in substance and in form, and the regularity with which, at each succeeding mention of God, he is introduced, as it were with a standing formula, "And God said," "and God saw," "and God created," "and God blessed," would have naturally occasioned the use of the same name throughout, God being mentioned in no other connexion after the introductory verses. And then the subject matter being uniformly such as made the general name more suitable, the whole must be regarded, not as presenting 35 independent instances of the use of Elohim, as the Bishop seems to treat it, but as if the word were used only once, all the repetitions of it being of no more weight in this enquiry, than the pronoun which might all through be substituted for it after the first use of the word. This is not the only instance, as will be seen, in which such a frequent repetition, which takes place as a matter of course, as it were in a recurring formula, is relied on by the Bishop as exhibiting so many independent instances of a particular usage.

II.—THE GENERATIONS OF HEAVENS AND EARTH.

§. 1. Ch. II. 4-III. PARADISE AND THE FALL. JEHOVAH-ELOHISTIC WITH AN ELOHISTIC PASSAGE.

THE reasons for making this section to commence with v. 4, have been already considered. The uniformity with which the formula, "These are the generations," stands at the head of each succeeding principal section of the entire book, the variation of the expression when we find a concluding formula, such as "these are the sons," "these are the families," at the close of genealogies where the other formula stands at the head of the section, and the impossibility of dividing v. 4 on grammatical grounds, as well as by reason of the poetical parallelism and repetition of the ideas expressed, as already noted, make it quite evident that this is the true point of division between the first and second sections. Bishop Colenso, Pt. iv., p. 19, quotes Delitzsch as an authority for dividing the fourth verse, on the grounds that the heavens and the earth in the first clause have the articles, while earth and heavens in the second have none, that the expression "in their creation" in the first clause corresponds to the Elohistic language in v. 2, "in the day of their creation," and that this clause suits best the first account of creation in ch. i., in which alone the actual creation of the earth and heaven is described. As regards the presence of the article, however, before heavens and earth in the first clause, and its absence in the second, it has already been observed that this difference is only apparent. These words in the first clause are in stat. constr., being governed by Toledoth. The article belongs to this, and is only transferred according to the rule to the genitives following. There is no reason, therefore, for separating the clauses on this ground, as heavens and earth may be taken indefinitely in the first as well as the second. Then the expression, "in the day of their creation," does not occur

at all in v. 2, but in v. 3 there is the expression "which God created to make," and the word "make" connects this with the second clause of v. 4, just as much as the word "created" does with the first. And as to the creation of the heavens and the earth being only described in the first chapter, it has already been noted that the expression in v. 4 is not "the generation" in the sense of the generating or production of them, but the generations, or events consequent on their creation as having already taken place. The Bishop doubts the correctness of the division of v. 4, but observes in regard to it, p. 21:-"In any case the involved construction in v. 4, when compared with the verses which precede and follow it, is a sign that it does not proceed in an independent original form from the pen of either of the principal writers, but contains expressions of both fused together, to form the connecting link between two distinct narratives." He seems wholly unconscious that what he calls the involved construction is really only an instance of the inversion of ideas in the parallel clause, which is an occasional ornament in Hebrew poetry,—the order in the first clause being heavens, earth, creating, and in the second making, earth, and heavens.

The Jehovistic character of the present passage has already been noticed, the reason for the adoption of the proper and personal name, as suited to the anthropomorphic character of the representation, and at the same time the identification of the Being thus designated at the outset by a revived or newly introduced name, with the Godhead as described by the generic name Elohim, an identification effected by the combination of both names, have been pointed out, and the cause of the Elohistic exceptions indicated. The Bishop adduces the anthropomorphisms of this and other Jehovistic passages as a peculiarity of the Jehovistic writer (Pt. iv. p. 24). But, in fact, instead of the anthropomorphisms being an independent characteristic of the supposed Jehovist, the Jehovistic character of a passage may rather be due to the use of anthropomorphisms. In the present passage God is introduced in a highly anthropomorphic

character, and entering into the closest personal relations with man. A proper and personal name would in such a case naturally suggest itself to the writer's mind in preference to the general term significant of the Deity. But if the name Jehovah, according to one interpretation of Exod. vi. 3, were of only recent introduction amongst the children of Israel, the writer, in choosing it in preference to any proper name previously in use and more familiar to his readers, would seem to have thought it desirable on this the first occasion of his using it to assert by the combination of Jehovah and Elohim, not simply the godhead, but the exclusive godhead of Jehovah. To have put such an assertion into the mouth of the tempter or of Eve would have been plainly out of place, and in that part of the narrative the choice was therefore between Jehovah and Elohim simply, the latter being adopted, partly perhaps from an unwillingness to put the name Jehovah into the mouth of the tempter on grounds of religious feeling, but at any rate from an instinctive sense of dramatic propriety, which in subsequent parts of the book seems to have hindered the writer from putting this name into the mouth of any not of the chosen race, except where special reasons for the contrary existed. In conversing with the tempter, Eve would naturally be represented as following his usage. In this part of the narrative the LXX. agree with the Hebrew in using only ὁ θεὸς, while using κύριος ὁ θεὸς in iii. 1 and 8, immediately before and after the part in question; but they do not uniformly follow the Hebrew throughout, frequently, and sometimes several times in succession, using $\delta \theta \epsilon \delta s$ alone.

The Bishop of Natal adduces the frequent use of Ha-Adamah, "the ground," in preference to Ha-Eretz, "the earth," in this passage as a Jehovistic peculiarity. Though he admits that some instances are necessary from the special meaning of the word, as in reference to the tilling of the ground, yet it is plain he lays great stress on the use of the word in other cases. He says, "the Jehovist wishes to connect it" (the name Adam)

¹ Pt. iv. pp. 22, 23, 25, 26, 29.

"with Adamah, ground," and again, "the word Adamah may be repeated purposely throughout the section with special reference to the name Adam; but the writer appears to have had a partiality for the word." And he refers to vi. 1, 7, in evidence of this partiality. But besides the etymological connexion of the word which has no doubt partly prevailed, as in ii. 7, the partiality has been mainly due to the alliterative effect of the frequent repetition of the two words. No room existed in ch. i. for producing this alliterative effect in regard to this word, and therefore the word "earth," as more suitable to the cosmical character of the earth in that representation, is preferred, "ground" being only used in connexion with the word "creeping,"-a connexion in which he says the Jehovist never uses it, as if the Jehovist's alleged partiality for the word Adamah would not have disposed him to use it in this, as in any other admissible connexion, and as if his abstaining from using it in this particular connexion was not an indication that no such partiality existed. This alliterative effect is observable in vi. 1, 7, as in ch. ii. It is a marked characteristic of the entire book, not distinguishing the parts ascribed to any one in particular of the several supposed authors, but generally prevalent. Thus it appears in the Elohistic ch. i., in וֹרֵעָ זָרֵע, עוֹף כָנָף, תֹהוּ וָבֹהוּ, and in many other instances, besides the frequent repetitions of the same phrases, which seem to have had in view the vocal effect in recitation. Closely connected with this simple alliterative effect, is the play on sounds in connexion with the double senses of words. Thus in ch. ii. 25, iii. 1, the man and the woman are ערום, naked, and the serpent is ערום, subtle. Many like instances will be noticed in the progress of the examination of the successive portions of the book, as they offer themselves without being sought for. And it will be seen that passages which have been separated on other grounds, have in this peculiarity an evidence of belonging to the same composition. The reader who searches for instances will find enough.

The Bishop of Natal insists on several occasions on the secret speeches ascribed to the Almighty as a distinctive characteristic of the Jehovist, and anticipates a reference to i. 26 as an Elohistic instance of the same kind, by remarking that this "is essentially different in character, being merely an expansion of the creative words, 'And Elohim said,' v. 3, 6, etc.; and obviously the statement in i. 26, 'And Elohim said, let us make man so Elohim created man,' does not at all resemble the almost perplexed deliberation of the divine being with himself introduced in iii. 22." So far from the words of Elohim in i. 26 being merely an expansion of the creative formula previously used, it is wholly different in its nature, the one being simply jussive, a command instantly followed by the spontaneous occurrence of the intended effect, the other a calm deliberation followed by action on the part of God. Equally imaginary is the perplexity imputed to the deliberation in this passage. It is as free from uncertainty, as immediately selfdetermined, as the other. The plural form in both, "Let us," and "the man is become as one of us," is a resemblance worthy of note, and indicative of identity in the writer's manner of thinking and speaking alike of Elohim and Jehovah Elohim, as of Jehovah alone in xii. 7.

§. 2. CH. IV. CHILDREN OF ADAM AND DESCENT IN THE LINE OF CAIN. JEROVISTIC WITH ONE ELOHISTIC EXCEPTION.

The Jehovistic character of this passage, and the exceptional use of Elohim at the birth of Seth, have been already noticed. The LXX. differ from the Hebrew in using $\kappa i \rho \iota o s$, $\delta \theta \epsilon o s$, and $\kappa i \rho \iota o s$ $\delta \theta \epsilon o s$ indiscriminately in this portion. They have $\delta \theta \epsilon o s$ alone in reference to the birth of Cain, as well as of Seth, and in the last verse $\kappa i \rho \iota o s$ $\delta \theta \epsilon o s$ in place of the simple Jehovah of the Hebrew. Whatever be the meaning of this last verse, plainly Jehovah must be taken only as the later representative of any proper name of God that may have existed in the primitive language of mankind, if not simply substituted for the

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general name of God. Of course we cannot imagine the word Jehovah, which is purely a product of Biblical Hebrew, to have existed in this form in that primitive language. And it can scarcely be supposed that the writer himself, having before him the fact of a widely spread diversity of language, and the variety of dialects even in the Shemitic family, to say nothing of the story of the Confusion of Tongues, or of the express statement of Exod. vi. 3 as to the recent introduction of the name Jehovah, if that passage be so understood, could have imagined that in its present form it was in use amongst the primitive race of men.1 The present passage being, though distinct and complete in itself, yet the proper sequel of the former, the use of Jehovah is continued in it; but the identity of Jehovah and Elohim having been sufficiently asserted by the combination in that preceding passage, the latter term is dropped from this, and Jehovah stands by itself the prevailing proper name of God in the usage of the author. Still the prevailing Jehovistic character is not such as to exclude the use of the more general term in an instance for which it is difficult to assign any more probable reason, than the almost accidental and unfelt influence of the faintest possible motives—principally perhaps a desire to mark a contrast between divine and human agency, which very frequently throughout this book has quite naturally suggested the general in place of the proper name. In the present case, at the birth of Seth, this contrast is implied in the

¹ The Bishop of Natal, Pt. iv., p. 245, says that "according to the traditionary view, Hebrew must have been the language of Paradise, since all the conversations are recorded in that tongue,—the words of Jehovah-Elohim, those of Adam and Eve, and of the serpent, and especially the two names given by the man to his wife, ii. 23, iii. 20, names given with express reference to their meaning in Hebrew. So, too, after the expulsion from Paradise, the names are pure Hebrew." Can anything be weaker than this? As if an historian must give the conversations of persons whose words are recorded, in the language in which they were originally spoken, and not in his own; or as if the proper names may not be significant translations of names significant also in their original form. If it were certain, as it is not improbable, that Syriac was the language spoken by our Lord and his disciples, and St. John had not given us the Syriac name, Cephas, of which Peter is the translation, we might have some objector saying, in reference to the words, "Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my church," here is an uneducated Jewish peasant giving to another a name that is pure Greek, and even playing on that name with reference to a Greek word of like sound as its root.

words of Eve. Man had deprived her of one son, but God has appointed another in his place. It is true she specifies Cain, and so might have used the proper name of God also. But then the contrast between the divine and human, between God's providence and man's agency, God's goodness and man's mischief, God's disposing and man's purposing, would have been kept out of view. The tendency to mark this contrast may operate in a religious mind quite imperceptibly by the force of a religious habit. It will be seen that this occurrence of Elohim once in otherwise Jehovistic passages, as well as the single occurrence of Jehovah in Elohistic, is repeated in subsequent parts of the book.

III.—THE BOOK OF THE GENERATIONS OF ADAM.

§. 1. CH. V. THE DESCENT FROM ADAM TO NOAH AND HIS SONS. ELOHISTIC AND JEHOVISTIC.

It has already been observed that this is the proper sequel of the commencing passage to which reference is made ipsissimis verbis in the two first verses. It has the regular commencing formula, only more full than in other instances, for reasons already stated, and extends to the ninth verse of the sixth chapter, with which a new section commences headed "The generations of Noah," while the commencing verses of the sixth chapter form a second subsection of this, the fifth or genealogical part being the first. The reference to chapter i., at the outset of this portion, where the words descriptive of the creation of man on the sixth day are repeated, has occasioned the use of Elohim at the commencement. The Elohistic phrase used of Enoch in v. 22 and 24, "Enoch walked with God," is properly and naturally adopted in order to express the general godliness of his character. To walk with Jehovah would imply a personal manifestation of God and actual walking.1 The word thus

 $^{^{\}rm I}$ The use of the article prefixed to Elohim in this phrase has been already explained in p. 283.

сн. v. 351

adopted continues in use as a matter of course in this verse, and God is not mentioned again until a reference is made in v. 29 to the Jehovistic third chapter. This reference has caused the use of Jehovah in v. 29, the reference being still more exact in the κύριος ὁ θεὸς of the LXX. answering to the Jehovah Elohim of the place referred to, iii. 17. As the theories of different authorship assign this passage to the Elohist, and it would not suit these theories to allow an instance of the use of Jehovah to remain in it, the Bishop of Natal, Pt. iv. p. 28, says that "v. 29 is a Jehovistic interpolation, as appears—not only from its containing the name 'Jehovah,' but also-from its referring distinctly to the Jehovistic section, ii. 4-iv. 26." This is the barest assertion; the thing to be proved being that the Elohist never uses the name Jehovah, an instance of its use in the very heart of an Elohistic passage is rejected, because the writer uses the name and refers to another passage where it is also used. By such reasoning as this anything may be proved. He says that probably the original conclusion of v. 28 was, "and begat Noah;" and that as in v. 3 it is said that Adam begat, with the omission of the word son, in his likeness and image, and called his name Seth, this suggests that the Elohist would not have written in v. 28, 29, as the words now stand, "and begat a son and called his name Noah." If, then, a man in one instance uses an ellipsis of a word necessary to the sense, this suggests that another instance where the word is supplied is a forgery! The Bishop mentions the connecting of i with Di, to comfort, as an instance of derivation, with which he charges the Jehovist in other instances also. The verb אָנוֹ, to rest, is the root of Noah, and it is a mistake to say that the writer derives it from בהם. He does no such thing; the true meaning of "rest" is implied in the reference to the toil and labour of the hands from which Noah was to give comfort. The writer knew that his readers were as familiar as himself with the origin of the name, and did not think it needful to express that origin at all, but only to indicate the reason of the name by the reference to toil and

labour of the hands. Does the Bishop suppose that his Jehovist did not know his own language, or thought his readers ignorant of it? But though the verb Dn) is not given as the source from which is derived, its use in immediate connexion with the name of Noah is an instance of the alliterative tendency already noticed as prevalent throughout this book. Davidson assigns the interpolation of the words, "a son, and he called his name," and the words, "saying, This same shall comfort us concerning our work and toil of our hands, because of the ground which Jehovah hath cursed," to his Redactor. Introd. i. p. 59. If this theory may have the benefit of a redactor to prop it up when it cannot stand alone, why may not the advocates of the unity and Mosaic authorship claim the benefit of a modern revision to account for the substitution of more recent for ancient names, such as of Dan for Laish? Until some better argument for regarding these words as interpolated than arbitrary assumption and circular reasoning is produced, it must remain as an integral part of this Elohistic passage, and an instance of the name Jehovah in an Elohistic connexion.1

§. 2. CH. VI. 1-8. DEGENERACY OF MEN AND GOD'S DETERMINATION TO DESTROY THEM. JEHOVISTIC AND ELOHISTIC.

The use of Jehovah, adopted in v. 29 by reason of the reference there made to iii. 17, is continued in this subsection

¹ This kind of reasoning is well described by "The Layman," Mosaic Origin of the Pentateuch, p. xvi -xvii. He says,—"This mode of reasoning may be fairly thus represented:—There are two sections of considerable length, A. and B., each of which is distinguished from the other by certain peculiar words and phrases. It so happens, however, that several of A.'s peculiarities are to be found in B.; not a few also of B.'s exist unquestionably in A. as well; a circumstance apparently fatal to the whole argument. An ingenious criticism determines, however, that the words and phrases are characteristic notwithstanding, but that both sections contain interpolations from the other. All the passages in A. which contain B.'s peculiarities, are ascribed to the corrections or additions of the later writer. All those in B. which contain A.'s peculiarities are passages of the earlier writer adopted and incorporated with his own matter by the later uncorrected. And so the conclusion is drawn that these peculiarities are certainly characteristic of the two writers, and the idea of a common origin of the sections A. and B. is quite absurd. Of course all this is quite possible, but, at the same time it is quite hypothetical, and, as an argument, simply worthless. Even its ingenuity cannot make amends for the large amount of assumption and circle-reasoning which it involves, or justify us in adopting such a line of argument in determining the point in question."

to its close, with the exception of the phrase, "the sons of Elohim," in v. 2, and the repetition of the same expression in v. 4. The use of Elohim in this phrase was in a manner necessitated by the contrast with the daughters of men. Adam being used in this latter expression, not as the proper name of the first man, but to designate the race in general, is used generically. On purely verbal grounds therefore the generic Elohim is necessary as the contrast. And this reason holds good whatever be the import of the contrasted expression. The other reason adduced by Hengstenberg in addition to this depends on the interpretation, doubtless a true one, yet not acknowledged by all as such, that the expression, "the sons of God," denotes the pious worshippers of God as opposed to the irreligious. Adopting this interpretation, and supposing that the advancement of men to the knowledge of God as Jehovah was only gradual, he thinks that "sons of Jehovah" would as yet imply too great an advancement in the relation of men to God. This manner of viewing the question, in accordance with his highly artificial theory, is quite unnecessary to justify an expression which is plainly the proper one, apart from all consideration of the meaning of the contrasted expressions as here used, whether figuratively and with a moral significance, or in a more real and literal sense. This use of Elohim in v. 2, and repeated in v. 4, comes in thus as a matter of course in the Jehovistic part of the passage, but Jehovah is resumed in v. 3, and in 5–8. In the former of these passages its resumption was perhaps occasioned by the same cause that led to the use of it in v. 29, namely a reference to a previous Jehovistic passage. This reference, however, as regards v. 3, depends on the meaning assigned to that verse. As it is rendered in the English Version no such reference is apparent. That this, however, is not the true rendering is probable from the early Versions, from the want of usage to justify it, and from the connexion of the passage. On whatever grounds they proceeded, the LXX. rendered jij by καταμείνη, the Vulgate by permanebit, and so also the Syriac and Arabic according to Gesenius. There is no usagé to justify the sense of "strive," as the word is here construed with the preposition in. In Eccl. vi. 10 the Hiphil form is used in this sense with Dy, with. The Niphal form, 177), is rendered in this sense by the Vulgate and English Version in 2 Sam. xix. 9, (10), where it is used without any preposition following. But this is properly rendered reflexively κρινόμενος by the LXX. The people judged or condemned themselves for their rebellion after the death of Absalom. In the passage at present under consideration, the shortening of man's life, as compared with the great ages mentioned in the preceding part of the passage, is probably intimated. He, like the inferior enimals, is but flesh, and shall not always live; the word always, or for ever, being used to denote the protracted ages just mentioned, by a natural hyperbole. In future his days should dwindle to a hundred and twenty years. Unhallowed marriages were made, and this is the penal consequence. There were giants in those days, and D. even-not also, as in the English Version—even after these unhallowed unions and the consequent shortening of man's life, still mighty men which were of old, men of renown, were born to them. This being the connexion, the spiritual meaning given to the words by the English Version seems less suitable to it than that of the ancient Versions. We might, indeed, understand the approaching destruction of mankind, after a probation of one hundred and twenty years, to be intended, in which case this section goes back, as in other cases, some years before the point arrived at in v. 32. But even so the rendering of these Versions is equally applicable, while it is supported by better evidence and authority. Gesenius gives probably the true rendering of 'T' in this place: "My spirit or breath shall not always rule or act in man;" and he refers to Ps. civ. 30 as illustrating this use of the words, "my spirit." 1

Ps. civ. 29, 30, "Thou takest away their breath (בְּוְּלֵוֹם), they die and return to their dust. Thou sendest forth thy Spirit (בְּוֹלֵוֹם), they are created." Fuerst, s.v., explains thus:—"My spirit shall not rule over (בְּוֹן) men, i.e. I will take back the divine spirit in men (Gen. ii. 7), which is of divine origin, and rules over men." The reference to Gen. ii. 7 shews that he has in view the shortening or approaching destruction of human life.

In both places spirit denotes the breath of life, which in Gen. ii. 7 God is said to have breathed into the nostrils of the newlyformed man, the word נשמה there used, and רוה here, being both frequently employed to designate equally simple breath and the principle of animate life.1 If this be the true meaning in the present case, the reference to Gen. ii. 7 becomes quite apparent, and the use of Jehovah in consequence is justified; the reference, as in v. 29 to iii. 17, being here also still more exact in the κύριος ὁ θεὸς of the LXX. answering to the Jehovah Elohim of Gen. ii. 7. Then in sequence with the use of Jehovah thus occasioned, it continues to be employed in the rest of the passage, except in the repetition in due course of the expression, "sons of God," in v. 4, this natural sequence being perhaps confirmed by an intuitive perception of the greater fitness of the proper name to the extremely personal and anthropomorphic representation of the Divine Being in this passage, in which God is described as repenting that he had made man and grieved in his heart, while he resolves in himself to destroy man whom he had created.

While the LXX. have $\kappa \acute{\nu} \rho \iota o s \acute{o} \epsilon \acute{o} s$ for Jehovah in the first, fifth, and eighth verses, they have only $\theta \epsilon \acute{o} s$ to represent the Jehovah of the sixth and seventh verses, though they agree with the Hebrew in the use of $\theta \epsilon \acute{o} s$ alone in the expression, "the sons of Elohim," in verses 2 and 4. Thus in all the really important instances in this passage they either had a different usus in their copies, or have disregarded the reading of the copies before them.

The commencing verses of ch. vi. to the end of v. 8 have been assigned to the Jehovist, and treated as the commencement of the Jehovistic account of the deluge, only that Dr. Davidson gives the three first verses, and the fourth with the exception of the words, "and there were giants in those days," to his Redactor, while the Bishop of Natal, Pt. v. Crit. Anal. p. 17, 18, after Hupfeld, regards the entire of v. 4 as a later introduction,

ים Thus מוֹתְיָּם is nsed in vii. 15 of animals in general, "wherein is breath of life."

and assigns it to his Deuteronomist. No question exists as to the sameness of the writer of this verse and the parts of Deuteronomy where the sons of Anak are mentioned, except amongst the partitionists themselves. The Bishop is right in thinking that the Nephilim were different from the mighty men of old, who were a second race sprung from the union of the sons of God and daughters of men. But his assertion that by these "mighty men of old" were meant "Nimrod and others, the writer having here, apparently, lost sight for a moment of the consequences of the deluge," is a perfectly gratuitous assumption, and one which Hupfeld does not think so certain, as he suggests that the addition of the words, "of old," was possibly intended to distinguish the mighty men here spoken of as antediluvians from the postdiluvians, such as Nimrod. The supposition that these Nephilim, who are here introduced as the Nephilim, the race of giants generally believed to have existed in the old world, and therefore spoken of as well known, were the same race as the Nephilim said to have been seen by the spies in the land of Canaan, (Num. xiii. 33), and that the earth here is the land (אב"ן) there spoken of, the subject being thrown in here as an antiquarian note, like the mention of the Canaanites and Perizzites as existing in the land of Canaan at the time of Abraham's arrival there, xii. xiii., is also quite gratuitous. In Num. xiii. 33 the Nephilim first mentioned are indefinite, the article in the expression אַר־הָנפּילִים being due to the stat. constr. with the particle AN as shown already. The spies say, "We saw Nephilim, the sons of Anak, greater than the Nephilim, מו־הנפילים, and we were in our own sight as grasshoppers." Their fears made them exaggerate the size of the giants they saw; these were greater than the giants, namely the famous Nephilim that were of old. This passage in Numbers, thus rightly understood, gives no countenance to the notion that the writer of Gen. vi. 4 refers to a race of Nephilim existing subsequently in the land of Canaan, and that he wrote in forgetfulness of the effects of the deluge. The second Nephilim in Num. xiii.

33 may have been the same Nephilim as intended in Gen. vi. 4; in the first use of the word it means giants indefinitely. The "sons of Anak" in this verse may be rendered definitely or indefinitely, the proper name not admitting the article. There was a race of Anakim in the land of Canaan, and the spies may have intended these, as referred to also in Deut. i. 28, ii. 10, ix. 2. Or the expression may have been used attributively, in apposition with Nephilim, as a second description of the gigantic people they saw in the land, and then there will be no ellipsis of the adjective: "We saw Nephilim, sons of Anak above the Nephilim."

It has already been shown that this early part of ch. vi. does not, properly speaking, form any part of the history of the deluge, but is the concluding part of the preceding section, bringing down the history of the world to that point at which the wickedness of men had become so great that God resolves to destroy the world. The history of the deluge, properly speaking, commences with v. 9, and forms a new section headed "The generations of Noah." The impropriety of separating this latter part from the present section, and joining it to the succeeding one, as if we had two narratives amalgamated, has already been sufficiently pointed out. Some other reasons, apart from the use of the name Jehovah, have been relied on, however, as evincing a different authorship from the Elohistic part, one being the ascribing of secret speeches to Jehovah as instanced in v. 3, 7, compared with ii. 18 and iii. 22, notwithstanding the instance of the secret speech, "Let us make man," ascribed to Elohim in ch. i. particular, however, on which the Bishop seems to lay most stress, as it is enforced by his favourite numerical argument, is the use of in v. 4 for "begat," as in iv. 18 three times, and six times in ch. x., while the form הוליך is used 28 times in ch. v. and 27 times in ch. xi. Here the reference to the numbers is as futile as the argument founded on the frequency of Elohim in ch. i. was shown to be. On the one hand, in iv. 18 the three instances are only equivalent to one, the choice at first determining the rest, and so also in ch. x. On the other hand, in ch. v. and xi. the number of times the other form of expression is used is in fact only equivalent to a single instance in each case, the word first adopted determining all the rest in a recurring formula of this kind. What right the genealogies in x. and xi. have to be assigned one to the Elohist and the other to the Jehovist will be considered hereafter.

Another argument greatly relied on by the Bishop of Natal is the word used in v. 7 to express the threatened destruction, a word which reappears several times in ch. vii. and is thought to distinguish the Jehovist, while the Elohist uses a different word in the latter part of this chapter. In order to distinguish this word (מהה) as a Jehovistic mark, it is translated by the Bishop to blot or wipe out, and the use of such an arbitrary figure gives an air of peculiarity to the passages in which it occurs.2 A little enquiry into the fundamental signification of this word, which is one of frequent occurrence, will show that the choice of it in regard to the deluge is not so arbitrary as it appears from the Bishop's translation, but was quite natural and proper to the occasion. The word is used frequently of the doing away of sins, blotting one's name from a book, abolishing the remembrance of a thing, doing away with a reproach, and in a general sense of abolishing or destroying, That the radical idea is not wipe out, or blot by dry-rubbing, will be manifest from one or two instances of its use, which this signification does not at all explain. One of these is in 2 Kings xxi. 13, rendered in the English Version, "I will wipe Jerusalem as a man wipeth a dish, wiping it and turning it upside down." Now the last clause of this verse might have shown that wiping is not the idea which was in the mind of the writer. When a dish or bowl is merely wiped, there is no reason for turning it upside

¹ The use of these words throughout the book will be more particularly noticed hereafter.

² A like air of peculiarity is given in another instance by the use of the word swarm to represent the Hebrew שורי, the incorrectness of which, as regards the noun, has been already remarked in p. 80.

down; but when it is washed, then it is naturally turned on its face, to allow the moisture to run from it perfectly. Washing is therefore the idea proper to this passage; and it is necessary in Num. v. 23: "The priest shall write the curses in a book, and shall blot them out with the bitter water." Plainly "wash them out" is the proper expression here. Wash would be as appropriate as wipe in Prov. xxx. 20, "She eateth and washeth her mouth;" and in Is. xxv. 8, "God will wash away tears from all faces," as it is necessary to wash the face after much weeping, and not merely to dry it, in order to remove all traces of the tears. This sense also explains Num. xxxiv. 11, where it is said that the land should "reach unto the side of the sea of Chinnereth eastward." There is no other instance in which this verb has the sense of extending to or striking on, but its use is quite intelligible if we render by wash: "It shall wash at, or along (עַל), the border of the sea of Chinnereth." Its cognate NAD is used in Ps. xcviii. 8, Is. lv. 12, and Ezek. xxv. 6, as an expression of joy, described in the Versions as clapping the hands. Rubbing would be more proper as an expression of delight, as Avenarius, Lexicon Ebræum, says, Suffriando manibus, hoc est quando manus manum tergit, perinde ac si quid inter manus affriaret. The idea of rubbing the hands may have been connected with this word, from the action of the hands in washing them. The Arabic cognates , are rendered delere, eluere, abradere, Raphelengii Lex. Arab. This idea of destroying by washing away is particularly appropriate to the deluge; and as the word is thus chosen on account of its significance, its use cannot be regarded as a special characteristic of the writer's style. The word with its accompaniment, "from the face of the ground," follows as a matter of course from the use of המה, being the natural, and it might be said, the necessary completion of the figure implied by that verb. The resemblance therefore to iv. 14, ascribed also to the Jehovist, is quite accidental. The expression, "the face of the ground," occurs also in the Elohistic, i. 29. There is a special reason for the use of a different word in the latter, so

called, Elohistic part of this chapter which will be mentioned in its proper place.

The expression "found grace" is also adduced as a Jehovistic mark. It will be noticed amongst other expressions alleged to be characteristic, hereafter to be examined. We may now pass to the next general section of the book, "The generations of Noah."

IV.—THE GENERATIONS OF NOAH.

§. 1. Ch. VI. 9-IX. 17. HISTORY OF THE DELUGE. ELOHISTIC AND JEHOVISTIC.

WHILE the entire of the portion headed "The generations of Noah" is complete in itself both in form and substance, embracing a full account of the deluge and carrying on the narrative to Noah's death, with the customary initial formula prefixed, and followed by a like formula in the succeeding passage, it resolves itself into two principal parts, the first comprising the account of the deluge and subsequent blessing of Noah, together with the covenant of the rainbow, and the second describing certain particulars in the history of Noah after those From the circumstance that the first of these subsections contains certain parts in which the name Jehovah occurs, which might be omitted from the narrative without making any decided break in its continuity, these parts have been regarded by some critics as the work of a Jehovistic interpolater, while others, such as Dr. Davidson and the critics whom he represents, have resolved the entire into two independent and and not wholly consistent narratives of the deluge, which after subsisting independently were at a subsequent period interwoven together, so as to make one history such as we now possess it. This resolution of the original narratives into their component parts, and the re-composition of these parts into one connected narrative, are assumed to have been accomplished by a pretended compiler. As it is on the supposed possibility of thus resolving the history of the deluge into two independent

accounts put together by a third person, or of reducing the history as it now stands to a purely Elohistic narrative by the 'removal of supposed Jehovistic interpolations, that the theories of different authorship as regards the entire book, originating in the diversity of the names of God, find their principal support, it will be well to discuss this section at length.

I. The more complex theory may be considered first, as resting on an additional ground over and above the reasons adduced for the supposition of the simple Jehovistic interpolation of an Elohistic narrative, namely the improbability that a narrative originally one would admit of being thus separated into two complete accounts of the same events. That the copiousness of eastern style, and the abundant repetitions that occur in certain Hebrew narratives, render this not so unlikely as it would be in the case of our histories will be perceived by all who are familiar with the Biblical narratives. How far the purely Jehovistic passages, with such other parts as have been made to accompany them for the sake of completing the second narrative, form an account capable of standing alone as an original and independent history, will be best judged by presenting the two stories at full length,2 instead of merely giving references to the constituent parts of each:-

Elohistic account of the Deluge.

Jehovistic account of the Deluge.
CHAPTER VI.

5 And God saw that the wickednesss of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually.

6 And it repented the LORD that he had made man on the earth, and it

grieved him at his heart.

7 And the Lord said, I will destroy man, whom I have created, from the face of the earth; both man and beast, and the creeping thing, and the fowls of the air: for it repenteth me that I have made them.

² The English Version will answer our present purpose.

¹ The iteration here mentioned is quite different in its character from the simple repetition of one or two dry facts just previously stated, which has been treated as an indication of the commencement of a new section.

8 But Noah found grace in the eyes of the LORD.

CHAPTER VI.

9 These are the generations of Noah: Noah was a just man, and perfect in his generations, and Noah walked with God. 10 And Noah begat three sons, Shem,

Ham, and Japheth.

11 The earth also was corrupt before God; and the earth was filled with violence.

12 And God looked upon the earth, and, behold, it was corrupt: for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth.

13 And God said unto Noah, The end of all flesh is come before me; for the earth is filled with violence through them: and, behold, I will destroy them with the earth.

14 Make thee an ark of gopherwood: rooms shalt thou make in the ark, and shalt pitch it within and without

with pitch.

15 And this is the fashion which thou shalt make it of; The length of the ark shall be three hundred cubits, the breadth of it fifty cubits, and the height of it

thirty cubits.

16 A window shalt thou make to the ark, and in a cubit shalt thou finish it above; and the door of the ark shalt thou set in the side thereof; with lower, second, and third stories shalt thou make it.

17 And behold, I, even I, do bring a flood of waters upon the earth, to destroy all flesh, wherein is the breath of life, from under heaven; and every thing that

is in the earth shall die.

18 But with thee will I establish my covenant: and thou shalt come into the ark, thou, and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons' wives with thee.

19 And of every living thing of all flesh, two of every *sort* shalt thou bring into the ark, to keep *them* alive with thee; they shall be male and female.

20 Of fowls after their kind, and of cattle after their kind, of every creeping thing of the earth after his kind; two of every sort shall come unto thee, to keep them alive.

21 And take thou unto thee of all food that is eaten, and thou shalt gather it to thee; and it shall be for food for thee, and for them.

22 Thus did Noah; according to all that God commanded him, so did he,

CHAPTER VII.

1 And the Lord said unto Noah,

Come thou, and all thy house, into the ark: for thee have I seen righteous before me in this generation

me in this generation.

2 Of every clean beast thou shalt take to thee by sevens, the male and his female: and of beasts that are not clean by two, the male and his female.

3 Of fowls also of the air by sevens,

3 Of fowls also of the air by sevens, the male and the female; to keep seed alive upon the face of all the earth.

4 For yet seven days, and I will cause it to rain upon the earth forty days and forty nights; and every living substance that I have made will I destroy from off the face of the earth.

5 And Noah did according unto all

that the Lord commanded him.

CHAPTER VII.

6 And Noah was six hundred years old when the flood of waters was upon the earth

7 And Noah went in, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with him, into the ark, because of the waters of the flood.

8 Of [clean] beasts, [and of beasts that are not clean,] and of fowls, and of every thing that creepeth upon the earth,

9 There went in two and two unto Noah into the ark, the male and the female, as God had commanded Noah.

- 11 In the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, the seventeenth day of the month, the same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened.
- 13 In the self-same day entered Noah, and Shem, and Ham, and Japheth, the sons of Noah, and Noah's wife, and the three wives of his sons with them, into the ark:
- 14 They, and every beast after his kind, and all the cattle after their kind, and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth after his kind, and every fowl after his kind, every bird of every sort.
- 15 And they went in unto Noah into the ark two and two of all flesh, wherein is the breath of life.
- 16 And they that went in, went in male and female of all flesh, as God had commanded him;

10 And it came to pass after seven days, that the waters of the flood were upon the earth.

12 And the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights.

18 And the waters prevailed, and were increased greatly upon the earth; and the ark went upon the face of the waters.

19 And the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth; and all the high hills that were under the whole heaven were covered.

20 Fifteen cubits upward did the waters prevail; and the mountains were

covered.

21 And all flesh died that moved upon the earth, both of fowl, and of cattle, and of beast, and of every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth, and every man:

24 And the waters prevailed upon the earth an hundred and fifty days.

CHAPTER VIII.

1 And God remembered Noah, and every living thing, and all the cattle that was with him in the ark: and God made a wind to pass over the earth, and the waters asswaged;

2 The fountains also of the deep and the windows of heaven were stopped,

- 3 and after the end of the hundred and fifty days the waters were abated.
- 4 in the seventh month, on the seventeenth day of the month
- 5 And the waters decreased continually until the tenth month: in the tenth month, on the first day of the month, were the tops of the mountains seen.

16 and the Lord shut him in,

17 And the flood was forty days upon the earth; and the waters increased, and bare up the ark, and it was lift up above the earth.

22 All in whose nostrils was the breath of life, of all that was in the dry land, died.

23 And every living substance was destroyed which was upon the face of the ground, both man, and cattle, and the erceping things, and the fowl of the heaven; and they were destroyed from the earth; and Noah only remained alive, and they that were with him in the ark.

CHAPTER VIII.

- 2 and the rain from heaven was restrained;
- 3 And the waters returned from off the earth continually:
 - 4 And the ark rested

upon the mountains of Ararat.

6 And it came to pass at the end of

forty days, that Noah opened the window of the ark which he had made:

7 And he sent forth a raven, which went forth to and fro, until the waters were dried up from off the earth.

8 And also he sent forth a dove from him, to see if the waters were abated

from off the face of the ground;

9 But the dove found no rest for the sole of her foot, and she returned unto him into the ark, for the waters were on the face of the whole earth: then he put forth his hand, and took her, and pulled her in unto him into the ark.

10 And he stayed yet other seven days; and again he sent forth the dove

out of the ark;

11 And the dove came in to him in the evening, and, lo, in her mouth was an olive-leaf pluckt off: so Noah knew that the waters were abated from off the earth.

12 And he stayed yet other seven days; and sent forth the dove; which returned not again unto him any more.

13 And it came to pass in the six hundredth and first year, in the first month, the first day of the month, the waters were dried up from off the earth: and Noah removed the covering of the ark, and looked, and, behold, the face of the ground was dry.

14 And in the second month, on the seven and twentieth day of the month,

was the earth dried.

15 And God spake unto Noah,

saying.

16 Go forth of the ark, thou, and thy wife, and thy sons, and thy sons' wives

with thee.

17 Bring forth with thee every living thing that is with thee, of all flesh, both of fowl, and of eattle, and of every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth; that they may breed abundantly in the earth, and be fruitful, and multiply upon the earth.

18 And Noah went forth, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with

19 Every beast, every creeping thing, and every fowl, and whatsoever creepeth upon the earth, after their kinds, went forth out of the ark.

20 And Noah builded an altar unto the Lord, and took of every clean beast, and of every clean fowl, and offered burnt offerings on the altar.

21 And the Lord smelled a sweet savour; and the Lord said in his heart, I will not again curse the ground any CHAPTER IX.

1 And God blessed Noah and his sons, and said unto them, Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth.

2 And the fear of you, and the dread of you, shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon every fowl of the air, upon all that moveth upon the earth, and upon all the fishes of the sea; into your hand are they delivered.

3 Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you; even as the green herb

have I given you all things.

4 But flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall ye not eat.

5 And surely your blood of your lives will I require; at the hand of every beast will I require it, and at the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man.

6 Whose sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the

image of God made he man.

7 And you, be ye fruitful, and multiply; bring forth abundantly in the earth, and multiply therein.

8 And God spake unto Noah, and to

his sons with him, saying,

9 And I, behold, I establish my covenant with you, and with your seed after

you

- 10 And with every living creature that is with you, of the fowl, of the cattle, and of every beast of the earth with you; from all that go out of the ark, to every beast of the earth.
- 11 And I will establish my covenant with you: neither shall all flesh be cut off any more by the waters of a flood; neither shall there any more be a flood to destroy the earth.

12 And God said, This is the token of the covenant which I make between me and you, and every living creature that is with you, for perpetual generations:

13 I do set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be for a token of a covenant be-

tween me and the earth.

14 And it shall come to pass, when I bring a cloud over the earth, that the bow shall be seen in the cloud:

15 And I will remember my covenant,

more for man's sake; for the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth; neither will I again smite any more every thing living, as I have done.

thing living, as I have done.
22 While the earth remaineth, seed-time and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night,

shall not cease.

which is between me and you and every living creature of all flesh; and the waters shall no more become a flood to destroy all flesh.

16 And the bow shall be in the cloud; and I will look upon it, that I may remember the everlasting covenant between God and every living creature of all flesh that is upon the earth.

17 And God said unto Noah, This is the token of the covenant, which I have established between me and all flesh that

is upon the earth.

The compiler gets the credit of having introduced into the combined narrative the words "clean, . . . and of beasts that are not clean," in vii. 8.

In considering the narrative, as thus resolved into two independent histories, it will be well first to notice the grounds on which, in connexion with the variation in the names of God, the divisionists mainly rely, as requiring, or, at any rate, justifying, such a separation. These are needless repetitions in the history as it now stands, and discrepancies between some of its parts.—1. The first instance of alleged needless repetition on the supposition of the unity of the narrative is in the Elohistic verses vi. 9-13, as compared with the preceding Jehovistic verses 5-8. But the repetition here has already been accounted for by the fact that the latter is the close of one of the principal subdivisions of the book, bringing down the history to the point at which the degeneracy of mankind causes God to resolve on the destruction of the world. The new section beginning with its proper initial formula at v. 9 naturally, and as on other occasions, repeats the mention of this degeneracy, and of God's purpose to destroy all flesh, as an introduction to the history of the deluge, which would begin too abruptly if its cause was not thus repeated from the close of the previous passage. All difficulty arising from the repetition in this case vanishes, when the division of sections is taken into account.—2. The next instance of alleged repetition, though with a difference on which has been grounded the principal charge of discrepancy, is in the Jehovistic verses 1-5 of ch. vii., as compared with the

concluding Elohistic verses 18-22 of ch. vi. But there is really here no repetition, as the two passages relate to wholly different periods and circumstances. At the close of ch. vi. directions are given as to the making of the ark, and the purpose for which it was to be built is intimated. Noah is told who are to be the occupants of it, and is bidden to make provision for their sustenance. Then, in reference to the making of the ark and the storing of it with the needful provisions, it is added, "Thus did Noah; according to all that God commanded him, so did he." Afterwards when the ark is already made, and the time for the flood is at hand, he receives in the beginning of ch. vii. a new command, actually to go into the ark, and to take with him the creatures who were to be preserved. And in reference to this new command it is again said, "Noah did according to all that Jehovah commanded him." There is no needless repetition, but the customary fulness of narrative.—3. Neither is there any needless repetition in the succeeding verses as compared with this passage, vii. 1-5, which might seem to indicate diversity of authorship. Rather the two passages stand in the closest relation each to the other. One contains the divine command and the announcement of the approaching deluge, while the other, in like order, and in its several successive particulars, describes the fulfilment of the same. This is shown by Ranke, Untersuchungen, i., p. 176-7, and it will be well to indicate the particulars as noted by him. In vii. 1 Noah is bid to go with his family into the ark; this is done accordingly in v. 7, after v. 6 has mentioned Noah's age at the time of the flood with manifest reference to the conclusion of the genealogy in ch. v. Then according to 2, 3 clean and unclean animals are to be taken into the ark, while in v. 8, 9 the entrance into the ark of clean and unclean animals is described. In vii. 4 the commencement of the flood is announced to take place after the seventh day, and in v. 10 we are told that after seven days the waters of the flood were upon the earth. In v. 4 the Lord says he will cause it to rain on the earth, and in v. 11 it is said that the windows of heaven were

opened. Also in v. 4 the rain was to continue for forty days and forty nights, and the fulfilment of this is mentioned in v. 12. Lastly, the concluding sentence of v. 4 intimates that God will wash away every living substance from off the face of the ground, the fulfilment of which is told in the same words in v. 23. Thus, instead of a needless repetition existing in the verses commencing with vii. 7 of what had previously been mentioned in 1-5, on which has been grounded the supposition of different authorship, these two passages stand to one another in the closest relationship; the earlier has had the most decided influence in the composition of that which succeeds it, and both are plainly due to the same writer.—4. The twenty-second and twenty-third verses of ch. vii., as compared with v. 21, do indeed contain a repetition of the destruction of all living creatures on the earth, not necessary, but to be attributed to the disposition for fulness of narration just mentioned. On the strength of this repetition, verses 22, 23 are taken out from their place and handed over to the Jehovist, to supply a defect in his narrative not otherwise to be remedied. In such repetitions the Hebrew writers invariably alter the expressions, using synonymous terms and manners of speaking. And as in neither of these passages is there any name of God, the divisionists have it in their power to select which they please for either writer, and of course they give to the Jehovist that which seems in its expressions most to agree with the other passages assigned to him.-5. The last instance of alleged repetition is in the commencement of ch. ix., where God is represented as blessing Noah after the deluge, as compared with the concluding verses of viii., where after Noah's sacrifice Jehovah says in his heart, that he will not any more curse the ground for man's sake. Here also there is no repetition. The one passage describes a secret purpose in the mind of God, the other a blessing expressed and a covenant made, in accordance no doubt with the previously mentioned purpose, but not a mere repetition of the purpose as existing in the mind of God.-If now out of all these alleged repetitions

in the separated passages there is only one real case of repetition, this may be set against the much more extended instance of repetition left still in the Elohistic narrative, v. 11-16 as compared with 6-9. The earlier passage, beginning with Noah's age at the time of the flood, and describing the entrance into the ark of himself and his family and the creatures to be preserved, as Elohim had commanded Noah, is repeated with only a little greater fulness in the later, which again begins with Noah's age and ends with the same expression, "as Elohim had commanded him." But for this Elohim, doubtless the entire of one or other of these passages would be given to the Jehovist. Instead of this the partitionists have to be content with removing v. 12, "and the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights," at the cost of their giving a needless repetition to the Jehovist also, who just after says that "the flood was upon the earth forty days;" while between these two statements they interpose the concluding words of v. 16, "and Jehovah shut him in," just on account of this name, that must not be left to the Elohist, although the Jehovist says nothing of the going into the ark, and the clause stands quite out of place and without connexion, where it is interposed in the separated narrative.

It is now time to turn to the differences and supposed discrepancies.—1. Davidson notices, p. 39, "The one is distinguished by an universality of representation. It sets forth not merely men but beasts; and not only the latter but the earth itself as corrupt before God. In consequence of this universal corruption the punishment is that all living creatures shall be destroyed together with the earth. The other narrative presents things in a more limited aspect, with reference to their nature and actual conditions, yet intensively. Hence, while the corruption is only human, it is total and deep, extending to all the thoughts of the heart from youth upward." The corruption of the earth

¹ Indeed we might treat the portion beginning with v. 11 as a new subsection of the narrative commencing with the customary repetition, as in other cases. But even so there is a fulness of repetition, that has the character of the *ambages* common in Eastern tales, as already noticed at p. 189.

itself here noted is explained in vi. 11 by the succeeding parallel clause: "The earth was corrupt before Elohim, and the earth was filled with violence." No corruption of the material earth was therefore imagined. So again in v. 12, the earth "was corrupt, for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth." And as there was thus no notion of attributing corruption to the natural earth, so, by parity, there was no notion of attributing moral degeneracy to any but human flesh; while even in the separated Jehovistic account the punishment falls on all in whose nostrils was the breath of life. But whatever difference exists in the two accounts of the degenerate condition of the world, the earlier account of it does not belong to the history of the deluge at all, but is in the closing paragraph of the previous section, which brings down the history to this point. The next section, containing the history of the flood, resumes this mention of the degenerate state of the world; and, as that was the cause of the destruction about to be effected, amplifies it in the figurative manner which has been taken as an argument of different authorship in the passage just quoted. Weak as the argument is in any case, it is wholly deprived of force by the separation of sections which divides the two passages.—2. The grand point of difference, regarded as amounting to actual discrepancy, is in the direction to take into the ark clean animals by sevens, as contrasted with the previous command to take pairs of all creatures.1 Now though Davidson and the Bishop of Natal scout all reference to the difference of occasion on which the two commands were given, yet it will be seen that this difference has weight in the discussion. Davidson says,

According to the present Hebrew, the distinction as regards birds is not expressed, and it might be thought that sevens of each sex of all birds were to be taken. The LXX., however, express the distinction exactly as in the case of clean and unclean beasts, and a portion of the text may have therefore been lost from our present Hebrew copics. At any rate, the limitation of the sevens to clean birds may be reasonably supplied from that expressed as regards beasts, while it is impossible to conceive any reason for taking sevens of all birds. The distinction of clean birds is moreover expressed in viii. 20, where Noah is said to have sacrificed of every clean beast and of every clean fowl. No doubt the distinction was intended as regards the number to be taken into the ark also.

p. 40, "The plain statement cannot be evaded by the arbitrary assumption of two commands given to Noah at different times." A writer, whose whole theory is propped up by arbitrary assumptions, is the last that should object to such an assumption, if really made. But whether the narrative be separated into two or not, the commands were given expressly on different occasions, and there is absolutely no assumption whatever, the one being given simultaneously with the command to build the ark, and the other, when the ark was ready to receive its occupants, and the deluge about to commence. His reference to the inconsistency of vii. 8, 9, 15, in which the clean and unclean go in alike in pairs, male and female, with what he calls the supposed later account, will be considered presently. Meanwhile it is to be observed, that the omission of all reference to the greater numbers of clean animals to be taken than of unclean, when the preliminary directions were given, may be naturally accounted for by the exceptional character and small aggregate of the clean, in proportion to the entire number of all the animals. It may well have seemed needless to mention this exceptional case, in stating beforehand the general means by which life was to be preserved during the deluge. But the exception which at the preliminary stage of the proceedings was unimportant, becomes a matter of moment when the creatures are to be actually taken into the ark; and so without any consciousness of inconsistency the writer might naturally have given the subsequent directions for immediate action, in their fuller and more complete form, as in ch. vii. And then as regards the alleged inconsistency of this latter command with the subsequent statement in v. 8, 9, it ill becomes Davidson to insist on the reference to unclean and clean animals in this latter place, as marking the inconsistency between the two narratives more distinctly, when he has himself so strongly felt the inconvenience to his theory of this subsequent mention of clean and unclean in an Elohistic connexion, that he has been fain in the most arbitrary manner to assume that it is an

interpolation of his Redactor. This, however, is perfectly unwarrantable on any just principles of criticism, and the reference to the clean and unclean animals in v. 8 is plainly to be regarded as coming à prima manu, and cannot be explained but as a reference to the preceding command in v. 2. If, indeed, it were due to the Redactor, whose ingenuity in putting together this piece of patchwork, as we are bid to regard it, was greater than that of the authors who have again broken it up and re-pieced the original documents, it cannot be believed that so clever a man, in introducing the distinction for the sake of harmonising the parts of his compilation, would have left his work in so imperfect a state, as not in any measure to remove the difficulty, when a few words more, expressing the difference of numbers between clean and unclean, would have set all right. Dismissing the Redactor therefore altogether, and treating the reference to clean and unclean in v. 8 as certainly à primâ manu, we may free this Elohistic reference to the Jehovistic command in v. 2 from all seeming inconsistency with it, by connecting v. 8 with the preceding, instead of the following verse, and supplying the verb from it. In the subsequent passage, 13-16, which is a close parallel to this, the fourteenth verse which answers to v. 8, and like it has no verb, must be construed with v. 13,1 while the following verses state the manner of the entrance of all into the ark as being two and two, male and female, the latter perhaps explaining the former, or else the two and two denoting in the repetition what took place in general, the exceptions having been already sufficiently explained. And now going back from this passage to 7-9, we there find in

like manner, after the mention of the entrance of Noah and his family into the ark, v. 8, "Of the clean beast, and of the beast not clean, of fowl, and everything that creepeth upon the ground;" which words it is at least possible, and therefore for the sake of consistency admissible, after the manner of v. 13, to connect with the previous verse, supplying the ellipsis, "went into the ark," from it. The proportions in which each entered would be implied in the concluding words of v. 9, "as God commanded Noah," which, though grammatically connected with v. 9 in its earlier clauses, is evidently intended to apply to all that was done on the occasion. Then v: 9, commencing a new sentence, would represent either the manner in which the creatures entered, namely by pairs, male and female, whatever the number of pairs,—which at the same time few will agree with Davidson in thinking incompatible with the use of the preposition of, if we connect v. 8 with 9;—or else it will state what took place in regard to all without exception, the difference in the exceptional cases being implied in the reference to the clean and unclean of the previous verse, itself a reference to the same distinction in v. 2. Now it is not said that the words must be construed in this way; but it is possible to do so without violence, certainly with less violence than the entire disruption of the whole narrative.—3. The inconsistency noticed by the Bishop of Natal in connexion with this subject, that in the Elohistic account the animals are said to have come unto Noah, whereas in the Jehovistic he is bid to take them, is a most puerile objection. He forgets that in the Elohistic command in ch. vi., when Noah is bid to bring them into the ark, literally, "to make them go," that is quite as inconsistent with the "went" of the subsequent Elohistic part of the narrative, as the "take" of vii. 2, and that the spontaneous "went" of v. 9, 15, 16, is expressly said to have been, "as God commanded Noah," Noah's active intervention being thus plainly implied.

¹ The reference to the Jehovistic command to take sevens is made more clear by the Samaritan reading of Jehovah in v. 9 as in v. 5, though they have Elohim in v. 1.

But if the same particular is mentioned a second time with only a slight variation of expression, it is the Bishop's way to think that this "seems rather to point to a different writer," as in the reference to the difference between the "not clean" of v. 2 and of v. 8, in which a different negative is employed, that in the latter place being a verbal negative with a suffix, and so making a sentence, while in the former case there is a simple negative without any verb.—4. A difference is noted by Davidson in comparing the covenant and blessing consequent on the termination of the deluge, and the restoration of the world as described in ch. ix., with Noah's sacrifice of clean animals after the flood, and Jehovah's smelling the sweet savour and being propitiated, and resolving to curse the ground no more for man's sake, but to establish the order of nature for ever, whereby he remarks, "a later and more developed subjective religion appears in the Jehovist." But as in the account of the covenant and blessing in ch. ix. Noah does not appear except as a listener, there is no means of judging whether the Elohist had any different religious conceptions or sentiments than those displayed by the Jehovist, and reasoning from a negative is unsafe. And may not the personal communion into which Noah enters with God by sacrifice, and the highly anthromorphic character in which God is represented as smelling the sweet savour, and resolving in his own mind not to destroy the world any more, be themselves the cause of the choice of a personal name in preference to the more abstract and general name in this passage, as would be natural in the case of a writer who had both names freely in use, and would spontaneously adopt whichever might almost unconsciously be felt most suited to the occasion?-5. A strong contrast is observed between the regular gradation and exactness of description in the Elohistic narrative, as compared with the summary method of the other only touching upon the main points. This difference is not a ground for justifying the separation, but itself a result of the separation. A few passages are picked out and made to stand as a distinct and separate

account, and it is no wonder that they should thus form a summary, or rather a very defective account, and only touch on the main particulars. This is an argument against the separation, instead of a reason to justify it. Very different, however, from this alleged summary mode of narration attributed to the Jehovist is the minute and circumstantial story of the raven and the dove, which is given to the Jehovist for no other reason, but that it makes mention of intervals of forty and of seven days, which it is assumed are the special property of the Jehovist. It will be seen that in the subsequent parts of the book, the Elohist, who is here represented as using a less summary mode of narration than the Jehovist, becomes in the greatest possible degree brief and summary in his narration. The fulness of the early Elohistic narrative is highly inconsistent with the brevity of the later parts, as will hereafter be more particularly noticed.—6. The same remark applies to the last point of difference, namely the diversity in the notation of the times specified in each. In the undivided account the several times noted only mark the successive epochs in the entire period occupied by the events described. First, in vii. 4 notice is given of the approaching event seven days before, and a command to enter the ark is given, which is said to have been obeyed. seven days may well have been consumed in the steps needful for Noah's final entrance, and on the expiration of that interval, v. 10, 11, 13, his entrance finally took place, and the flood began, the month and day of the month and year of Noah's life being specified. Then in 12, 17 the rain continues forty days and forty nights, and the waters increase for the same length of time. Finally, v. 24, the waters prevail for an hundred and fifty days. At the end of that period, however, the assuaging of the waters, which had been going on in the interval, was so far accomplished that the ark rested on the summit of Mount Ararat on the seventeenth day of the seventh month, viii. 3, 4. They still decrease till the tops of the mountains are seen on the first of the tenth month, v. 5, forty days after which, v. 6, Noah

sends forth the raven and the dove, v. 8, and the dove again after seven days, and a third time after another seven days, v. 10, 11. Then on the first day of the first month in the next year the ground is dried, that is the surface of the earth, and the earth itself in the second month, on the seven and twentieth day, v. 13, 14. In all this there is no inconsistency or uncertainty as to the order of the intervals; all is regular and orderly in its succession. The alleged unnatural proportion between the intervals of rain and of subsidence does not concern the present inquiry, which is not to ascertain what would be natural or unnatural in a case of the kind, which, in our ignorance of the circumstances in general, we could not determine; but whether the narrative is one or a combination of two.2 When, however, all these sevens and forties have arbitrarily been separated and assigned to the Jehovist, it is then easy to say that in his narrative "periods of time are designated by two numbers alone—seven and forty." And let it be observed, that with the exception of the first mentioned seven days before the flood, all the intervals of seven and forty are picked out of an Elohistic context. Even thus, however, there exists no discrepancy, as the Jehovistic narrative still assigns no definite interval for the subsidence after the forty days rain until the ark rested on Ararat, the mention of which is in the most arbitrary manner picked out of the Elohistic context in which it stands. Nor is it told how long Noah remained in the ark after the dove failed to return, while the ground was becoming

¹ The Bishop of Natal in pointing out the alleged absurdities of the narrative, represents Noah as taking off the covering of the ark finally at this time, and remaining uncovered during the interval until the earth was dried, a period of one month and twenty-seven days. No such thing is asserted in the narrative. The cover is removed to survey the state of the ground, but it is not said the ark was left uncovered. One almost feels shame in noticing such puerile objections.

^{*} Davidson's remark on the use of the word [17,2], prevailed, in vii. 24, as implying that no subsidence of the waters took place in the interval from the termination of the forty days rain till the end of the hundred and fifty days, is perfectly unwarrantable. It is absurd to suppose that it does not admit of the idea of any subsidence in v. 24, because it is used in v. 19, after [27,1], increased, in v. 18. The increase first caused the waters greatly to prevail, and then that prevalence was such as to continue through a considerable period of subsidence.

sufficiently dry. But as the Jehovist must know no other numbers than seven and forty, it is assumed that the indefinite intervals could not be such as to make the two accounts coincide.

It now remains to ask what pretensions the Jehovistic narrative has to stand by itself as an independent history of the flood?—1. First there is the total absence in it of any directions for the making of the ark, or of any reference to it, or to the nature of the intended destruction, until Noah is bid to go into, not an ark, but the ark, as if already made according to previous instructions. Summary as is this supposed writer's mode of narration here, it is not likely he would have omitted so important a matter; or so abruptly spoken of the ark at the time of the flood, without any previous mention of it. Even if the article in this construction might be due to the preposition , yet still the abruptness would be highly improbable, nothing having been said to indicate the existence of such a structure in readiness for the occasion seven days before its arrival. It is not a ship of ordinary dimensions, that might be supposed available for any occasion, but a vessel of such extraordinary nature, that the first mention of it, whether as the ark without any previous notice of its construction, or an ark, as if such a vessel were easily to be had at any moment, would be alike inadmissible. Davidson is sensible of this difficulty, but merely says the construction is presupposed. The Bishop of Natal, however, without giving his adherence absolutely to a separate Jehovistic history, provides a supply of the defect by dividing the directions about making the ark, giving the Elohist vi. 14, and the Jehovist 15, 16, with the interpolation of "And Jehovah said to Noah make thee an ark." Elsewhere he suggests that the omission is due to the circumstance that the writer referred to the ark as mentioned already in the Elohistic account, or that he spoke of it as the well-known ark in the

¹ By this arbitrary arrangement the reference in the alleged Jehovistic viii. 6 of "the window in the ark which he had made," to the Elohistic account of the construction of the ark in vi. 15, 16, which is inconvenient to the theory, is avoided.

popular legend. This latter suggestion would be admissible if he was only making a passing allusion to the subject of the deluge, but not in a detailed history of that event, which he would scarcely have thought it necessary to write at all, if he had seen no occasion to mention one of the principal circumstances of the transaction. As regards the former suggestion, it is only consistent with the supposition of simple interpolation, rather than of an independent narrative, a supposition to be adverted to hereafter.—2. Next, the clause, "and Jehovah shut him in," borrowed from v. 16, where, notwithstanding its Elohistic context, it is in a good and close connexion with what precedes, stands in the Jehovistic narrative in so abrupt and unconnected a position, that Bishop Colenso, on the supposition of an independent Jehovistic narrative, feels it necessary to interpolate before it the words, "And Noah and all his house went into the ark."—3. Then the Jehovistic account of the destruction of all in whose nostrils was breath of life, 22, 23, comes in very abruptly, and without the connecting copulative, with which in every other instance the mention of any matter not otherwise connected, or in immediate sequence with what precedes, is introduced. Here, too, the Bishop supplies a clause to remedy the defect.—4. Again, while this Jehovistic account is particular in mentioning all the other intervals,—the seven days' notice, the forty days' rain and prevalence of the flood, the forty days' delay after the ark grounded before the raven and the dove were sent out, and the seven days' intervals in sending the dove out again, —it makes no mention of the period of the subsidence after the staying of the waters until the ark took the ground. This is a serious omission, when the other intervals are mentioned with such minuteness.—5. Finally there is no mention of the exit from the ark. After the dove has finally departed, nothing more is told than that Noah builded an altar. This too, in an account so minute in the particulars it does mention, including especially the shutting of them into the ark, is a grave omission, wholly incompatible with the supposition of an independent

narrative, to sustain which the Bishop makes another needful interpolation.

II. It is plain, therefore, that the Jehovistic parts, separated from the rest of the history, cannot stand alone as an independent narrative. As a series of Jehovistic interpolations supplementing the Elohistic narrative, the discussion of them may be confined to the passages which are specially characterised by the name Jehovah, as there is no reason whatever why other parts, such as the sentences picked out to fill up the Jehovistic account as an independent narrative, might not just as well have belonged to the Elohistic part. If the variation of the names can be reasonably accounted for, as offering themselves quite naturally to a writer using both, there is nothing to justify the resort to so violent an hypothesis as that of interpolation, in respect to these Jehovistic sentences.

The narrative of the deluge viewed in its integrity and on the positive side, though complete and closely connected in all its parts, yet naturally resolves itself into three lesser sections, which have a certain completeness in themselves.—1. The prefatory part, and matter preparatory to the deluge itself, forming the introduction, and extending from vi. 9 to the end of the chapter.—2. The account of the deluge itself, comprised in chapters vii. and viii., with Noah's sacrifice on emerging from the ark.—3. The blessing of Noah after the flood, the grant of flesh for food without the blood, and the covenant not again to destroy all flesh with the waters of a flood. These may be considered separately.

1. The Introduction, as usual at the commencement of one of the larger sections or *Toledoth*, commences with a recapitulation of matters already indicated at the close of the previous portion, such as the righteous character of Noah, the names of his sons, the prevalent wickedness, and the determination on God's part to destroy the ungodly world.

The brief mention of Noah's character in vi. 8, "Noah found grace in the eyes of Jehovah," is here given in the fuller state-

ment that "Noah was a just man and perfect in his generations, and Noah walked with God." The generations here spoken of, like "this generation" in vii. 1, are the generations with which, some passing away and others coming on, Noah was contemporary in his lifetime. Not in the ways of these ungodly generations did Noah walk, but Noah walked with God. This expression, as before in the case of Enoch, is used to denote the habitual godliness of Noah's life, and for this purpose the generic Elohim, and not the personal Jehovah, is the proper expression. "But the earth was corrupt before God." If the Elohim here might have been Jehovah, as in v. 8, so far as the words themselves are concerned, it comes naturally here in marking the contrast between Noah's godliness and the ungodliness of the rest of the world, and follows the Elohim of v. 9 as a matter of course,—the one walked with Elohim, the others were corrupt before Elohim. And as here the earth is corrupt before the face of Elohim, so in sequence with this, in the next verse Elohim looks upon the earth and sees its corruption; and, v. 13, Elohim announces to Noah that the end of all flesh is come. And here the writer does not put into the mouth of God the word used in the previous part to denote the impending destruction, because of any peculiarity of style and vocabulary distinguishing him from the author of the previous part, but simply from that disposition to play on sounds and double senses of words so common in all parts of this book. The earth was corrupted, משהתה, and all flesh had corrupted, השהית. his way, and now God will corrupt them, בשהית. This is the reason why the word שָׁהָת, and not הַהָּב, is here used, and not any predilection for one in preference to the other; and it is because the words here used, "to corrupt all flesh," and the covenant, which God promises to make with Noah after the deluge, are purposely repeated and referred to in ch. ix., that this verb re-appears there concurrently with the re-appearance of Elohim. This name having thus continued in use from the first mention of Noah's godly walk is resumed quite as a matter of course at the close of the introduction, where it is said, "And Noah did according to all that God commanded him, so did he,"—this latter clause, as it were, winding up and formally concluding the introductory and preparatory matter.

2. And now the writer having come to a pause, and a decided break having been made in the continuity of his thoughts, his mind was free to revert to any other name he had previously used, according as occasion might suggest it to his remembrance. That there was a cause for the suggestion of the name Jehovah. at the commencement of this second portion of the narrative, will shortly appear. But first let the facts be observed. This passage, from the commencement of ch. vii. to the end of ch. viii.. is Jehovistic and Elohistic, two of the instances in which Elohim is employed being merely repetitions of the statement that Noah had acted in accordance with the Divine command, as Elohim had commanded him, it being a special object with the writer to insist on the Divine arrangement in this whole matter, and on the implicit observance of the Divine directions by Noah. A third instance of the use of Elohim is in the commencement of ch. viii., where, after the flood had reached its height, the Divine superintendence of the entire matter is again brought before us, and the Divine providence in caring for Noah,-God remembers Noah, and God makes a wind to pass over the waters and cause their abatement. And finally, at the moment when all is ready for the exit from the ark, Noah, who has acted all through in obedience to Divine command, does not venture out until he receives the like authority: Elohim bids him go out. All this might have been freely said by one familiar with the use of both names, Elohim being naturally used to express the Divine authority and superintendence under which all took place.

On the other hand, at the outset, it is Jehovah that gives the command to Noah to go into the ark, and in giving this an addition is made to the general direction previously given, as to the numbers to be taken into the ark of the several kinds of animals. In the previous directions the numbers to be taken generally

were only mentioned. Now a special and exceptional case is distinguished; clean animals are to be taken by sevens, male and female. If this special and exceptional case had not been made in connexion with the use of Jehovah, no one of the critics who now so strongly insist on it as a token of different authorship, would ever have seen any difficulty in it; nothing would have seemed more natural than that what was special and exceptional in the arrangement should have been reserved for the final directions, when the time for acting should arrive. But it was probably this very specialty that suggested the use of Jehovah here, as will be presently observed. This command of Jehovah is accompanied by an intimation that in seven days it should commence to rain for forty days and forty nights, and every living substance should be washed away, not wiped out or blotted as some would render, from the face of the earth; the same significant figure being resumed which before was used in the early part of ch. vi., and now remaining in use through this part of the narrative. The paragraph ends by saving that Noah did according as Jehovah had commanded him. The next paragraph proceeds to describe the fulfilment of these commands, and the occurrence of the threatened deluge. In this there is no doubt much iteration, and the ambages of ancient narration are fully exemplified both in this paragraph, and, indeed, through the entire narrative. But no supposition of several authorship, and of combined parts of different histories. has succeeded in explaining all these repetitions. The parts of the resolved narrative, either one or both, will still present the same phenomenon; iteration will still be the characteristic of the story. This second paragraph begins with setting forth Noah's age, and then tells how he and his family, and all kinds of animals, went into the ark, and how these latter went in two and two, male and female, of clean and unclean, as God commanded Noah. Now this mention of clean and unclean, after the large and comprehensive directions given in ch. vi., would have no meaning whatever, except in reference to the distinction

made in the first paragraph of the present chapter; and the mention of their going as God commanded, so soon after the statement that Noah did as Jehovah had commanded, is to be regarded as specially referring to this distinction. The clean and unclean beasts went in by pairs, male and female, as God had commanded, that is, with the distinction of numbers just before commanded by Jehovah. On the seventh day the waters were upon the earth. Noah's age is again mentioned, not now, however, as before, for the purpose of telling how old he was, but of noting the year, to which the month and the day of the month are added, the manner in which the flood was produced is told, and the duration of the rain for forty days and forty nights as pre-· dicted is set forth. Judging from 7, 10, it would appear that the entrance into the ark was taking place during the seven days interval; at least, this is the natural supposition, the rain having begun on the seventh day. Hence it would seem that the Versions are inaccurate in rendering v. 13 as if it implied that it was on the same day that the flood began they all went in, in contradiction, as the Bishop of Natal would have us suppose, to the command to go into the ark in the so-called Jehovistic part, v. 1-6, according to which they were to go in seven days before. Part v. Crit. Anal. p. 26. Rather we should say, "On that self-same day they had all gone into the ark." The future with the conversive vau, that carries on the sequence of the events, is here interrupted; now it is the past tense used absolutely, and it should be rendered as a pluperfect. And then it is added again, that they went in two and two of all flesh wherein was breath of life; the varieties and diversities of kind and nature being amply insisted on, with the renewed assertion that they that went in went male and female, according to the Divine command. "And Jehovah closed upon him." The Divine source of the command by which Noah acted is expressed generally; the personal act by which the ark was shut, so anthropomorphic in its character, is ascribed to the personal Jehovah, by whose command, in v. 1, Noah went into

the ark.1 Besides, the last clause without Jehovah, ויסגר בערן. would close the paragraph so abruptly, and form so short a parallel, compared with that preceding, as naturally to suggest its extension by adding the subject of the verb. And then the proximity of Elohim at the end of the previous clause, and the tendency to vary the expressions in successive clauses, would be apt to occasion, if not require, the use of a different name.2

The next paragraph, which extends to the end of this chapter, describes the progress and advance of the flood, and the destruction occasioned by it. It has no name of God in it, but is characterised by the same iteration as the other parts. But this is not wholly without some effect in making the story more full. The increase of the waters in v. 17 lifts the ark from the ground, and sets it affoat. In 18 they prevail sufficiently to enable it to drift about upon the face of the waters without interruption; and in 19, 20 they prevail so exceedingly as to rise above the hills fifteen cubits, and the mountains are covered. There is plainly a climax here, that sort of gradation which Ranke has remarked in vii. 1-4 and 6 ff., and which will be presently noticed at full length, by which the successive repetitions ever add something as they proceed. Nor would this tendency to undue repetition be avoided by removing v. 17, as if it were part of a different narrative; the succeeding verses would still exhibit the same character, while the other narrative, to which this would be added, would then become liable to the same objection, v. 12 having already mentioned the forty days' duration of the rain. Nor is the repetition in verses 21-23 wholly unmeaning. First, with ample enumeration of various kinds, we are told that all creatures on the face of the earth in whose nostrils was breath of life died. Then we are told, with like enumeration of kinds, that every

ence on the conjunction prefixed to the preceding clause.

¹ Such close juxtaposition of the two names occurs at all periods of the sacred history, as in the New Test. Acts xii. 23, "The angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory."

2 The last clause would also desiderate a new subject, in order to break the dependence on the conjunction and also desiderate and the conjunction are also also desiderate.

living substance was washed away, the old word reappearing; but here the fulness of the enumeration is to give greater significance to the exception,—only Noah and they that were with him remained.

The next paragraph commences with the mention of God's care for Noah, and his interposition to abate the waters. It describes the retreat of the flood with an ebbing and flowing motion, specifies the time when an abatement was established, with the day of the month, coinciding with the completion of one hundred and fifty days, when the ark rested on the mountains of Ararat, describes a further decrease to the tenth month, when the tops of the mountains are seen, and specifies a further interval of forty days, at which time Noah sends forth a raven and a dove. After another fortnight the dove returns no more, and at the end of another month and one week, which brings us to the first day of the first month, the face of the ground is dry, that is the surface. And at the seven and twentieth day of the second month the earth is sufficiently hardened to admit of the inmates of the ark going out of it. In all this there is a regular gradation of dates and times, in which the forty days before the raven and the dove were sent out fill their proper and natural place, and afford no pretext for removing that story from the position which it occupies as part of the original text. This paragraph concludes with the Divine command to go forth from the ark and to multiply upon the earth; and Noah and all that were with him went forth out of the ark.

The concluding paragraph represents Noah as building an altar to Jehovah, and offering on it of every clean beast and every clean fowl. And Jehovah smells the savour, and Jehovah resolves in his own heart that he will not any more curse the ground for man's sake, because the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth up; nor will he any more smite every living thing, or interrupt the regular order of times and seasons. The connexion between this concluding paragraph and that with

which the more immediate story of the deluge commences is clear from the use made here of the clean animals, thus evidently indicating one purpose with which it was directed that a larger number of these should be taken into the ark. The Jehovistic character of both passages is now explained, in so far as it might have seemed of moment to one who had just revived, or for the first time introduced, or given new significance to, this as the proper name of the God of Israel, and was desirous of establishing the special use of this name in all acts of worship, to represent the first solemn sacrificial act which took place after the flood, as the first oblations after the creation, to have been offered to Jehovah. By thus carrying back the name to the earliest times, and interchanging it with Elohim, Jehovah would appear not as the mere national God of Israel, but as God alone. When Jehovah says in his heart that he will not curse the ground again for man's sake, there appears in these latter words a reference to v. 29, where Lamech says on the birth of Noah, "This same shall comfort us concerning our work and toil of our hands, because of the ground which Jehovah hath cursed." only way, in which this anticipation of Lamech can be understood to have been fulfilled, is in obtaining this promise that God will curse the ground no more for man's sake. Already it has been twice cursed; first at the fall, and then at the deluge. Now God will no more curse the ground for man's sake. Thus there is here a reference to v. 29, as in that verse to iii. 17, or rather there is here a reference to both. And this of itself would even in an Elohistic connexion have determined the use of Jehovah, at least in v. 21, as the reference in iii. 17 did in v. 29. And it is remarkable that here also, as in v. 29, the LXX. make the reference more distinct by their use of $\kappa \nu \rho \log \delta$ $\theta \delta \sin v$. 21. It is also remarkable that the LXX., both here and in iii. 17, must have read ¬ for ¬ in בְּעֶבוּרְ translating here διὰ τὰ ἔργα, and there έν τοις έργοις, supposing the word to be some cognate of 1771. 3. The concluding part of the narrative of the deluge extends

from ix. 1 to 17. It is exclusively Elohistic. This character at the commencement is attributable to the manifest reference in the blessing now pronounced on Noah, v. 1-4, to Gen. i. 27-29. Partly in substance, partly in the very words, we have a repetition of the original blessing on the human race, with the addition of the expressed grant of flesh for meat, here subjoined for reasons already noticed. While the Elohim in v. 1 is thus explained, as copied from i. 28, that which occurs in v. 6 is plainly copied from i. 27.1 But the restriction from the use of blood, and the sentence on those that should shed man's blood, indicate a different reference. The former may have had some anticipatory application to the Levitical prohibition of the use of blood, but it stands here quite distinct, as if intended to create a dislike from the commencement to the needless shedding of blood, and as a restraint on the more animal part of man's nature, with a special view to the hindrance of homicide. And then the sentence on those that shed man's blood seems evidently intended to hinder the relaxation of punishment, which was granted in the case of Cain, from being drawn into an encouragement of the hope of impunity in other cases. This indicates a reference to the Jehovistic chapter iv., which is not insignificant in this discussion, as according to the hypothesis of the partitionists the Elohist, at any rate, had not seen the Jehovistic parts. The requiring the blood of their lives, the life of every man at the hand of his brother, also seems clearly to allude to Jehovah's demand, "Where is thy brother?" to Cain's reply, "Am I my brother's keeper?" and to Jehovah's words in return, "What hast thou done? the voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground."

¹ Gen.i. 28, 29, "And Elohim blessed them, and Elohim said unto them, Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth, and subdue it, and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth;" ix. 1, "And Elohim blessed Noah and his sons, and said unto them, Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth, and the fear of you and the dread of you shall be upon every living thing of the ground, and upon all the fowl of the air, and upon all the fishes of the sea." The words in italies are the same in both. Gen. i. 27, "And Elohim created man in his own image, in likeness of Elohim created he him;" ix. 6, "For in likeness of Elohim made he man."

The use of Elohim in the preceding part of this chapter being simply copied from Gen. i., it seems partly due in the sequel to the continuity of thought in the writer's mind; partly also perhaps to the circumstance that the covenant may have been contrasted in the writer's mind, as one between God and all flesh, with the special covenant between Jehovah and Abraham and his seed. The general term expressing the Deity may therefore have more naturally presented itself to his mind, than the special and proper name, which was associated in his mind with the covenants with Israel. At the same time this is not wholly to be severed from the purpose of Jehovah expressed at the close of the last chapter. There Jehovah resolves in his own mind; here in furtherance of that resolution God makes a covenant with all flesh. The difference between a secret purpose and a declared promise and solemn covenant is sufficient to remove any objection that might be raised against an alleged needless repetition, while the seeming repetition itself stands rather as the complement of the previously mentioned design, and gives unity to the whole.

III. Throughout the entire of this subsection, from vi. 9 to ix. 17, the LXX. have never employed $\kappa i \rho \iota o s$ by itself, but always $\kappa i \rho \iota o s$ $\delta \theta \epsilon o s$, to represent the Jehovah of the Hebrew, except in viii. 29. And not only do they put these two words together, where Jehovah alone occurs in the Hebrew, but also in many places where the Hebrew has Elohim. Thus in vi. 12, 13 it is $\kappa i \rho \iota o s$ $\delta \theta \epsilon o s$ that sees the earth to be corrupt, and gives Noah the directions about making the ark; and in v. 22 it is as $\kappa i \rho \iota o s$ $\delta \theta \epsilon o s$ commanded that Noah is said to have acted. In viii. 15 it is $\kappa i \rho \iota o s$ $\delta \theta \epsilon o s$ that bids him quit the ark, and in ix. 12 that points to the bow as the token of the covenant, Elohim being $\delta s o s$ found in all these places in the existing Hebrew copies.

Thus as far as the LXX. may be regarded as representing exactly the state of the Hebrew copies used by them, the difference of names in the Elohistic command to take pairs of all animals, and the Jehovistic to take sevens of clean beasts and

birds, on which so much stress is laid by the partitionists, wholly vanishes, and the purely Elohistic character of the other Elohistic parts is destroyed. On the other hand, the Samaritan Pentateuch has Elohim in vii. 1, where the Hebrew has Jehovah, and Jehovah in v. 9, where the Hebrew has Elohim. These readings greatly invalidate any hypothesis built exclusively on the present Hebrew readings, a circumstance which the divisionists do not allow in the slightest degree to check the confidence with which they maintain their theories. Apart, however, from the uncertainty that exists as to the original readings, and the Hebrew text being admitted in its present state, not only have the grounds, on which, in addition to the variation of the names of God, the separation has been maintained, been found quite inadequate to sustain the conclusions based on them, but also it has been shown that the variation of the names of God through this entire section may be explained by simple and natural considerations, without the need of resorting to the violent proceeding of resolving the whole into distinct and independent narratives, or the equally violent excision from the earlier history of alleged interpolations.

Before we leave this section, there is, lastly, to be noted a characteristic peculiarity which runs through a large portion of it, and tends to unite the whole as the work of one writer. This is a tendency, as the narrative proceeds, to render the particulars already mentioned more definite when again referred to, to add fresh circumstances, and to give a greater fulness to the several particulars. Thus in vi. 11 the earth is corrupt and filled with violence; in v. 12 the same is repeated with the addition that all flesh had corrupted his way. In v. 13 God says he will destroy all flesh with the earth, but does not say in what manner; in v. 17, after desiring the ark to be built, he

¹ Ranke, Untersuchungen i., p. 176, notices this as an unmistakeable characteristic of vii. 1-4, and that not confined to the single particular of rendering the direction respecting the animals to be taken into the ark more definite and exact than that previously given in ch. vi. The force of the observation is greatly strengthened, when it is remarked that this characteristic pervades a much larger part of the narrative.

tells that he will destroy all flesh by the waters of a flood. In 19, 20 Noah is bid to take of all living things two of every sort; in vii. 2, 3 this command is repeated with the additional direction to take of clean animals by sevens. The announcement of the deluge in vi. 17 is repeated in vii. 4, with the addition of the rain by which it should be caused, the time when it should commence, and the period during which the rain should continue. In vii. 6 Noah is said to have been six hundred years old when the flood commenced, while in v. 11 this date is rendered more exact by the addition of the second month and the seventeenth day of the month. In vii. 4 it is by rain the flood is to be caused; in v. 11, not only are the windows of heaven opened, but the fountains of the great deep are also broken up. In 7-9 Noah and his family and the various animals go into the ark; in 13-16 this is repeated with the additional particular that the Lord shut them in. The statement of v. 12, that the rain continued forty days and forty nights, is advanced in v. 17 to a flood which was forty days upon earth, with the increase of the waters and the floating of the ark. The next verse adds a further increase and prevalence of the waters, and the drifting about of the ark. Then in v. 19 to this prevalence of the waters is added the covering of the hills, and in v. 20 the height to which the waters prevailed and the covering of the mountains, while v. 24 adds the continued prevalence of the waters for one hundred and fifty days. In 21, 22 is described the destruction of all flesh; this is immediately repeated in 23 with the limitation rendering it more exact, that Noah and they that were with him in the ark remained alive. This characteristic, which is thus observable up to the crisis of the narrative, is not so largely presented by the subsequent part. It was more appropriate to the approach of a momentous event, the indications and anticipations of which become more distinct as it draws near, and more adapted to the description of the increasing and overflowing rise, than to the ebb and recess. The mind of the writer partakes in the reaction, and the tide of thoughts as of the waters is abated. The prevalence, however, of the characteristic through so large a portion of the narrative, through all indeed in which it would be fitting, is a strong evidence of the unity of the authorship, as far at any rate as that portion extends, while its absence where it would not be so appropriate, is no argument against the unity of the sequel either in itself or with the preceding part. Moreover the same peculiarity presents itself again in this very sequel in regard to one important particular, and so connects its Jehovistic and Elohistic parts. The purpose not again to curse the ground, or to smite all flesh, which is as yet only a secret resolution in the Jehovistic close of ch. viii., is advanced to a solemn covenant, with its visible token, in the Elohistie ch. ix., this Elohistie part being thus connected, as the later, with the Jehovistie, which according to the theory should have been subsequent to it.

The lengthened examination to which this section has been subjected, was necessary on account of the great stress which has been laid on the phenomena presented by it, as the main support of the modern theories. The way is now clear for a more confident advance to the subsequent parts of the history.

§. 2. Ch. ix. 18-29. SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF NOAH AND HIS FAMILY, JEHOVISTIC AND ELOHISTIC.

This second subsection of the larger section headed, "The generations of Noah," is marked off not only by its difference of subject matter, but also by the not unusual prefatory recapitulation of the names of those that came forth out of the ark. It brings the history down to Noah's death, or at least supplies the only particulars known respecting him after the flood. It is assigned by the Bishop of Natal to the Jehovist, as also by Kuenen with the exception of verses 28, 29, but by the critics whom Dr. Davidson represents to the so-called Redactor. It offers, however, no difficulty on the hypothesis of an original

writer who had both names in use, and employed them throughout the entire book as circumstances might suggest, or the occasion require one or the other to be adopted. In this passage Jehovah appears as a proper name, which occupies its natural place here as the subject of an assumptive proposition, the predicate of which is the general term Elohim. Plainly the expression is intended to intimate, no doubt with special reference to the chosen race, that the worship of Jehovah should prevail amongst the descendants of Shem, as distinguished from the other sons of Noah. Jehovah, as such, was never the God of Japheth's descendants, and the expression would have been as manifestly improper if applied to him, as it is in its proper place applied to Shem. It has its counterpart in xxiv. 27, "Blessed be Jehovah, Elohim of my master Abraham;" and the phrase, Jehovah, Elohim of heaven, Elohim of Abraham, or Elohim of Isaac, is of frequent occurrence. If it was the writer's design to intimate that Shem should in particular be a worshipper of Jehovah, how could be have more naturally expressed his meaning, than by saying that Jehovah should be Shem's Elohim? And this is what he has done, only that, in consequence of the poetical character of the passage, the prediction assumes the indirect and assumptive form in which it appears. On the other hand, the expression, "Blessed be Elohim of Shem," would give no special blessing, or rather no blessing at all to Shem. For while a promise of blessing from Elohim is given to Japheth, and that one which would seem to imply an encroachment on the habitations of Shem's descendants, 1 Shem has no promise, and the omission of Jehovah leaves him in no special relation to Elohim. The name Jehovah therefore stands

¹ That this is the true meaning, and not that Elohim should dwell in the tents of Shem, is admitted by Hengstenberg in his *Christologie*, though his tendencies would be in favour of the Messianic import, which the other interpretation would bear for Christian readers. As not unfrequently happens, however, he grounds a right conclusion on an insufficient reason, relying here on the change from Jehovah in the previous verse, as applied in reference to Shem, to the simple Elohim used in regard to Japheth, and maintaining that the descent to Elohim, as dwelling in the tents of Shem, from the higher name Jehovah previously used would be inconsistent. A stronger reason not noticed by him is the poetic parallelism, in accordance with

quite naturally in this place, and its introduction by an interpolator is not to be thought of. The name indeed must be understood as used to represent some earlier proper name of God, such as might have been in use in the days of Noah, as may be the case with many other proper names. Japheth, having its representative in the Greek Japetus, is probably a name anterior in its origin to the present Hebrew; and the paronomasia between this name and the verb rendered "shall enlarge," (yapht,) on which the Bishop of Natal animadverts, as implying a Hebrew root for the name, and the use of Hebrew by Noah (p. 44, 45), may have come quite accidentally to the writer; or else for the sake of it, he may have chosen this verb in preference to some other which would have equally expressed the intended meaning. And this is the more likely as the final syllable has been elided, apparently with the design of making the paronomasia more marked.1

The Bishop also objects to the sentence pronounced on Canaan, "A servant of servants shall he be," as an allusion to the signification of the name as derived from לָבָל, to humble or make low, as if the name was given with respect to this predicted degradation, whereas in reality, he says, it describes the low land on the sea coast of Palestine occupied by the Canaanites. Whatever may be the signification of this name, the writer of the prediction does not appear to have made any allusion to it whatever. The play on בָּנֶלֶ could have been as

which the latter clause is plainly an explanatory repetition of the meaning conveyed by the former:—

"Elohim shall enlarge Japheth, And he shall dwell in the tents of Shem."

The Rabbis indeed have built on the relation between ישׁב' and the non-Biblical term Shekinah, denoting the presence of God in the Holy of Holies, a cabbalism undeserving of notice; as also is the interpretation, "tents of renown," instead of "tents of Shem."

1 Though in p. 44 the Bishop suggests that the play on the name in connexion with the verb implies a belief in the derivation, bidding the reader "comp. the J. derivations of names in ii. 7, 23, iii. 20, iv. 16, 25, v. 29," yet in p. 41 he admits that the writer does not profess to derive the name from the verb. "The Jehovist in in ix. 27 connects the name Japheth with קד, pathah, 'enlarge,' though he does not profess to derive it from this word; we have seen other instances already where he has evidently referred a name to what is not its true root." Thus, though the writer has abstained from the offence in this instance he gets no credit for his abstinence.

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easily produced as that on [], if there had existed any such reference as the Bishop imagines, and would not have been overlooked had it been made.¹ As usual in such cases, the most objectionable view is that for which the Bishop holds the writer responsible, however uncertain it may be that he ever intended what is made the ground of objection. The writer here should not, at any rate, be held accountable for that which he has not expressed, and of which he has not given the slightest evidence that it was in his thoughts.

The LXX. coincide with the Hebrew, as regards the use of the names of God, in this concluding subsection of "The generations of Noah."

V.—THE GENERATIONS OF THE SONS OF NOAH.

§. 1. Ch. x. THE DESCENDANTS OF NOAH AFTER THEIR NATIONS AND LANGUAGES. JEHOVISTIC.

This section is distinct and complete in itself, commencing with the usual initial formula, and extending to a like formula introducing the succeeding section; and it comprises the descendants of Noah, from an ethnographic point of view, with an account of their dispersion after the flood.

The first subsection is Jehovistic, the name Jehovah being used in describing the prowess of Nimrod, as a mighty hunter before Jehovah, in two instances, in one of which it is represented by the LXX. by $\kappa \acute{\nu}\rho \iota os$ \acute{o} $\theta \acute{e}\acute{o}s$, in the other by $\kappa \acute{\nu}\rho \iota os$ alone. Hengstenberg gives to the expression, "before Jehovah," in this passage a moral signification, as if it denoted that Nimrod's violence and rapacity were offences against God; and he asserts that never on any occasion is the name of God, and particularly of Jehovah, used merely to express a strong superlative.² The

י Instead of בְּלֶשְׁלְישָׁה, we might as easily have had בְלֵשְׁה בְּלֶשְׁה like בְּלֶשְׁה בְּלִשְׁה Phe endeavours to set aside this use of the name Jehovah in a hyperbolical manner of speaking in Gen. xiii. 10, "As a garden of Jehovah, as the land of Egypt, as thou comest unto Zoar." He alleges that the indefinite rendering, "as a garden of Jehovah," is grammatically false. This is too strongly asserted, for Jehovah

repetition of the expression here, as applied to any great hunter, elearly proves that it is used in this case with a superlative signification, and not in a moral sense. For the words as repeated are not, as in the English Version, "as Nimrod the mighty hunter before Jehovah," but "as Nimrod, a mighty hunter before Jehovah," the meaning being that any mighty hunter before the Lord was compared to Nimrod. It is not necessarily implied that more than the words, "as Nimrod," were proverbially used, as they still are in the East, the remaining clause being the words of the writer himself repeated from the previous description of Nimrod. This remark is made with a view to the difficulty that would arise, if it were meant that such a proverbial use of the name Jehovah had prevailed in the writer's time, while its supposed very recent introduction or revival, according to Exod vi. 3, would have rendered this proverbial use of it impossible in the time of Moses. Rather this clause is the writer's own way of describing any great hunter, borrowed from its previous use by himself in reference to Nimrod, all that was actually proverbial being the comparison with Nimrod. The possibility of thus understanding the words is, at any rate, sufficient to neutralise any objection that might be founded on an alleged proverbial use of the name Jehovah in the time of Moses, as might be supposed from the English Version to have been implied by the writer.

§. 2. CH. xi. 1-9. THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES. JEHOVISTIC.

The entire paragraph relating to the confusion of tongues is attributed by the critics whom Dr. Davidson represents to the Redactor, or supposed compiler of the book in its present state.

being a proper name does not take the article, and the word garden may be definite or indefinite, as the ease may be. But even taking it definitely, he is wrong in thinking that in that case the subsequent mention of the land of Egypt supplies a tertium comparationis. Plainly the land of Egypt explains the garden of the Lord, the comparison with it being put in apposition without the copulative. If the garden of Edemus was meant, the descent from it to the land of Egypt would be a sad anticlimax. And though this is countenanced by the insertion of the copulative by the LXX., the Hebrew is not chargeable with it.

The passage is Jehovistic, and cannot therefore be given to the Elohist; it is too Jehovistic even for the supposed junior Elohist, who moreover does not appear before the sixteenth chapter. On the other hand, it is supposed to embody a different tradition from that relating to the Noachic family in the previous chapters. And this supposition is grounded on the circumstance that, while the Noachic descendants are previously represented as having gone forth from Ararat, this paragraph represents the migration to have been to the plain of Shinar from some more eastern region. But Ranke, Untersuchungen, i., p. 186, justly remarks, that this supposition falls to the ground, when it is remembered that the well-known signification of מֶּלֶבֶּרָ is not hitherwards from the east, but towards the east, as correctly translated by Luther. Wherever the expression has a local signification, it signifies on the east side, as in Gen. ii. 8, or towards the east as in xiii. 11. Isaiah ii. 6 is no exception, as the preposition there expresses the comparative, "more than the east," as in the margin of the English Version. It is a similar manner of expression to מֵימֵין, on the right, like the Latin a dextris, and the Greek ἐκ δεξιῶν of Ps. ex. 1. Hence it is in imitation of the Hebrew idiom that the LXX. in Gen. xi. 2 translate ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν. The force of the preposition in this usage is to express from the side mentioned outwards. Thus a person proceeding towards the east, would set out from the eastern side of the place from which he is going. This passage is therefore, in this particular, quite consistent with the previous account of the descent of the Noachic family from Ararat.

The passage indeed is very distinct and peculiar, and is marked by certain characteristics of its own, such as the highly anthropomorphic character of the Divine interposition, rendering the use of Jehovah, in which the LXX. agree with the Hebrew, most appropriate, the repetition of the expression, "go to," and the use of the expressions *lip* and *words* to denote language, instead of *tongue* as in the previous chapter. Some of the partitionists, however, with a view of strengthening the supposition

that the present passage preserves a different tradition, and is chiefly concerned with accounting for the variety of languages, make the Redactor to have introduced into the preceding chapter the recurring expression, "after their tongues," at the same time that he introduced this passage, treating the entire reference to language as due to him. But it is strange that if he introduced this passage with its peculiar phraseology in denoting language, he should at the same moment have introduced a different word in the previous passage from either of those used here. The original writer, having finished the tenth chapter as it stands, might have then at a subsequent period proceeded with the passage now under consideration. At any rate, it is evidently formed artificially, like several others, such as the episode of Abraham's intercession for the cities of the plain, and the narratives of the commencing chapters; this artificial character being plainly intended not merely to give beauty to the passages thus characterised, but to impress them on the memory, and probably to fit them for the purposes of recitation. The present passage is also distinguished, partly perhaps for the same end, by several instances of that alliteration and play on sound and double senses which characterises the book in general, as already remarked; and it is thus connected with other parts of the book.1

VI.—THE GENERATIONS OF SHEM.

Ch. xi. 10-26. DESCENDANTS OF SHEM TO ABRAHAM. NO MENTION OF GOD.

This section has no mention of God whatever, but it is assigned by the partitionists to the Elohist, because it employs the *Hiphil* form of the verb ', to beget, as in ch. v., instead of the form in *Kal*, which appears in the preceding genealogy assigned to the Jehovist. It has already been shown that no importance attaches to the frequency of the repetition of this

² Thus, בְּנִים ְּלְבְּנָה לְאָבֶן ,נְיְשְׂרְפָּה לְשְׂרֵפָּה לְבְּנָה לְבְּנָה לְבָנָה לְבָנָה לְבָנָה בְּנֵי בָּנִוּ בְּנֵיּ

word, as it exists in a recurring formula, the entire number of instances being only equivalent in this chapter, as in ch. v., to one instance, and therefore not marking any striking peculiarity of style. But both here and in ch. v. the descendants are single persons, the immediate progeny of those by whom they are begotten, not tribes or families, which are chiefly set out in ch. x. This difference may possibly have occasioned the difference in the form of the verb, the Kal form of this verb being used of the remote or the immediate offspring, the Hiphil, denoting to cause to bring one forth, being used apparently only of the immediate progeny. But while these genealogies have for this cause been assigned to different authors, there is a circumstance noticed by Ranke, Untersuchungen, i., p. 15, which tends to show a unity of purpose indicating the same authorship. He remarks that, while in ch. x. Shem is described as the father of all the children of Eber, with special reference to the importance of Eber as the progenitor of the Hebrew race, yet after his sons Peleg and Joktan are named in v. 25, the genealogy of Peleg is not traced farther down, while the descendants of Joktan are enumerated. Thus, while the descendants of Eber are given in the line that least concerned the writer, the table is manifestly defective in the very particular that must have been uppermost in his mind. By this omission he says we are directed to the sequel, namely, the genealogy in ch. xi., where this deficiency is supplied. In the genealogy of ch. x. the descent is given until the children of Eber divide into two branches, one of which is pursued here, the other deferred to be given in the line from Shem to Abram, Nahor and Haran, which connects itself more immediately with the succeeding history: The two genealogies are thus complementary, and thereby indicate unity of authorship.

¹ Deut. iv. 25 is not properly an exception. The immediate progeny stands in connexion with the verb, and *childrens' children*, subjoined after that had been written, would scarcely in any case have occasioned a change in the form first adopted.

** Additional Remarks on Chapters I.-XI. 26.

As the Bishop of Natal in the earlier part of his work carried his investigations only to the close of ch. xi., it may be well to pause here, and to consider a few arguments on which he so far relied in support of his speculations, which may not have been sufficiently examined in the course of the preceding remarks.

(1.) And first in reference to the names of God in the entire portion of the book, down to this point, he tells us, after his usual manner, p. 48, that the Elohist uses the name Elohim 56 times in 136 verses, and Jehovah never, while the Jehovist in 157 verses uses Elohim eight times, Jehovah-Elohim 20 times, and Jehovah 30 times. In order to judge the true significance of these numbers, as indicating any predominating tendency to the use of either name, it must be observed that the number of verses through which either name is diffused is quite irrelevant to this inquiry, as there are whole tracts of the narrative in which no occasion for the mention of God presents itself. it has been already remarked in reference to the 35 times in which the name Elohim occurs in ch. i. ii. 1-3, that owing to the uniformity of the entire passage, and the regular recurrence through that whole discourse of the same forms of expression, and the prevalence throughout of the reason which at the first suggested the use of Elohim, the repetition of that name is after all equivalent only to one instance of its use, as indicating any preference for it. The same remark may be made in reference to many other passages, in which one or the other name having been, for whatever reason, once adopted, its repetition through the remainder of the passage is a matter of course, and does not add in any respect to the character of the passage as Elohistic or Jehovistic. The use of the compound name Jehovah Elohim is indifferent, and indicates no preference for either. aside the places where this occurs, and reducing to one the numbers of times in which the same name is repeated as a matter of course, in sequence with its first adoption, the justness of which in each case the reader can judge for himself, the alternation of the names will be as follows:—

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Сн. і. іі.
           1-3 Elohim, 35 times = 1
           1-5 Elohim,
      iv.
                Jehovah,
            1
                         1
          2-16
                Jehovah,
            25
                Elohim,
                          l
            26
                Jehovah,
                         1
                          2
            1
                Elohim,
                                  = 1
         22-24
                Elohim,
                          3
                                  = 1
                              ,,
            29
                Jehovah,
                         1
           2-4
                Elohim,
                          2
             3
                Jehovah, 1
           5-8
                Jehovah, 4
          9-22
                Elohim,
                          5
      vii.
           1-5
                Jehovah,
                          2
             9
                Elohim,
                          1
                                 = 1
                Elohim,
                          1
                Jehovah, 1
     viii.
            1
                Elohim,
                                 = 1
            15 Elohim.
                          1
         20, 21
                Jehovah,
                          3
           1-6 Elohim,
                          2
                                 = 1
          8-17
                Elohim,
                          4
                Jehovah,
                         1
                Elohim,
                          1
            27
                Elohim,
                         1
            9
                Jehovah, 2
           5-9
                Jehovah, 5
                                      =- 1
                                   15
                                       12
```

Hence for the purposes of the present enquiry, and as evidence of any predilection for either name, the case is just as if in these eleven chapters, in the order of succession and at the distances here indicated, the name Elohim recurred singly 15 times, and the name Jehovah 12 times. Had these names been thus thinly scattered, and their places in other instances been supplied as they might, and in other languages would for the most part have been, by pronouns or other devices, it is probable the Jehovist and Elohist as separate writers would never have been dreamt of. It is only the Oriental, or at any rate the Hebraistic, habit of repetition which we Westerns try to avoid, that has given a supposititious importance to the recurrence and alternation of these names.

- (2.) There are several phrases and expressions which are thought to distinguish the different writers, besides those which have been noticed as we have proceeded with our inquiry. Some of these will be best examined after we have gone through the entire book, such as the use of the two forms of the first personal pronoun, and the use of the third personal pronoun, with, the employment of the particle has a preposition in the sense of with, the use of the particle has a preposition in an hundred in stat. constr. or the contrary, and and some others. A few that more particularly belong to these earlier chapters, may, however, be noticed here.
- 1. The compound מלמעלה, "from above, upwards," in vi. 16 and vii. 20, is a mere accidental coincidence.—2. The expression, "creepeth upon the earth," repeated in the enumerations of different creatures, is adopted as a matter of course from ch. i. It is sometimes "upon the ground," as in vii. 8, sometimes "upon the earth," as in vii. 21. The Elohist has both words, "earth" and "ground," in ch. i., and the Jehovist both in ii. 6, 7.—3. In the same connexion the use of the words and שרין is insisted on. Both, whether as verbs or substantives, occur in the Elohistic parts. They are distinguished as denoting different creatures in ch i., and so are enumerated separately in the history of the deluge, which follows the enumeration of the creatures in that chapter. The substantive is used also in the passages ascribed to the Jehovist, vi. 7 and vii. 23. In the Jehovistic commencement of ch. vii., the mention being only of clean and unclean animals, there was no occasion for mentioning these words, and though there is no mention of שֶׁבֶין in the Jehovistic enumerations in vi. 7 and vii. 23, yet it is to be observed that it is also omitted in the Elohistic vii. 8, while מָלֵשׁ is specified, as also is the case in vii. 14.-4. The expressions, "all flesh," and, "wherein is breath of life," are said to distinguish the Elohist, while every living substance, בֶּל־הַיִּקוּם, and "in whose nostrils was breath of life," in vii. 22, 23, distinguish the Jehovist. But the fact is

only, that advantage is taken of the recurrence of the former of these expressions with others, in the copiousness of the writer's style, to assign v. 23 to the Jehovist, of whose style it cannot then in turn become a test. The expression, "wherein is breath of life," is referred to i. 30, as Elohistic, and "in whose nostrils was breath of life," to ii. 7, as Jehovistie. But in i. 30 the expression is not "breath of life," but "a soul of life," or "living soul," as in the Jehovistic ii. 7; and in vii. 22, we have the same phrase, "breath of life," as in vi. 17, with the addition of the word "nostrils," and the word translated "breath" in ii. 7.1 The so-called Elohistic and Jehovistic passages are by these expressions closely bound together, instead of being distinguished and separated. Much cannot now be made of the expression, "all flesh," apart from that which is connected with it in these passages of chapters vi. and vii.—5. The word התהום, "the deep," in Gen. i. 2, vii. 11, and viii. 2, is thought to characterise the Elohist, and its use in the latter places to have reference to the waters below the firmament in ch. i., as distinguished from the waters above, to which the windows of heaven would have reference. Whatever may be thought of this supposed reference, the word itself—the use of which in ch. vii. and viii. is only equivalent to one instance, the second being a mere repetition of the first—can scarcely be regarded as specially indicating the Elohist, when it is to be found, as its only subsequent place of occurrence, in xlix. 25, which is assigned to the Jehovist.—6. The verb in the sense of "began," in vi. 1, ix. 20, x. 8, and xi. 6, as compared with iv. 26, is thought to indicate the Jehovist. But the conjugation

> י E. Gen. i. 30— אֲשְׁשֶׁר־פּוֹ נֶפֶּשׁ חַיָּה קּאַפְּיו נִישְׁמַת חַיִּים וְיְהִי הָאָדֶם לְנָפֶשׁ חַיָּים E. Gen. vi. 17— אַשְׁר־פּוֹ רוּחַ חַיִּים אַשֶּׁר־פּוֹ רוּחַ חַיִּים אַשְׁר נִשְׁמַת רוּחַ חַיִּים

It is plain from the comparison of these phrases that the forms of expression are equally characteristic of both the supposed writers.

is different, if the meaning is not doubtful, in iv. 26. Its use in this sense, however, appears to be confined to passages given to the Jehovist, valeat quantum, only that some give ix. 20 to a different writer.—7. In vi. 6, יְהְעֵצֵב', "grieved himself," is compared with the word "YEE" for "sorrow" in iii. 16, 17, and in v. 29, which latter, however, is merely a reference to the former. The use of the verb in one place and the noun in another will hardly be thought to indicate any distinctive similarity of style.—8. The use of איש ואשתו, for male and female, in vii. 2, which however the Samaritans do not follow, is adduced as a Jehovistic peculiarity; but as it is admitted that immediately after, in v. 3, the words used by the Elohist, זֶּכֶר וּנְקַבָּה, are also employed, much weight is not attached to this peculiarity.—9. The form אָבֶלְה, "food," in vi. 21 and ix. 3, as compared with i. 29, is regarded as an Elohistic distinction; but in vi. 21 we have also the form , which is likewise used in the Jehovistic ii. 2 and iii. 6.—10. יצר in vi. 5, and viii. 21, denoting imagination or figment of the mind, is compared with the verb used in ch. ii. to express the formation of man and animals of the dust of the earth. But, besides the difference between the words, as verb and noun, the use is figurative in one place and quite literal in the other. The comparison is therefore far from indicating any Jehovistic similarity of style.—11. Because is used in vii. 22 to denote the dry land, while יבשׁר is used for the same purpose in i. 9, 10, this difference is thought to suggest different writers; as if the same writer might not have varied his expression, and that after a sufficient interval to have lost sight of the word previously used. Surely this is great trifling. So is also the reference to יקוֹם in vii. 4 and 23, as characterising the Jehovist; the latter follows as a matter of course from the former: every living substance was to be destroyed, and so it is declared that every living substance was destroyed, the sameness of the writer being admitted on all hands as regards these passages. The same may be said of yil, "to die," in vi. 17 and vii. 21; and of היה for a wild beast in ch. i.,

in vii. 14, and in viii. 1, 17, 19, as Elohistic words. If the separated parts were proved to belong to different writers, then these coincidences would to some extent countenance the appropriation of the parts where they occur to the same one of them; but they give no help to the separation of these passages from the parts assigned to the other. It is not clear, indeed, that the Bishop means to use these comparisons farther than as indications of the sameness of authorship, except when he contrasts them with other forms of expression. But as no one questions the sameness of their authorship, something more seems to be suggested, as if these resemblances tended to differentiate the passages in which they occur, from others from which they are simply absent. If they are not distinctive, it is mere trifling to adduce them.—12. There are a few more similar resemblances, to which as these remarks apply, it will be enough simply to indicate them. Thus i. 31, "Elohim saw... and behold," and vi. 12, "Elohim saw . . . and behold:" iii. 16, "Thy desire," etc., and iv. 7, "his desire," etc.: ii. 19, "to see," and viii. 8, "to see:" iii. 23, הֹבְשׁ, "send forth," applied to exclusion from Eden, and viii. 8, 12, applied to sending the dove from the ark; but in the former case, the word is used with a paranomastic reference to its previous use in a quite different sense, v. 22, "Lest he send forth his hand . . . therefore Jehovah sent him forth:" in iv. 2, "added to bear," and viii. 10, 12, "added to send," and "added not to return,"—the usual way of expressing repetition: to signify the time when, in iii. 8, "at the cool of the day," and viii. 11, "at the time of evening:" "be fruitful and multiply," in i. 22, 28, and afterwards in the Elohistic parts of the history of the deluge, where, however, it is mere reference to ch. i.: beginning of arts, in ch. iii., and of making wine in ix. 20, 21; but here it is not wine that began to be made, but Noah began to be a husbandman, which Cain was before; the expression, moreover, being different, as Cain was "a servant of the ground," and Noah "a man of the ground:" the covenant to be established in vi. 18, compared with that in ix. 11; but though there is verbal similitude, the covenants are different: curses in iii., and the curse of Canaan in ix., besides reference to the curse of the ground in v. 29 and viii. 21, where, however, the word for curse is different : אֹכוּל עוֹר, in viii. 21, compared with a similar phrase in viii. 12: בְּעֲבוּר, "on account of," in iii. 17 and viii. 21 in reference to the curse of the ground : הבוֹת, "to smite," in iv. 15 and viii. 21: "remember," in viii. 1 and ix. 16: נתן for set or place, of the heavenly bodies, in Gen. i., and of the bow in ix. 13; but the word is not used out of its common sense in either place: "make a name," in xi. 4, compared with "men of name," in vi. 4: Jehovist's knowledge of geography in ch. x., compared with like knowledge in ch. ii., which latter is no knowledge at all, as it is plain no such four rivers proceed from a common source (see Dis. I., pt. ii.): זְּבָּרֶד, in ii. 10, for the dividing of the river of Eden, and the same word in x. 5 for the dispersion of tribes: יְלֶבֶר, "was born" in iv. 18, and like word in x. 1: מל-קל, "everything living," in iii. 20 and viii. 21: distributive use of 3 in vii. 21, viii. 17, and ix. 2: "animal of the field" in ii. 19, 20, and iii. 1, 14, contrasted with "animal of the earth" in ix. 2, 10: "and to Seth, even to him was born," in iv. 26, as of Shem in x. 21; but from the position of גם־הוא in the latter place, it is probable that it should be construed with what follows, "also he was the father," not "to him also was born :" על־כן, he was, in iv. 20, 21, and x. 9 : על־כן, therefore, in ii. 24 and x. 9: the window in the ark in vi. 16 and in viii. 6; but the word for window is not the same in both places, which the Bishop would say in another case suggests a different writer. A large proportion of these phrases and words are such as might have occurred in any writings, being the current modes of expression for certain ideas, though it is freely

יו It seems scarcely necessary to mention the difference noticed between the Jehovistic expression, "thou and all thine house," in vii. 1, and the enumeration of the members of Noah's family in the Elohistic portions. The use of the word בֹלְתֹי is also noticed as a Jehovistic negative in iii. 11 and iv. 15. Its subsequent occurrences are xxi. 26, which Davidson's table assigns to the junior Elohist, perhaps that he should not give this word to the earlier Elohist, xxxviii. 9, given to the Jehovist, xliii. 3, and xlvii. 18, passages given to Jehovist.

admitted that they mark a considerable resemblance of style in passages, which were never doubted to have proceeded from the same author. They certainly do not distinguish the style from other parts sufficiently to indicate different authorship. Many have been ascribed to the Jehovist in particular, simply on account of these resemblances; that is, by a careful selection a style has been made, and then that style has been relied on in proof of a separation of the passages thus characterised.—13. In this portion, viz. in vi. 18 and in ch. ix., occurs the phrase הֵקִים בְּרִית, "to establish a covenant," which, with the phrase נְתוֹ בַרִית, is supposed to characterise the Elohist, as distinguished from בָּרֵת בַּרִית, "to cut," etc., regarded as the Jehovistic formula. The passages in which either phrase occurs are too few to establish any decided usage in connexion with other Jehovistic or Elohistic peculiarities. The first mentioned expression occurs in only three instances in this book, except when it is repeated in this ninth chapter and in xvii., first in in vi. 18, then in ix. 9, simply repeated again in ix. 11, and referred to in v. 17, and thirdly in xvii. 7, 21, the other phrase being used in xvii. 2. Now in none of these places would the other formula, which implies the ratification of a covenant by sacrifice, have been properly used. In vi. 18 God simply makes a promise or engagement without any ratification or token whatever. In ch. ix. he makes an engagement or promise, giving as a sign or token of its fulfilment the bow in the cloud, in which connexion any reference to the slaying of a victim, as implied in the other phrase, would be plainly improper. In ch. xvii. the covenant of circumcision is established also without any sacrifice. God first says he will give his covenant, by which expression is to be understood the giving of the sign or token of the covenant, namely circumcision; and so in v. 13 we read, "My covenant shall be in your flesh." Then in v. 7 he varies the expression, using the word "establish," literally, "cause to arise," the expression which would imply a sacrifice being quite consistently avoided. On the other hand,

the instances of the other formula all have reference to cases where the covenant is ratified by sacrifice. These are also few but clear. First, in ch. xv. Abraham by God's desire takes the victims and divides their carcases, and a smoking fire and burning lamp passes between the parts. Immediately after this it is added, that on that day Jehovah made a covenant with him, the verb being here בַּרָת. Again, in xxi. 27, 32, the Elehistic connexion of which is sought to be evaded by attributing that passage to the supposed junior Elohist, there was plainly a sacrifice of some of the sheep and oxen, of which it is said that Abraham "took sheep and oxen and gave them to Abimelech, and both of them made a covenant." In xxvi. 28, 30, in like manner, the feast mentioned in the latter verse plainly implies the slaying of a victim in ratification of the covenant, of which they afterwards eat. Lastly, in xxxi. 44 the same phrase is used, the proposition there made for the establishing of a covenant being carried into effect by the sacrifice described in v. 54. The expressions therefore, as employed in this book, are not interchangeable in their signification. The one is used in reference to one particular manner of making a covenant, the others in reference to cases in which the former would be wholly out of place. The use of the expression in the other books of the Pentateuch is quite consistent with the usage in Genesis. In Exod. xxiv. 8 Moses at Horeb, sprinkling the people, says, "Behold the blood of the covenant which Jehovah hath made with you." This is plainly a case in which the covenant was made with sacrifice, and it is referred to again in several places, the same formula being used in reference to it.1 In Deut. xxix. 1 mention is made of a command given to Moses to make a covenant with the children of Israel, beside the covenant he had made with them at Horeb. Doubtless the new covenant was to be made in the same manner as the former, and the significance of the expression is thus preserved. This is again referred to under the same phrase in xxix. 14 and xxxi. 16. Besides these instances, the expression

¹ Exod. xxxiv. 10, 27, Deut. iv. 23, v. 2, 3, ix. 9, xxix. 1.

is used four or five times in speaking of a league or covenant between the children of Israel and other nations, where its appropriateness is undoubted, the universal practice of ancient times having been to make a league by slaving a victim, as expressed. by the Greek ὅρκια τέμνειν, repeated in the Latin fædus ferire. Wherever the expression is used therefore in the Pentateuch it has a special significance. The instances of the other phrases in these books are few. In Exod. vi. 4 the reference is probably to Gen. xvii., where the sacrificial phrase was inappropriate. In Lev. xxvi. 9, and Deut. viii. 18, the expression does not refer to the making of the covenant at all, but to the subsequent confirming and making it good. This is also the case with the giving the covenant to Phinehas in Num. xxv. 12, which simply means the special appropriation to Phinehas of the already existing covenant of the priesthood. Thus the use of these varying formulæ for the making of a covenant does not depend on the habitual absence of the idea of sacrifice from the mind of one writer, and its presence in the mind of another, as might be alleged, but on the circumstances related in each particular case. If the covenant was one made by sacrifice, the sacrificial term was employed; if it was a case in which no sacrifice was made, a more general form of expression was used. In later books of the Bible the terms may have become more indiscriminate in their use, as when Job says, "I have made a covenant with mine eyes;" but such is not the case in the Pentateuch.—14. Another expression relied on as Jehovistic (Davidson, p. 30) is און, as in Gen. vi. 8, " Noah found grace in the eyes of Jehovah." Its use in this Jehovistic connexion is easily explained. The proper expression is not simply "to find favour," but "to find favour in the eyes of" the person mentioned, or in his sight. Through the entire book the expression is used about a dozen times, and in all these instances, except vi. 8, it is used in conversation with, and in reference to, men or angels appearing as men. It so happens that these conversations, on account of the brief and summary nature of the passages ascribed to the Elohist after ch. xvii., are given to the full and copious

narrative of the Jehovist. Had the Elohistic narrative embraced many conversations of this kind, the phrase, which was plainly a conversational formula in common use, would doubtless be found in these also. As it is, there was scarcely an opportunity for its use by the Elohist in the passages ascribed to him, however disposed he might have been to have so expressed himself on a suitable occasion. In the one instance in which it is used in speaking of God in this book, namely vi. 8, the anthropistic character of the phrase naturally connects it with the personal, and so frequently anthropomorphic, Jehovah.

(3). A style of copious iteration, coupled with a variation of expression which is repeated in the successive repetitions, has made possible, as regards the deluge, a separation into two narratives, and at the same time the giving to each a certain semblance of proper style. However, even after this ingenious separation, it may perhaps be possible to detect sufficient marks of resemblance between the separated parts of this account of the deluge compared with one another, and with the other portions previously assigned to the different authors, as well as in those other portions compared together, to weaken the force of the characteristics just enumerated, and to give good ground for supposing that all proceeded from the same author. It will be well now to observe these points of resemblance between the parts assigned to the different authors, of whose writings the narrative is supposed to be compiled. 1. At the very outset the Elohistic Gen. i. announces the creation of the heavens and the earth, and in the course of the chapter the expression is sometimes varied to make. Both are united, "created to make," in the last clause of this section, ii. 3. Then at the commencement of the Jehovistic account of the creation in ch. ii., there is mention of "heavens and earth in their creating, in the day that Jehovah Elohim made earth and heavens." And again we find the two expressions, "created" and "made," in the Jehovistic vi. 7, in reference to animals and man, as in i. 25-27.—2. The Elohistic manner of expression, ch. i., "the face of the deep," "the face of the waters," "the

face of all the earth," and in vii. 18, "the face of the waters," 23 and viii. 13, "the face of the ground," is in like manner to be found in its several forms in the Jehovistic ii. 6, "all the face of the ground," iv. 14, "face of the ground," and again in vi. 1, 7, "face of all the earth," vii. 3, "face of the ground," vii. 4, and again in viii. 8, "face of all the earth," viii. 9, and again xi. 4, 8, 9.—3. The antithetic forms in ch. i., characterising the Elohist, such as heavens and earth, light and darkness, day and night, evening and morning, dry land and water, waters above the firmament and waters below the firmament, are not only paralleled in the subsequent Elohistic "clean beasts and beasts not clean," vii. 8, and "windows of heaven and fountains of the deep," vii. 11, but also in the Jehovistic "good and evil," ii. 17, "beast of the field and fowl of the air," ii. 19, seed of the woman and seed of the serpent, his heel and its head, iii. 16, "sons of God and daughters of men," vi. 2, "forty days and forty nights," viii. 4, "seed time and harvest, cold and heat, summer and winter, day and night," viii. 22.-4. "Elohim saw," i. 12, etc., and vi. 12, and "Jehovah saw," vi. 5. —5. "To rule over" expressed by בו in the Elohistic i. 16, and in the Jehovistic iii. 16 and iv. 7.-6. Elohim speaks to himself in the plural form, "Let us make man," in i. 26, Jehovah Elohim, "The man is become as one of us," in iii. 22, and Jehovah, "Go to, let us go down," in xi. 7.-7. In ch. i. man and other creatures are bid to be fruitful and multiply, and vi. 1, "men began to multiply."—8. The enumeration of animals subjugated to man in i. 26 mentions the fishes of the sea, the fowl of the heavens, the cattle, and everything that creepeth on the earth; and the animals to be destroyed besides man, in the Jehovistic vi. 7, are the cattle, the creeping things, and the fowl of the heavens, fishes being of course excluded there. And the same enumeration occurs again in the Jehovistic vii. 23. Thus if the other enumerations of ch. i. are paralleled in the subsequent Elohistic parts, this is in the Jehovistic.—9. The Elohistic grant of food in ch. i., as far as expressed, is only of trees and

herbs; so likewise the Jehovistic grant in ch. ii. is only of the fruit of trees, no grant of flesh for food being there expressed. It may be allowed to the Bishop of Natal, that iv. 4 implies the use of animal food. "The fat thereof" does not, indeed, mean the fat as distinguished from the rest of the flesh supposed to have been eaten, but the best of the flock, as in Num. xviii. 29. But the keeping of sheep may be taken to imply the use of animal food, as the grant of dominion over all animals in ch. i. may be supposed to imply the use of them for food as for other Thus these passages coincide in the implied grant of animal food, as in the expressed grant of vegetable.—10. The week of seven days, and the sanctification of the seventh day, in the first Elohistic passage, find their counterpart in the sevens of clean animals, the seven days' warning before the deluge begins, and the intervals of seven days in the story of the raven and the dove, all ascribed to the Jehovist, as well as in the sevenfold, and seventy and sevenfold, vengeance to be taken on him who should slay Cain and Lamech in ch. iv.—11. It seems in reference to this protection of the homicides in ch. iv., which is Jehovistic, that the sentence of punishment to be inflicted on the shedder of man's blood in the Elohistic ch. ix. is pronounced; "whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." The words, "at the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man," unmistakeably refer to the inquiry by Jehovah in ch. iv., "What hast thou done? the voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground."—12. In iv. 15 Jehovah gives a sign or token to Cain, that no one finding should kill him, not, as in the English Version, sets a mark upon him, which would rather tend to cause his destruction by identifying him to those that should find him. The original is ישם אות which may be compared with ישם אות in Exod. x. 2. Then in ch. ix. 12 the bow, which Elohim sets or gives in the clouds, is given for a token or sign, לאוֹת, of the covenant not to destroy the earth any more by a flood.—13. Seth as the son of Adam, and Enos as his son, of whose birth an account is given at the close of the Jehovistic ch. iv., re-appear in the Elohistic account of the descendants of Adam in ch. v. It is a gratuitous assumption that Seth appears in this latter as the eldest son. The object is only to trace one particular line, namely that from which the promised seed should issue. In that line more than once a younger son takes the place of an elder, as in the case of Shem, of Isaac, of Jacob, of Judah, of Pharez, and as in that of David and of Solomon in later times.— 14. The Jehovistic distinction of clean and unclean animals in vii. 2 and in viii. 20 appears also in the Elohistic vii. 8, a coincidence which neutralises the apparent inconsistence between the numbers taken according to either passage.—15. The word מָקְצֵה, "after the end of the 150 days," in the Elohistic viii. 3, may be compared with viii. 6, ascribed to the Jehovist, מָכֶּי, "after the end of forty days." The choice of the briefer word here is not owing to a different habit of speaking, but to the hiatus which the final 7 might occasion with the word for "forty" following, which begins with \$.-16. Jehovah's observation of the wickedness of man in vi. 5 may be compared with Elohim looking upon the earth, and seeing its corruption in vi. 12; though the phraseology is something different, yet the thought is similar.—17. The similarity has already been noticed between "a soul of life" in the Elohistic i. 30, and "a living soul" in the Jehovistic ii. 7, in both נפש הנה; and again between the מים, "breath of life," in the Elohistic vi. 17 and vii. 15, and in vii. 22 ascribed to the Jehovist.—18. Stress was laid on the different words used by the supposed different authors to express the destruction to be occasioned by the flood, wipe, properly wash away, in one case, and corrupt in the other. The destruction is, however, also expressed by dying, in the Elohistic vi. 17 and vii. 21, and then in the next verse ascribed to the Jehovist. It is true the verb in one case is 313 and in the other שנת. But the change of verb is sufficiently accounted for by the needful variation in the repeated mention of the death of all creatures, on the supposition of only one author. The two

verbs are combined in the formal mention of the death of Abraham in xxv. 8, of Ishmael in xxv. 17, and of Isaac in xxxv. 29. It is true these verses are ascribed to the Elohist, the greater part of the chapters in which they occur being given to the Jehovist, not on the ground of any prevalence of the name Jehovah, for they are all Elohistic in this respect, but simply for the exigencies of the theory. Perhaps the unwillingness to allow the Jehovist to use the word yil may be one reason of the separation. The combination of the words by either destroys the distinctiveness of the usage.—18. The verb substantive followed by \ with the verb denoting what took place, occurs in the Jehovistic iv. 8, vi. 1, vii. 10, and viii. 6, this manner of speaking being rendered in the English Version, "It came to pass that." The same manner of expression occurs in the Elohistic viii. 13, "It came to pass that," ix. 14, "It shall come to pass that," and then re-appears in the Jehovistic xi. 2.

The alliterations, and play upon the sounds and double senses of words, already noticed, and frequently recurring through the entire book, may also be recalled here as equally characterising the parts ascribed to the Jehovist and the Elohist.

These points of resemblance in the parts assigned to the different writers, in these earlier chapters of Genesis, tend to neutralise the characteristics which are relied on as distinctive. Such verbal grounds of distinction or identification are, however, greatly weakened as evidence on either side, in the case of Hebrew writings, in which the prevalence of repetitions with variations of expression affords an opportunity of dividing a narrative into two, each of which may stand in a certain way by itself, care being taken to assign to each such of the duplicate statements as best agree in phraseology together.

VII. THE GENERATIONS OF TERAH.

- §. 1. CH. XI. 27—XII. 4. FROM THE BIRTH OF ABRAHAM TO HIS DEPARTURE FROM HARAN. JEHOVISTIC.
- §. 2. CH. XII. 4 (LAST CLAUSE) -20. FROM THE DEPARTURE FROM HARAN TO THE DEPARTURE FROM EGYPT. JEHOVISTIC.
- §. 3. CH. XIII. FROM THE RETURN FROM EGYPT TO THE SETTLE-MENT IN MAMRE. JEHOVISTIC.

The larger section headed "The generations of Terah" contains the history of the chosen family, from Abraham's birth till his death as related in xxv. It has been made an objection against the integrity of the book, that no section exists entitled "The generations of Abraham," but that his history is subordinated to that of Terah. The reason of this, however, is probably not that any separate title, which might have existed originally has slipped out, or been omitted by the compiler of the supposed separate narratives. But the chosen race was not derived from Abraham only, but from Sarah also, to whom in this history an almost equal importance is attached; and the pair are therefore included under their common progenitor, Terah, the father of Abraham and uncle of Sarah, from whom also the other female ancestors of the twelve tribes, Rebekah, and Rachel and Leah, in whose names their handmaids bore children to Jacob, were derived. Hence Terah is set at the head of this section, his descendants being for the purposes of this history traced through Nahor and Haran, as well as through Abraham. If a separate title, "The generations of Abraham," had ever existed, its place would have been before the last clause of xii. 4, where at any rate a new section begins.

The importance of keeping distinct the subsections, into which this part naturally resolves itself, has been already insisted on, and its bearing on the present inquiry fully shown. For the general purposes of the inquiry, however, it will be more convenient to consider together the three lesser sections above noted.

Before we advert to the Jehovistic character of these passages, there are some particulars that require to be noticed. The first of these is the mention in xii. 6 that, at the time of Abram's arrival in the land of Canaan, "the Canaanite was then in the land," and in xiii. 7, the Canaanite and the Perizzite. It has already been shown that the repetition of this particular, so soon after its first mention, is attributable to the writer's custom of repeating in the separate portions such matters as seemed of moment to give them the needful completeness and independence. And in the first instance, the existence of the Canaanites in the land is mentioned with special reference to the first promise of that land to Abraham, a promise not of an unoccupied and vacant country, but of one already in full occupation, such as required a frequent removal on the part of Abraham and his company for want of room. Nor was this a matter needless to be mentioned in the writer's apprehension. For though the occupation of the land by Canaanitish tribes at the subsequent periods of the history was notorious enough, yet it might not have seemed so clear that they had arrived before Abraham's migration thither. We learn from x. 15-17, that the sons of Canaan had grown into tribes before they migrated from their original dwelling, the greater part of Canaan's descendants being only described by tribal patronymics, such as the Jebusite, the Amorite, and so forth; that afterwards, that is, plainly, after they had thus become distinct tribes, the families of the Canaanites were dispersed; and that then, as expressed by the conversive vau, ווהי, the border of the Canaanites came to be (ἐγένετο, LXX.) from Sidon unto Gaza. Now considering how short an interval this history allows from the deluge to the migration of Abraham, and how much time the Canaanites would have taken to become tribes large enough to be obliged to migrate, we see that it might not have appeared to the writer so evident that they had already arrived in the land before Abraham came there, and received the promise of it as an inheritance,

as not to deserve distinct mention. The repetition in ch. xiii. had a different object, namely to account for the want of room for the great flocks and herds of Abraham and Lot. The form of the verb is specially appropriate there, "w", "was dwelling," occupying the country, so as to leave insufficient room for Abram and Lot. There is no ground therefore for supposing that these clauses are antiquarian remarks, betraying a date when those inhabitants had long disappeared.

In the use of the name Bethel there is an instance of the writer's habit of employing names proleptically, if this is not to be attributed, as already suggested, to the translation of the original into a more modern dialect. As it is impossible to say at what period the city of Arba came to be called Hebron, this remark may be unnecessary in regard to the mention of that place in xiii. 18. Hengstenberg, Authentie, ii. p. 190-1, justly infers from Gen. xxiii., that Hebron not being in the possession of the Anakim in Abraham's time, as may be gathered from the absence of any reference to such remarkable occupants, and from the simple mention of the sons of Heth as its possessors, Kirjath-Arba was not the name of the place in this Patriarch's time. Having come into the possession of Arba after Abraham's time, it received the name of Kirjath-Arba from him, a designation which presupposes a proper name besides. This was Hebron, in addition to which, it was also called Mamre in Abraham's time, after its possessor Mamre, as it was afterwards called Arba from a subsequent possessor. Hengstenberg well remarks, that if Anakim or giants had been there in Abraham's time, some reference would have been made to the might of these inhabitants, when with the assistance of Mamre, who was confederate with him, he went to the rescue of the five kings. The expression in xiii. 18, "the plain of Mamre, which is in Hebron," would seem to indicate that this latter name was at that time given to a district, as well as, if not rather than, to a city.

In the table of passages ascribed to the several authors, Davidson, p. 58-9, the whole of ch. xii. is given to the Jehovist

except the last part of v. 4, from "and Abram," and v. 5, which are given to the Elohist.1 The concluding verses of ch. xi., which had been given to the Elohist,2 containing the removal of Terah and his family from Ur of the Chaldees, and their settlement in Haran, the command to Abram in xii. 1 to depart from his country and kindred is the natural sequel to that particular. Haran had become his country, when his father and kindred had settled there; and now the command is, not to leave Ur of the Chaldees, but to separate, not only from his country, but from his kindred and his father's house, which there was no occasion of mentioning at the removal to Haran, as all went together. The pluperfect of the English version, "the Lord had said," as if referring to some command given on a previous occasion, the fulfilment of which was deferred till after Terah's death, is quite wrong. The grammatical construction is in favour of the subsequence of the command to Terah's death, and should be left as it is: "And the Lord said." 3 The LXX. translate correctly, καὶ εἶπε κύριος. The English Version has plainly in view the statement of St. Stephen in Acts vii., which represents the command as prior to the migration from Ur, and the removal to Canaan as subsequent to Torah's death. St. Stephen seems to have followed the Jewish opinion of that day; for Philo also represents this

1 Kuenen only gives the Elohist v. 5, "Pentateuch and Joshua," translated by

¹ Kuenen only gives the Elohist v. 5, "Pentateuch and Joshua," translated by Colenso, p. 131.

2 The Bishop of Natal, note to Kuenen, p. 31, says that certainly xi. 28-30 is Jehovistic. In proof of this he refers us from v. 29 to iv. 19, relying no doubt on the similarity of the phraseology in these verses. Of course no one doubts that they were by the same writer, except some of his fellow partitionists, and therefore the phraseology is only an argument against them. And we have the same phrase, "to take to him a wife," aseribed to the Elohist in xxviii. 6. The mention of Sarai's barrenness cannot be considered out of place, when it is remembered how important this fact was to the entire history regarded in its existing unity. Here it is mentioned at the outset immediately after Sarai's marriage. It is no vain repetition to mention it again in xvi. 1 after a long interval, during which her barrenness might have ceased, and in a connexion where it is highly relevant. He contrasts the mention here that there "was no child to her," with the stress laid elsewhere on its being to Abraham that there was no child, and that a child should be born to him. There was no promise, however, yet to Abraham, and the latter clause in xi. 30, is only the Hebraistic repetition of the first in a different form.

3 [The Jewish Scribes, however, placed the Nun happuchah, or inverted Nun, after xi. 32, to indicate that this verse was inserted parenthetically.]

migration as after Terah's death. The Samaritan reading of Terah's age, namely an hundred and forty five years, would sustain this view. Wall, Critical Notes, vol. i., p. 17, suspecting that the Samaritans purposely altered the age, says that Haran must have been the eldest of Terah's sons, as his brothers married his two daughters, and supposes that Abraham was not born till sixty years after Haran, though he is named first in v. 26. We have seen that Shem, though not the eldest son of Noah, was the first named in v. 32. Here, as there in the case of Shem, the importance of Abram in the writer's mind would have occasioned the mention of his name first. However this may have been, and whether or not the migration from Ur was in obedience to a Divine command, plainly a new command is given to Abram, to make a further migration, and he is bid to separate from his father's house. And then in due course of the narrative, the fulfilment of that command having been mentioned in the first clause of v. 4, and the circumstance that Lot accompanied him, his age at the time of the departure from Haran is also mentioned. This is quite natural, the departure from Haran having been just related. But if this is separated from its contents, and joined as part of the Elohistic narrative to the end of ch. xi., then the departure from Haran is assumed by this Elohistic writer as known by his readers, though not previously mentioned by him. Abram was in Haran at the close of ch. xi., and it is then, according to this supposition, abruptly added that he was seventy and five years old "at his departing from Haran." Plainly a reader would at once suspect that some omission had given rise to this hiatus.2 The difficulty is not

¹ The Bishop of Natal, Pt. v., Crit. Anal. p. 46-7, thinks that Terah was still living at this time. He does not draw any inference from this, but perhaps intends that the command to Abram to go out from "his father's house" in xii. 1, ascribed to the Jehovist, implies that his father was dead, and so is at variance with what is ascribed to the Elohist in ch. xi. If this was intended by the Bishop it will not stand examination. Jacob in xxviii. 20 speaks of coming again to his father's house, while Isaac was still living.

² This objection, however, would not apply to the assumptive manner of referring to the departure in this last clause of v. 4, if it be made part of the prefatory notice prefixed to a new section in the existing narrative, as already suggested; for in that case the departure would have been just mentioned in the previous section and known to the reader thereby.

to the reader thereby.

removed by the more detailed account of the departure in v. 5, for this comes after the assumed understanding of that event by the reader, as of something already mentioned. As the narrative at present exists, this detailed mention of Abram's removal comes in as a matter of course, supplying particulars needed for the completeness of the narrative in the new section now commencing. It adds also that it was not merely Abram himself and Lot that went, as lonely wanderers, which the previous mention of the departure in v. 4 might only signify, but Abram took with him his wife, and they both took all their substance, which they had acquired during a protracted stay in Haran; and it was not simply that they left Haran which is now mentioned, but that they left it to go into the land of Canaan, and that into the land of Canaan they came. And then further, if the last clause of v. 4, and v. 5, be taken out of their places, the statement in the remaining Jehovistic narrative, that Abram departed as the Lord had spoken to him, followed by the mention in v. 6, that he passed through the land, no mention having been yet made of the land of Canaan, would signify that he journeyed through Haran "unto the place of Sichem, unto the plain of Moreh," and with the clause, "the Canaanite was then in the land," would imply that it was in Haran that Sichem, and the plain of Moreh, and the Canaanite were. Such at least is the import of the words according to their grammatical structure, as collocated by the partitionists. On the other hand, a complete, connected, and rational narrative is presented by the history in its present form. The Bishop of Natal, pt. v. Crit. Anal. p. 47, says, indeed, it is very noticeable that the Elohist represents Abram as continuing his migration to the land of Canaan of his own accord, without any special call or blessing, his only call being that given to his father, and the blessing being deferred to a later period, as described in xvii., whereas, the Jehovist makes him go by a special call, and with an immediate blessing, xii. 1-3. This discrepancy, however, is merely the effect of the partition, and cannot be adduced as an

argument in favour of it. The Bishop makes a further disagreement in the fact that by v. 1 Abram was to go to an unknown country which Jehovah was to show him, whereas by v. 5 he set out to go into the land of Canaan. But there is no contradiction: Abram took his course to the land of Canaan "not knowing whither he went;" that is, what was to be his final destination. This he learned afterwards.

So, likewise, ch. xiii. is given to the Jehovist with the exception of v. 6 and parts of 11 and 12. It was necessary to make the Elohist mention the separation of Abram and Lot, and the reason of it. Hence advantage is taken of the characteristic repetitions, and of the mention first of the want of room in the land for both Abram and Lot, and then of the consequent strife between their herdsmen, to separate sufficient from the general history to give the Elohist a brief reference to Abram's parting from Lot. This is effected by giving him v. 6, which states the insufficiency of the land to accommodate both, and then joining to that the latter clause of v. 11, which says that "they separated themselves the one from the other," and the first two clauses of v. 12, which tell that "Abram dwelled in the land of Canaan, and Lot dwelled in the cities of the plain." The last clause, "and pitched his tent toward Sodom," then follows in connexion with the clause of v. 11, which says, that "Lot journeyed east." It is plain that this combination of clauses is rendered possible by the nature of the grammatical connection of the clauses of a Hebrew narrative, each being a short sentence usually joined by a copulative, and by the style of copious repetition in parallel clauses. Such a possibility of forming two narratives out of one would have much more weight in the case of one of our Western languages, than it has in the Biblical history, which is constructed in such a manner as to render it comparatively easy to effect a partition of this kind. But then by this partition the cause of the separation between Abraham and Lot, as assigned by the Jehovist, is an unexplained strife between the herdsmen, and the subjoined mention that the Canaanite and Perizzite were then

dwelling in the land is a mere unmeaning repetition from the preceding chapter. But in the undivided narrative this comes in as helping to account for the separation: there was want of room for both, and the herdsmen were consequently at variance, and the circumstance that rendered the want of room most pressing, was the occupation of the same country by the Canaanites and Perizzites. Moreover in v. 8 Abram adverts not merely to a quarrel between the herdsmen, but to some cause of strife between Lot and himself, which is left unexplained by the proposed partition.

We may now advert to the use of the name Jehovah in these passages, remarking in the first place that the LXX. are by no means in agreement with the Hebrew text. Thus in xii. 17 it is $\theta \epsilon \delta s$ that plagues Pharaoh because of Sarai; in xiii. 10 it is $\theta \hat{\epsilon}$ also is spoken of as having destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah; and the garden of God, not of the Lord, is mentioned in the same verse, while after Lot's separation it is God also that speaks to Abram. At the outset of the history of Abraham it seems to have been thought desirable to attribute the call to the land of Canaan to Jehovah, and to represent Abraham's first worship in that land as offered to him. This would tend to identify the newly introduced or revived name Jehovah with the God that called the Patriarch, and whom he worshipped. When it is said twice in the twelfth, and twice in the thirteenth chapters, that Abram built an altar unto Jehovah, or called on the name of Jehovah, it is by no means asserted that it was under this name that he worshipped him; it may only mean, as already shown, that by whatever name he called him, it was in fact Jehovah to whom he built the altar, and whom he worshipped; as when in ch. xxi. 33 he invoked the name of Jehovah, El-Olam, this latter expression being the name by which he called Jehovah on that occasion. But whatever may have been the case in regard to the use of this name by Abraham totidem literis, it is quite plain that it was the writer's object to bring Abraham from the outset into special relation to Jehovah, as his tutelary God, and the object of his worship. Hence, in these sections, it is JeCH. XIV. 423

hovah that calls him, Jehovah that appears to him, to whom he builds an altar localising his worship, and renewing it when he returns to the same place after his visit to Egypt. It is Jehovah that plagues Pharaoh on account of him, and that promises him a second time the inheritance of the entire land. The Jehovistic usus thus prevailing in the writer's mind must have occasioned the choice of Jehovah, in preference to Elohim, in the comparison of the plain of Jordan to a garden of Jehovah, and the character of the men of Sodom as sinners against Jehovah. It may be observed that the word used for the destruction of Sodom is that which is used for the destruction of all flesh in the Elohistic parts of the history of the deluge, vi. 13, 17, ix. 11, 15.1 Had it been used here in a non-Jehovistic connexion, doubtless it would have been insisted on as an evidence of Elohistic authorship. The explanation of "the garden of Jehovah," by a reference to Gen. ii. 10, is unsatisfactory. The name there being Jehovah Elohim, the reference might account for the double name, had it been used here; but it no more accounts for Jehovah by itself, than it would for Elohim, had that been used here instead of Jehovah.

§. 4. CH. XIV. THE WAR OF THE KINGS. JEHOVISTIC IN ONE INSTANCE, WITH EL-ELION.

This passage is complete in itself, containing an account of the circumstances which led to the war of the kings, to trace which it goes back a few years, and describing Abram's pursuit and slaughter of the four kings, and the interview with Melchizedek on his return. But though the passage is complete in itself, and at the commencement goes back a few years, it yet occupies its proper place in this history of the events of Abraham's life, and connects itself with the preceding passage, not only grammatically, but also by the circumstance that when

¹ Even on the supposition that the partitionists are correct in their views, the destruction of Sodom is not an event related exclusively by the Jehovist. It is also described, though briefly, in the Elohistic verse xix. 29, where we have the same verb to express the destruction.

Abram's assistance is sought, it is at Mamre he is found, the last chapter having closed with the mention of his settlement there; and so is Lot also dwelling at Sodom. It must be observed with reference to the mention of Abram as the Hebrew, that this is not to be regarded as an indication that the author of this passage mentions him now for the first time. The expression, as already shown, is used by the writer in the subjectivity of the man who had escaped and told Abram of what had happened. To such a person Abram was a stranger, only lately settled in this place; and whether the designation, "the Hebrew," was used in a gentile sense, or to denote that he was a stranger who had recently migrated into this country, as it is understood by the LXX., who render it by $\tau \hat{\omega}$ $\pi \epsilon \rho \acute{a} \tau \eta$, in either case one of the natives of the country would naturally, in thinking or speaking of him, add some such descriptive addition. Dean Stanley, "Jewish Church," like some other critics, treats this chapter as a document derived from some lost history of an earlier date than that of the present book of Genesis. The principal ground of this supposition is the frequent introduction of explanatory clauses. There are no less than seven such clauses, explanatory of the names of places; as if the writer, in adopting the document, had felt it necessary to give the modern representatives of these antiquated names. On a close examination, however, of these explanatory clauses, they do not appear so remarkable as at first sight. One of them, namely the second explanation of Bela in v. 8, may fairly be ascribed to the copyists. It was first accidentally repeated from v. 2, and afterwards superstitiously retained. There would else have been as good reason to repeat the explanation of the vale of Siddim in the same verse. This accidental repetition must, however, have been prior to the translation by the LXX. Then the explanation of El-paran, "which is by the wilderness," in v. 6, and of Hobah, "which is on the left of Damascus," in v. 15, is different in form from the others, and being a relative clause appears in each case as a substantive part of the original document. Further, we have CH. XIV. 425

in this chapter two Shavehs, and if the latter, in v. 17, had been left without the subjoined clause, it would have been confounded with the Shaveh Kiriathaim of v. 5, from which it is now distinguished. This clause is therefore to be regarded as à primâ manu also. There are now four of these clauses accounted for. Of the remaining three, the first, "Bela, that is Zoar," would come quite naturally from the original writer, if the same as the author of ch. xix. Having in his mind the more recent name, which he intended afterwards to explain, in using the superseded name which the place bore at the time of the events he was describing, it was to be expected that he would identify it with the more recent. Explaining this name, he would quite as naturally explain also the vale of Siddim, immediately connected with it both locally and in the writer's narrative. And then the fact that he was explaining these names would of itself have led him to explain En-Mishpat, if it had seemed to require it. It is possible, therefore, that it was quite accidentally this passage happened to be thus characterised. At any rate, the supposition, that this and other such documentary materials were made use of, is quite as compatible with the Mosaic, as with any other authorship of the book. Even if this chapter had been taken bodily into the present book, the author used his discrimination in introducing it, just after he had brought Abram to the plain of Mamre, where he is found in the present chapter. The previous mention of Mamre made no explanation of the name. It is here mentioned that the plain was called after Mamre the Amorite, the brother of Eschol and Aner who were confederate with Abram. The description of Lot as Abram's brother's son is quite in accordance with the entire book, which continually repeats the relationship of well-known persons to others, as in this very chapter in the case of Lot, v. 16. Dean Stanley adduces the differences in the rendering of the LXX., as "variations which may be regarded, if not as the original account of the matter, at least as explanations and traditions of high antiquity." He refers in particular to v. 16, where the LXX. have $\tau \dot{\gamma} \nu$ " $\pi \pi \sigma \nu$ instead of "the goods," as if they read in the Hebrew " $\zeta \dot{\zeta} \dot{\zeta}$ " for But this is a variation only in the vowel points, which is also partly the cause of the difference in some of the proper names, similar consonants being also in some instances misread, as particularly likely to happen in the case of names not otherwise known.

It is to be observed that if this fourteenth chapter has been transferred bodily and without alteration from an ancient source into the present book, the use of the name Jehovah in it is more ancient than agrees with the theories that have been founded on the various usage in respect to the names of God in this book of Genesis. The passage does not use the word Elohim at all, but has the shorter form El with the addition Elion, Melchizedek being the priest of El-Elion. This designation doubtless represents the name under which God was worshipped by Melchizedek and his people, as well as by the king of Sodom as may be gathered from v. 22. Abram says to him, "I have lift up mine hand to Jehovah, El-Elion," thus intimating in an assumptive form that his God, designated by the name Jehovah, was the same as that of Melchizedek and the king of Sodom. The general form El appears to have been commonly rendered specific by the addition of an epithet, and so converted into a proper name, as in El-Olam, El-Bethel, El-Shaddai, and here El-Elion. This latter name thus recognised by Abram, and the appellative Elion by itself, was not shunned by the Hebrews; but Elion seems to have become a generic term for deity both in the singular and plural, and in the masculine and feminine, amongst the Phœnicians, and thus appears in the celebrated Punic verses contained in the Pœnulus of Plautus, which commence with the words, N'yth Alonim walonuth, which, according to Bochart,

Dean Stanley, p. 46 note, says that "Jerome, Epist. ad Evangelum, § 6, justly remarks that the narrative leaves it ambiguous whether Abraham gave tithes to Melchizedek or Melchizedek to Abraham." He has not explained wherein the justness of the remark consists. Grammatically it is indeed ambiguous, but otherwise not. Plainly it was of the spoils of which Abram refused to have any, that the tithes were given, and Abram's refusal to have any plainly shows that it was to Melchizedek the tenth was given. The LXX. make it to Abram, but this was possibly owing to national prejudice.

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would be in Hebrew letters, נא את עליונים ועליונות, "I pray the gods and goddesses." Scaliger quotes Philo Byblius as an authority that the Phœnicians called a deity Elion, and explains by this means the name of Abdalonim, the king of Tyre who was conquered by Alexander the Great.1

In this passage the name Jehovah is confined to Abram, the name El-Elion being that employed by Melchizedek and the king of Sodom. This is in accordance with the writer's usual practice never to put the name Jehovah except for a special reason into the mouth of any but one of the chosen race. The LXX. agree with the Hebrew in this place.

It is in this chapter that the mention is made of Dan, on which there has been grounded so much argument as an indication of the late origin of this book. No allowance is made by the objectors for the possibility of another Dan only known to the author of this book, the Dan known in later times being at this period known as Laish. Yet the name probably forms a part of the name of the River Jordan, which near one of its sources is at the present day called El Dhan, according to Burckhardt. Hengstenberg's supposition, that Danjaan mentioned in 2 Sam. xxiv. 6 is the Dan of Genesis xiv., is not so contemptible as some represent it to be. The invariable use of the simple Dan in every place where Laish is meant, and its occurrence twice in that chapter, would seem to show that the addition was in this case made for distinction. Had that place been in existence in the time of the Patriarchs, it would probably have been called simply Dan without the addition, as Laish was the name of the other Dan until after the times of the Pentateuch. This latter, having subsequently become the more important Dan to

^{1 &#}x27;Ελιοῦν Phœnicibus Deus vocabatur, ut docet Philo Bibliensis. Κατὰ τούτους γίνεται τις 'Ελιοῦν καλούμενος, καὶ θηλεία λεγομένη Βηρούθ. Omnino quemvis suorum Cœlitum ita vocabant: ut in Pænulo Fthalonim, walonuth, hoc est אַרוֹיָלֵי (צְּיִלְינִים પૂર્ (צְיִלִינִים Superos, superasque. Et Sisenna ad illum locum notaverat Alon lingua Pænicā esse, Deum. Sic Rex Tyri, quem expugnavit Alexander, vocabatur Abdalonim, עַרְרִיעֶלִינִים, quem Arrianus Azelmilkum vocat. De Emend. Temporum. Not. in Fragm., p. 30.

an Israelite, would take the name simply, and the older Dan would then have required the distinctive addition.¹

The fourteenth chapter is assigned to the Jehovist in Davidson's table of authors. But the Bishop of Natal attributes it to a writer whom he calls the second Jehovist, while Boehmer gives it to the second or junior Elohist, of whom they speak, with the exception of the offering of the tithes v. 20, which he gives to the compiler or Redactor, as inconsistent with Abram's oath not to take anything for himself, on the assumption of course that it was to Abram the tithes were given.² The compiler must have been as well able to perceive this inconsistency as any one else, if it had any existence, which few perhaps will think it has. The Bishop's remark, that "the use of the Divine name, 'El most high,' four times, and of the peculiar designation, 'Proprietor of heaven and earth" twice, of which the former occurs no more in the Pentateuch, and the latter no more in the Bible, is a strong indication that the writer of this chapter has not been very much concerned in the composition of the Pentateuch," is especially weak. He does not perceive that the writer does not present these titles as his own, but as belonging to a particular local cultus which does not re-appear in the history, and that of the four repetitions of El-Elion, the first is the narrator's, describing the office of Melchizedek according to this local worship, two are the words of Melchizedek himself, and the fourth of Abram in reply, who identifies his God, Jehovah, with this El-Elion of Melchizedek. The other title, "Lord of heaven and earth," appears first in Melchizedek's words, and then is repeated in Abram's reply, and is not used by the historian in his own

¹ The mention of Dan in Deut. xxxiv. 1, does not present the same difficulty, as this is in one of the parts of that book, that in any case must have been written at a later period. On the subject of the composition of that book, as a series of documents in which Moses speaks in the first person, introduced by prefatory remarks and followed by similar notices—always by the first and sometimes by both,—in which he is spoken of in the third person, a circumstance indicating a different authorship for these parts, a reference to the excellent work of the "Layman," Mosaic Origin of the Pentateuch, will reward the reader, as indeed will all that that author says on the Book of Deuteronomy.

² Bishop of Natal, Pt. v. Crit. Anal. p. 49-55.

person at all. The numbers therefore on which he lays so much stress are quite irrelevant to the question at issue. But where the partitionists are so much divided amongst themselves, the advocates of the traditionary view may well rest satisfied until they have agreed amongst themselves.

§ 5. Ch. xv.-xvi. 2. THE PROMISE OF A SON NOTWITHSTANDING ABRAHAM'S COMPLAINT OF CHILDLESSNESS. JEHOVISTIC.

THE reasons for connecting the two first verses of ch. xvi. with this subsection have already been given, p. 330-1. The complaint which Abram makes to God of his childlessness, and the promise that, notwithstanding, an heir out of his own bowels should possess the entire land, is suitably followed by the mention of Sarai's barrenness, and the proposition made by her in consequence, doubtless with a view to bring about the fulfilment of the Divine promise, while the repetition of this matter in the next verses, xvi. 3, 4, forms the customary preface to a new section. This repetition, being thus in accordance with the characteristic structure of the entire book, forms no ground for the supposition of different authorship as regards these verses. To the overlooking of this organic structure of the book is due all the difficulty which the seemingly needless repetitions of the connected narrative have caused. It is on this ground that xvi. 2 is in Davidson's table given to the later Elohist. first and fourth verse being joined, as part of the Jehovistic narrative, and 2 and 3 being neither wanted in that, nor, if repetition is to be avoided, proper to be joined together, one is given to the earlier, and the other to the later Elohist. Plainly all this supposed evidence of multiplied authorship vanishes, when the repetition is explained by the partition of sections. Thus v. 2 goes naturally to complete the notice begun in v. 1, and finishes that section; and v. 3 begins a new one with its customary recapitulation, while v. 4 very naturally connects itself with this as part of the consecutive narrative presented in the new section thus commenced.

The entire of the fifteenth chapter is given by Kuenen to the Jehovist, while the critics represented by Dr. Davidson give the first verse to the Elohist, notwithstanding its containing Jehovah, which they make no difficulty in ascribing to editorial alteration. As part of the separated Elohistic narrative it would stand, however, wholly unconnected with anything preceding or following, while xv. 2 would be a most abrupt and improbable commencement of this part of the Jehovist's narrative. Hence it is plain that v. 1 stands in its proper place as part of the original connected history, notwithstanding that it gives a vision to the Jehovist, the Elohist being supposed to have all the visions, by that kind of assumption which creates a characteristic, and then judges by means of it. The Bishop of Natal, however, gives this fifteenth chapter to his Deuteronomist, while others give it to the second Elohist with the exception of v. 3, and 12-17, which they assign to the compiler. Bishop says it cannot belong to the Elohist, as he gives an account of a similar covenant to that here recorded, without any reference to this, in ch. xvii., while it cannot belong to the Jehovist, as the statement that "Jehovah brought out Abram from Ur of the Chaldees" agrees neither with the statement of the Elohist, that it was Terah brought him with him to Haran, and that then Abram went to Canaan of his own accord, nor with that of the Jehovist who makes the call of Abram to have been first given in Haran. The Elohistic statement that Abram went of his own accord to the land of Canaan is entirely a creation of the partitionists themselves, and cannot therefore be used in proof of the correctness of these subdivisions. That Terah originally left Ur without a divine command is founded only on negative evidence; but the statement in xv. 7 implies no more than that Jehovah, who had by a special call brought him to Canaan, had providentially brought him originally from Ur of the Chaldees with this intent. The formula, "the word of the Lord came to Abram," on which he relies, as different from the other Jehovistic introductions of divine communications, is

owing to the disposition for alliteration and play on sounds and double senses so common in the entire book: "After these things (הַרְבַרִים) was a word (דְבַר) of Jehovah."1 The indefiniteness of the phrase, "after these things," is quite imaginary. It is definite enough for all the purposes of the narrative, while few will think the absence of the phrase, "it came to pass," which elsewhere precedes this expression, of much weight. The reasons which the Bishop gives for the chapter being written by the author of the main parts of Deuteronomy only tend to connect these with this book of Genesis, which we are not concerned to deny; nor need we dispute his arguments in proof that the entire chapter has proceeded from one pen against those who would subject it to the same process of subdivision applied to other parts. The objection which the Bishop draws from the similarity of the covenant here mentioned with that described in ch. xvii. may be deferred till we come to that passage.

The name Jehovah prevails throughout, while Abram in addressing him prefixes the title Adonai, which he uses by itself in ch. xviii.2 Jehovah never appears in this book in the vocative by itself, but always has an added name or clause. The LXX. agree with the Hebrew generally as to the use of Jehovah, but in v. 6 and 7 it is in God Abram is said to have believed, and God who says to him that he had brought him out of Ur of the Chaldees.

§ 6. Ch. xvi. 3-15. ABRAHAM'S UNION WITH HAGAR, HER FLIGHT, AND THE BIRTH OF ISHMAEL. JEHOVISTIC WITH EL.

WE have seen the propriety of making this lesser section begin with v. 3, and shown how is thus extinguished all the

¹ Another instance occurs presently after in v. 2, בַּרְמָשֵׁק בֵּיתִי הוּא דַּמְשֵׁלָ

The Adonai Jehovah here is remarked by some as peculiar, and similar to the Jehovah Elohim of ch. ii. and iii. There, however, the expression is the writer's, but not put into the mouth of the interlocutors. Here the expression is not used by the writer in his own person, but put as a title of reverence into the mouth of the Patriarch. But even so, the combination helps to carry out an apparent design already noticed, to identify Jehovah successively with every other prevalent title not rejected from Hebrew use.

imagined necessity of supposing a compilation here from different authors on the ground of needless repetition. The supposition that v. 2 belongs to a third author, and which connects v. 1 with v. 4, makes a very bald transition from the first to the second of these latter verses. "Abram's wife bare him no children; and she had an handmaid, an Egyptian, whose name was Hagar. And he went in unto Hagar," etc." This would make one suppose that the connexion was secret, or at least casual; yet in the next verse we have Sarai referring to her having given her maid into Abram's bosom. Plainly v. 2 would be necessary to give the requisite completeness to this narrative, and then v. 3 comes in as the introductory recapitulation of 1 and 2, at the commencement of a new section. The connexion between 3 and 4 is quite natural and simple: Sarai gave Hagar to her husband Abram to be his wife, and he went in unto her and she conceived. The first clause of v. 15, "Hagar bare Abram a son," is assigned by Davidson's table to the Redactor, as added by him to complete the Jehovistic part which ends at v. 14, according to these writers. But others give the entire of 15, 16 to the Elohist. This indeed would seem necessary on their hypothesis, as by connecting the remainder of v. 15 with v. 13 we have the birth of a son assumed, without any mention that Hagar had conceived or borne one. Plainly the entire of v. 15 stands as the completion of the previous narrative: the angel had informed Hagar that she was with child and should bear a son whom she should call Ishmael; and now this is fulfilled, she bears a son, and Abram calls him Ishmael.

Throughout this passage God is Jehovah, except in the mouth of Hagar the Egyptian. He is only El when she speaks, and she calls the name of Jehovah that spake to her, El-roi: "Thou art El-roi."2 This is in accordance with the author's usual

¹ Here again is the alliterative tendency exemplified : אַישָה לוֹ לָאִישָה. This is

thought to be Elohistic. The last instances noted were Jehovistic.

If El were here the vocative, as in the English Version, it would probably have the vocative prefix 7. Besides Roi () in this name is not a verb. The meaning is, "Thou art a God of seeing,"—" of vision," or "of being seen," as Fuerst translates. In the name of the well perhaps it is a participle %7.

custom as regards those who are not of the chosen race; but at the same time care is taken to identify Jehovah with this God, El-roi, and with the El which forms part of the name Ishmael to be given to her son because Jehovah heard her. The LXX. have God, not "Jehovah, judge between me and thee," in v. 5. Otherwise they agree with the Hebrew.

§. 7. Ch. xvi. 16—xvii. 1-23. THE COVENANT OF CIRCUMCISION. ELOHISTIC WITH JEHOVAH ONCE.

It was shown that the preceding section properly took up the fifteenth verse of xvi. as the completion of that narrative, setting forth the fulfilment of the angel's promise that Hagar should bear a son, and should call his name Ishmael. The sixteenth verse is not required to complete that story. Verse 3 had sufficiently indicated in connexion with xii. 4 what was the age of Abram at Ishmael's birth. There was no need therefore of repeating his age in that section any more than the circumstance of Ishmael's birth. But as an introduction to the next section, v. 16 falls in with the usual custom of the writer, who now repeats the age of Abraham at the time of Ishmael's birth, and then proceeds to tell his age at the next event to be narrated. The connecting of these two verses, xvi. 16 and xvii. 1, thus gives to this section Ishmael's as well as Abraham's age at the time of their circumcision, the subsequent statement of their ages in xvii. 24, 25 belonging to the ensuing section, as already shown.

Having identified Jehovah with the Elohim of the antediluvian world, set him forth as the Elohim of Shem, as the caller and the great object of worship of Abraham, as one with the El-Elion of the worshippers of the true God in the land of Canaan, and with Adonai, as the God from whom Ishmael took his name, and whom Hagar worshipped as El-roi, the author now proceeds, in accordance with a design that has been already indicated, to represent Jehovah as manifesting himself under the most important and significant of those designations, one, in the character of which, according to the authority of Exod. vi. 3, he was specially

known to the Patriarchs. Hence we read that "Jehovah appeared to Abram, and said unto him, I am El-Shaddai." To the Elohistic character of the sequel we shall presently advert, but must first observe that it is the most arbitrary and unwarrantable assumption, on the ground of that succeeding Elohism, to assert that the Jehovah of v. 1 is due to an alteration of the original Elohist's narrative. Kuenen indeed, p. 140, admits that Exod. vi. 2, 3 does not necessitate the supposition that the Elohist never used the name Jehovah in the narrative part of his writing. But he thinks that, as an exception to a rule otherwise followed universally, the use in this instance would justify the supposition by which it has been sought to account for the existence of Jehovah in xvii. 1. But the existence of this otherwise universal rule is itself the great subject in dispute, and all depends upon the previous proof that such an Elohist, as distinguished from the writer of the other parts, ever existed. Moreover, it has been shown just now, as well as in the discussion of the general structure of the book, that the commencement of this section is at xvi. 16, and the repetition which this verse makes of the particulars just stated in the preceding Jehovistic narrative connects the sequel with that preceding passage, and it is quite natural as a matter of course, and in sequence with it, that Jehovah now appears as the name of the Divine being who manifests himself to Abram under the name of El-Shaddai.

It is true, however, that El-Shaddai, standing in a certain contrast as a name, though identified in person with Jehovah, is verbally, and by its general association of thought, closely connected with Elohim, and would naturally suggest its use. The Elohism in the present section is partly due to this. As the writer speaking historically, and in his own person, never uses either El, or El with an addition like Shaddai, but only puts it into the mouth of those whose words he records, he substitutes the kindred Elohim in this chapter when speaking in his own person. But it is only in part that the Elohism is due to this cause. In two places, 7 and 8, "to be a God unto thee,"

and "I will be their God," no other word but Elohim would have been proper, and it would have been used whether the name Elohim or Jehovah was used in the other places. The real Elohism therefore in this passage is simply that we have "God said," four times, "God talked," "God went," and "said unto God," each once. All these follow as a matter of course, from the first adoption of Elohim in the narrative part in connexion with the El-Shaddai of v. 1. The passage is therefore far from showing any Elohistic peculiarity in this respect. The first Elohim having followed from the El-Shaddai in v. 1, its use in the subsequent parts would have been rendered more likely by the necessary use of it in the next two instances in 7 and 8; and thus a prevailing Elohism came to characterise the passage.

The LXX. agree with the Hebrew reading both in the Jehovah of v. 1 and in the Elohim of the subsequent part. But they read for El-Shaddai ὁ θεός σου. Similarly through the entire book, wherever this combination occurs they have "my God," or "your God," according to the occasion. And in Exod. vi. 3 they represent it by $\theta \epsilon \delta s$ $\hat{\omega} \nu$ $a \hat{\upsilon} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$. This mode of rendering, however, they do not afterwards adopt, and it therefore suggests a various reading in the instances where it is adopted, of which there is however no other evidence.1

The great blessings promised in this chapter are treated by the partitionists as the Elohistic version of the promise and blessing related by the Jehovist in xii. 1-3, and there stated to have been given twenty-four years earlier. The blessings are by no means the same; this has not in it an element, which was in the earlier one, and which re-appears in xviii. 18, namely that Abraham should be a blessing to all the kindreds of the earth.2

it was not any preference for one of these words above the other that determined the choice there. Abram had just been bid to go to a land () that Jehovah would

The blessing connected with the covenant of circumcision was local, and had reference to Abraham's own natural progeny. That of xii. 1-3 had in view the whole human race. The blessing pronounced in this chapter on Abraham, moreover, was accompanied by a special rite, namely circumcision, and by a change of name, while nothing of this kind is to be found in the previous blessing.

The blessing here pronounced by Jehovah in the character of El-Shaddai on Abraham included Isaac expressly: "But my covenant will I establish with Isaac," v. 21. It was renewed in the same character of El-Shaddai to Jacob in xxxv. 9-15, with a like change of name as in Abraham's case, and with similar promises of nations and kings to spring from him, and of the inheritance of the land already promised to Abraham and to Isaac. These passages, and the manifest reference to them in Exod. vi., have been regarded as the main pillars of the whole theory of the partitionists. Kuenen, p. 30, speaks of the recognition of their Elohistic authorship as a discovery enlarging our knowledge of the Elohistic characteristics. That xxxv. 9-15 follows xvii., and that Exod. vi. refers to both, is clear, and is what no one need care to deny. The resemblances in each successive one of these passages to the preceding are evidently designed, and are not therefore the spontaneous and unconscious indications of a style and habit of thinking distinguishing the writer from the author of other parts, save as they may have that force in ch. xvii. considered by itself. Neither does Exod. vi. prove that the author had not previously used the name Jehovah, as he plainly does in xvii. 1 except by its violent removal from its place merely to suit the purposes of a theory.

The importance, however, attached to the Elohistic style attributed to this passage makes it well to consider the principal evidences of it here. 1 (1.) The shorter form of the pronoun I, which is used by both the supposed principal writers, will be considered in a general examination of these peculiarities. (2.) El-Shaddai is used here and in other Elohistic connexions. In xxviii. 3, xxxv. 11, xlviii. 3, and Ex. vi. 3, this present passage is either itself quoted, or its quotation successively carried on. The title is also admitted to exist in two Jehovistic passages, xliii. 14, xlix. 25. (3.) Abraham is exhorted to be "perfect," and "Noah was perfect," vi. 9. One is tempted to say, There is a river in Macedon and a river in Monmouth. (4.) The phrases give and establish a covenant, as in ch. ix., are relied on as special Elohistic tokens, the Jehovist using the word cut. This latter expression we have shown to be proper when a covenant is made with sacrifice, as in Gen. xv., and therefore it is used in that chapter. To give, establish (lit. cause to arise), a covenant is also a manner of speaking proper in the case of a superior granting the privilege of a covenant to an inferior, as here and in Gen. ix. These expressions would be unsuitable as between equals, and therefore the other phrase is used in xxvi. 28 and xxxi. 44. The expressions are properly used in their several places according to the circumstances, without reference to the question of their separate Jehovistic or Elohistic origin. (5.) To speak with, the preposition being TN, is used three times. It occurs elsewhere in passages of both kinds, the only reason for making it Elohistic being the relative proportion of its occurrences. (6.) The combination of the words "fructify and multiply," as used in Gen. i. and in the history of Noah, is also relied on with great confidence. The combination in viii. and ix. is simply borrowed from ch. i. In this chapter, both in the blessing of Abraham and of Ishmael. the two words are used, though in the case of Abraham they are separated. In xxviii. 3, xxxv. 11, xlviii. 4, they are simply adopted

¹ Bishop of Natal, Pt. v., Crit. Anal., p. 68-70.

from their occurrence in ch. xvii. The only independent use of the combination elsewhere is in xlvii. 27. There are therefore only three independent instances, viz., in Gen. i., xvii., and xlvii. (7.) The indirect derivation implied in the change of Abram's name to Abraham is relied on as Elohistic. It is not easy to see whether the Bishop thinks that אב המוֹן is given as the derivation of Abraham, or only an explanation of it. This way of explaining words, however, is common in both Jehovistic and Elohistic parts. It is just like that ascribed to the Jehovist in v. 29, where Noah's name is explained. Abraham has its proper derivation from רָּהֶם, "a multitude," a word still subsisting in Arabic, as will be seen in the Lexicons. The consistent use of Abram and Sarai in the Jehovistic passages preceding this chapter, has caused great perplexity to those who regard the Jehovist as an independent historian, and not as merely supplementing the Elohist. (8.) "Kings shall go forth out of thy loins," in xxxv. 11, is simply borrowed from this. "Souls that went forth out of his thigh," in xlvi. 23, adds no significance to this instance. (9.) "The land of thy sojournings," in xxviii. 4, xxxv. 12, and Ex. vi. 4, is merely copied from this place. The expression in xxxvi. 7, xxxvii. 1, may be also taken from this, but its ascription in those passages to the Elohist is quite arbitrary. The "years" and "days" of their sojournings in xlvii. 9 are quite different phrases. (10.) The word THE, for "possession," which begins to be used here, re-appears again in several places. In xlviii. 4 it is only borrowed from this. In xxiii., the Elohistic appropriation of which is quite arbitrary, Abraham seeks "a possession of a burying place," and that expression, according to the legal character of the entire piece, is repeated in v. 9 and 20, and is simply copied in l. 13. In xxxvi. 43, "the land of their possession," stands in contrast with "the land of his father's sojournings," in xxxvii. 1. Both may be derived from ch. xvii.; at any rate, the Elohistic origin of these verses, is hypothetical, being partly grounded on the use of these phrases. Only xlvii. 11 remains as an independent instance, and whether it is in

an Elohistic or Jehovistic connexion, it affects the argument but little. (11.) The use of the Hiphil הוֹלִיד for "beget," has been already noticed. (12.) The expression, "bone of that day," for self-same day, occurs previously in vii. 13, and twice in this chapter, 23 and 26. But it has already been shown, that the latter place belongs to the succeeding Jehovistic section, as part of the recapitulatory preface prefixed to it. Moreover the phrase was in common use, and though an idiom, was not peculiar, as it appears in English to be. Dr. Kay, Cris. Hupf., p. 36, justly animadverts on this and like literal translations of idiomatic expressions. (13.) The word in, "with him," used it is alleged as an expletive, is also relied on. This form is not an expletive in any of the passages referred to in the history of the deluge, except perhaps ix. 8. In the other cases it is needed to complete the sense, except in ix. 10, where "with thee" is explained by the creatures that went out of the ark. In xi. 31, "They went forth with them," the expression, "with them," is indeed expletive, but quite different from the instances that have been referred to. There it is equivalent to our phrase, "they went forth with themselves." In xlvi. 6, 7 the expression, "with him," may be regarded as a needless addition; but whether so or not, the phrase in xvii. 27 is not unnecessary. It implies that all the men of Abraham's house were not merely circumcised, but circumcised simultaneously with himself. Moreover this is connected with the succeeding Jehovistic passage.

These evidences of a differentiating Elohistic character will now show how little ground the partitionists have to rely on the vaunted *discovery*, which they regard the Elohistic origin of this passage to be, or to treat it as one of "the main pillars" of their theories. Perhaps after the examination that has now been made of these evidences, the reader may feel more confidence as we proceed.

§ 8. Ch. xvii. 24-xix. 28. VISIT OF THE THREE ANGELS TO ABRAHAM, HIS INTERCESSION FOR THE CITIES OF THE PLAIN AND THEIR DESTRUCTION. JEHOVISTIC WITH ADONAL.

The reasons have already been assigned for making this section to commence with the concluding verses of ch. xvii. The absence of the name of Abraham from xviii, 1-5,1 and the use of a pronoun instead, suggests some previous mention of the Patriarch's name, while yet the subject matter separates this passage from the preceding one in its main particulars. But the otherwise unexplained repetition at the close of ch. xvii., supplying the prefatory matter to this according to the practice of the writer, contains the name; and the connexion of what it relates of the circumcising of Abraham and his household with the new section is, that his obedience in thus entering into the divine covenant by this newly appointed rite is followed by a renewed promise of the birth of a son and other signal favours from Jehovah. The Elohistic ch. xvii. is thus connected in the closest relationship with the Jehovistic xviii. though they are separated both in subject matter and as different sections, and distinguished by a different usus as to God's name.2

Though this is a lengthened passage, containing several important matters, one of which at any rate, the visit of the three men at the first to Abraham, has nothing to do with the sequel, yet the whole is so closely connected in its form that it cannot be separated into very distinctly marked sections. It has, however, certain rests and stages in its progress; first comes the visit to Abraham, and the promise of the birth of Isaac, then the intercession for the cities of the plain, and lastly the

¹ This has caused much perplexity to the partitionists. Bp. of Natal, Pt. v. Crit. Anal. p. 70-1. The Bishop sees the necessity of connecting with xvii. 24-27 this commencing verse of xviii., but according to his theory supposes that the Jehovist merely supplemented the previous narrative. The division of the sections as exhibited above removes all the difficulty.

above removes all the difficulty.

2 The latter verses of eb. xvii., receiving a Jehovistic connexion as the preface to xviii., present us then with a Jehovistic use of the expression noted as an Elohistic peculiarity to denote the self-same day, viz., "in the bone of that day." It will. mean here the day on which Abraham was ninety years old and nine.

visit of the angels to Lot, and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah.

And first, as to the visit of the three men to Abraham, we are told here, as in the last manifestation, that Jehovah appeared unto him; and it is plain that this appearance was made through one or more of the three men that came to him-three real human visitors as Abraham no doubt at the first supposed. There is therefore no reason for thinking that he used the address "Adonai" at the first, except as he would have used it to his fellow men, though the Masoretic punctuation is the same here as when it is applied to God. The narrative makes it probable that only one of these strangers was the Divine Being himself; for we read, v. 22, that "the men turned their faces and went toward Sodom, but Abraham stood yet before Jehovah," and then in xix. 1 we read that "the two angels," not as in the English Version "two angels" indefinitely, came to Sodom. At any rate we cannot doubt that it was intended by the writer to imply that by this time, and at this second stage of the events recorded, Abraham had become aware he was conversing with a Divine manifestation. But though the writer calls this Divine person Jehovah, the Patriarch speaks of him all through as Adonai. It seems to have been in the following out of the design already noticed. to identify the name Jehovah in the course of the history with all the other designations of the Godhead, that this is done. In the Adonai Jehovah of ch. xv. the word was used rather as a prefix of respect; now it appears as a substantive title applied to Jehovah, just as in the last chapter Jehovah was identified with El-Shaddai, and previously with other titles and designations, and as we shall further observe it to be in the sequel. The conversation in which Abraham pleads for the cities of the plain is marked by several peculiarities, besides the expressions which are supposed to characterise the Jehovist's manner of speaking. Amongst the Jehovistic forms which the Bishop of Natal has noticed, may be instanced the use of the word בעבור for propter,

and אוֹכִי, fortasse.¹ This latter is repeated several times, the former more than once; but the repetition in a recurring form, as here, is only equivalent to a single instance. It has been already observed that there are in this book several instances of passages, on which the writer has exercised his skill in giving them a peculiar artificial form, whereby they stand out as distinct from the rest of the narrative. The commencing passage, with its heptameral subdivision and its peculiar repetitions, is one. The next passage, as already fully exhibited, is another. The genealogies in v. and xi. may be instanced likewise, and the blessing of Jacob's sons in ch. xlix. The present passage is also an instance of a striking character. And it is plain that these passages being designedly composed in a style sui generis, any peculiarities they contain cannot justly be regarded as evidences of the general style, or habit of thinking or speaking, peculiar to the writer, any more than their peculiarity of form, and special mannerisms, should be regarded as indicating authors different not only from each other, but also from the writer or writers of other parts of the book. The character of some of these passages as odes or poems, and of others as singular instances which it was wished to particularise for recitation or recollection, may account for their special form. The first of the expressions above-mentioned occurs in iii. 17, where the curse of the ground for man's sake is mentioned, and in viii. 21, which adds nothing as being an evident reference to the former. It occurs again in xii. 13, 16, and in xvii. 4, instances too few to establish a style through so wide a range of composition. The other word, besides here, only occurs in xvi. 2 and xxiv. 5, instances still fewer, and is therefore no indication of style.

The Bishop of Natal, Pt. v. Crit. Anal. p. 73, says in regard to 18, 19, that "the change to the third person in v. 19, 'that Jehovah may bring upon Abraham what he hath spoken concerning him,' seems to imply that we have here an interpola-

י This passage has another instance of the alliterative tendency of the writer, עָפָר וָאַבֶּּךy, "dust and ashes," v. 27.

tion by a strange hand." And accordingly he assigns v. 18, 19 to the Deuteronomist. The change of person, however, could only indicate an interpolation as regards the clauses in which the third person appears, and is no reason for attributing the previous clause of v. 19 and v. 18 to this strange hand. On the contrary, if the change of person does not separate the latter clauses of v. 19 from the previous parts of that verse and v. 18, it does not indicate any strange hand at all. But it is of moment to the Bishop to withdraw v. 18 from the Jehovist, inasmuch as it has the expression, "nations of the earth," and not "kindreds of the ground," as in xii. 3, and xxviii. 14, the reason for which in those places has been shown. The entire passage (17-21) should be introduced with a pluperfect in translating, the future with the vau conversive having been dropped, and the past form substituted, "And Jehovah had said." The second stage of the narrative thus commenced extends to the end of the chapter.

The third part of the section extends from the commencement of xix. to v. 28 of that chapter. There occurs no mention of God in it until v. 14 where the angel says that "Jehovah will destroy this city." Then in v. 16 Jehovah is merciful to Lot; and in v. 24 Jehovah rains fire and brimstone from Jehovah out of heaven; and finally in the morning Abraham goes to the place where he had stood before Jehovah, the whole history of this event from the commencement being thus strictly Jehovistic in the use of the Divine name by the author. This is quite in keeping with the spirit of the narrative, in which God appears in a bodily form, and in personal converse with Abraham; and having in this form announced the destruction of the condemned cities, then the same personal Jehovah rains on them fire and brimstone from Jehovah out of heaven, while at the close the reference to the conversation between Abraham and Jehovah connects the whole narrative into one.

The LXX. have $\theta \epsilon \delta s$ instead of $\kappa \nu \rho \iota \sigma s$ in xviii. 1, and $\theta \epsilon \delta s$ again in the question, "Is anything too hard for Jehovah?"

v. 14, where the idea simply of Divine power would have made Elohim appropriate even in a Jehovistic connexion. On the other hand they have κύριος for Adonai as well as for Jehovah.

The passage is properly closed at xix. 28, when Abraham sees the smoke ascend as the smoke of a furnace, and a new section begins with a formal introduction.

§ 9. CH. xix. 29-38. LOT AND HIS DAUGHTERS. ELOHISTIC.

THE author having brought the history of the destruction of the cities of the plain to a close, and having left Lot in Zoar before that event, now proceeds to describe his subsequent history. To this he prefixes a recapitulatory preface, in which he reverts to the overthrow with the customary allusive reference to it, as usual at the commencement of sections in respect to some previously mentioned event now specified as a note of time, and refers to God's regard for Abraham, and to his deliverance of Lot for Abraham's sake. He does this, perhaps, with special reference to the misconduct about to be mentioned; it was not for the sake of Lot, or his family, that the Divine interposition for his deliverance was made, but only on account of God's regard for Abraham. In this the idea of Jehovah conversing personally with Abraham had passed from the writer's mind. He is now only concerned with the Divine justice exercised on the depraved cities, and the vindication of the Divine character in delivering a family of such an evil moral disposition as it manifested afterwards. It is true Lot himself, as compared with the people of Sodom, was still "just Lot;" yet how low his moral instincts must have fallen may be gathered from the proposal he made respecting his daughters to the men of Sodom. It is in this view of the matter, and with respect to an implied vindication of the Divine character, that we may suppose the Elohim of v. 29 to have been used. The LXX. agree with the Hebrew in this case.

The Bishop of Natal makes all this Jehovistic, with the

exception of v. 29, which the partitionists in general regard as the Elohist's only reference to the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. Surely so important an event would scarcely have been introduced merely in this allusive way: "It came to pass in Elohim destroying the cities of the plain, Elohim remembered Abraham." Plainly this way of alluding to an important event implies previous mention of it. After a detailed narrative of the whole transaction it is intelligible enough; but, as the partitionists will have it, it is very strange, abrupt, and unnatural. But we have seen that the partitionists have been already obliged to introduce in the Elohistic narrative the great initial fact of the patriarchal history, the departure from Haran, in a like allusive manner in xii. 4, last clause.

The critics represented by Dr. Davidson give this passage after v. 29 to the compiler, because it looks like ix. 18-27. But the Bishop of Natal gives it to the Jehovist. Amongst the few points on which he relies for identifying the passage with the Jehovist's writings, one is the use of Nia, "go in," to denote sexual intercourse, and another the use of שבב, "to lie," carnally, with שַׁב. As the Jehovist is also distinguished by יָדְעָ, "to know," in the same sense, and these are the three ways of expressing that matter in Hebrew, the Jehovist has appropriated to himself all the words expressing it, as the Bishop has given him all mention of that act. But it is plain all these words cannot be distinctive. Another similar case is the use of בְּנִירָה and צְעִירָה for the "elder" and "younger." But as the Jehovist has also ברוֹל and כן for the "elder," and prof for the "younger," the Jehovist claims all the words for comparative ages also. The other distinctions are still more feeble,—the indications of time, "that night," the derivation of the names Moab and Ben Ammi, or Ammon, the paternity of the Moabites and Ammonites, which he compares with iv. 20, 21, where, however, father is used in a figurative sense, and not as here of natural paternity, and, lastly, the use of the expression, "unto this day." As no one but the critics

question the Jehovist's authorship, and such marks as these can not be distinctive of any authorship, they prove nothing of the separate authorship of the passage.

§ 10. CH. XX.—XXI. 4 ABRAHAM AT GERAR, TILL THE BIRTH OF ISAAC. ELOHISTIC AND JEHOVISTIC.

THE sojourn of Abraham in the Philistines' country, extending over a considerable period, embraces several important transactions so distinct in themselves as naturally to form different sections of the narrative, not always very distinctly, but still sufficiently marked at their points of separation. first section cannot be confined to the twentieth chapter. The transactions connected with Sarah's removal into the house of Abimelech, and her subsequent restoration to Abraham, will be seen to connect themselves in the closest manner with the birth of Isaac. While, however, it is necessary to take in the commencing verses of xxi., we have seen reason to limit the section to v. 4. So far as it relates to transactions between Abraham and the Philistine Abimelech, the passage is naturally Elohistic. The author, as usual, avoids putting the name Jehovah into the mouth of a person not of the chosen race, and makes Abimelech address God by the title Adonai, while Abraham, speaking to him, naturally uses Elohim as the more intelligible name, in preference to any proper name he might himself have privately employed.1 And as Abraham thus uses Elohim, the historian

¹ It is also remarkable that Abraham, in speaking to Abimelech, v. 13, uses a plural verb in concord with Elohim, contrary to the general usage when this word denotes the true God, or God generically. Some particular cause is to be looked for, when an exceptional usage of this kind takes place. In the present case, Hengstenberg attributes the plural verb, not to the plural form of Elohim, but to the same cause in which this originated, namely the desire to express the unlimited excellencies of the divine nature. But this would apply to all cases where Elohim occurs, and there is nothing in the present instance to account for such a desire being specially manifested. The same cause which occasioned the use of Elohim in v. 13 in reference to the Jehovistic xii. 1, namely the suitableness of the general term in speaking to Abimelech, and the weakness displayed by Abraham on this occasion, may have led to the use of the plural verb also. On the supposition that Abimelech was a polytheist, or had no definite monotheistic belief, this manner of speaking might have seemed more likely to have been intelligible to him. Hengstenberg asserts that a reference to the parallel passages, such as xxxv. 7, Dent. iv. 7, 2 Sam. vii. 23, proves that this could

same use. Not associating Jehovah in his mind with Abimelech, he says that Elohim appeared to him in a dream, v. 3, and again in v. 6, where the article of reference identifies the dream as the same, not a different dream, as the English Version would make it appear. On this article of reference prefixed to Elohim we have, however, already spoken sufficiently, and need not now say more about it. This Elohistic use continues to v. 17, where we are told that Abraham prayed to Elohim, so named as it was probably in presence of Abimelech, and Elohim healed Abimelech and his wife, and maidservants, or rather concubines (אַבּוֹהֹתָיוֹ, slaves of his harem), and they gendered; not bare children, as in the English version, for the verb is masculine, and must include Abimelech

not be the cause, as all must be explained in the same way. Why this should be expected it is impossible to conceive. The special circumstances of each case may sufficiently account for the peculiar usage in each particular case. The instance in xxxv. 7 will be considered hereafter, as also xxxi. 53, not referred to by Hengstenberg. Deut. iv. 7 is not a parallel case: "What nation so great, which hath gods nigh unto them, as Jehovah our God is in all things we call upon him for?" Here Elohim, with the plural adjective, is distinguished from Jehovah the Elohim of Israel, and either it denotes the false gods of the heathen, or else the plural use is intended to give the expression greater indefiniteness, q.d. "not merely not Jehovah, but no gods whatever." In 2 Sam. vii. 23 there is an imitation of this passage, the usage of which is followed in this respect, though there is all through the passage great irregularity of construction. David, addressing God, says, "What, like thy people, like Israel, one nation in the earth, which gods went, הַלְבוּאַלהִים, to redeem for him for a people, and to make for him a name, and to do for you the great things, and terrible things for thy land, before thy people, which thou redeemest for thee from Egypt, nations, and their gods?" It is impossible to build much on the construction of so confused a passage as this now is. The introduction, however, of the clause, "to do for you the great things," though he was not speaking in the presence of the people, besides the general similarity, shows that he had Deut. iv. 7 in view, and imitated that in the plural construction of the verb with Elohim. In Exod. xxi. 6 and xxii. 8, 9, Elohim is possibly used to denote judges, as in Ps. lxxiii. Perhaps it may be thus used also in Ps. lviii. 12, "Verily there are Digital in a. 1. "Do ye judge richtrowe judges as opposed to the unrighteous implied in a. 1. "Do ye judge thus used also in Ps. Ivin. 12, "Verily there are Dudy Didy in the earth," righteous judges as opposed to the unrighteous implied in v. 1, "Do ye judge uprightly, O ye sons of men?" Or the concrete may stand for the abstract—there are manifestations of divine judgment, literally Gods judging—the question thus answered not being whether a God exists that judges righteously, but whether he exercises and manifests his judgment in the earth. It is finally to be remarked respecting such exceptional constructions, that though one naturally expects to find a reason for their occurrence, at the same time writers do occasionally adopt unusual modes of expression without any special reason observable by others, or even felt in their own consciousness. And in regard to the construction of words connected with plural forms having a singular signification, not merely transcribers, but even the original writers scionsess. And in regard to the construction of words connected with plurar forms having a singular signification, not merely transcribers, but even the original writers would always be liable to slide unconsciously into the observance of the ordinary rules of concord. Conclusions, therefore, drawn from such exceptional instances, and explanations offered to account for them, must always be received with considerable reserve.

in its subject, and the interval did not admit of childbearing (see Keil, in loc.). Now no one could suppose from the previous account, that any plague had been inflicted on Abimelech and his women, which would have rendered the begetting of children impossible, and plainly something is necessary to explain this statement of v. 17. Accordingly, we find the expected explanation in v. 18. God had fast closed every womb for the house (לבית) of Abimelech, on account of Sarah, Abraham's wife.1 But, the writer adds, in contrast with this (the in xxi. 1 is evidently adversative) that he visited Sarah as he had said, and she conceived and bare a son. But the writer, though he had used Elohim in v. 17, adopts Jehovah when he mentions the Divine interposition on behalf of Sarah, and continues this name in xxi. 1. The point to be insisted on is, that v. 18 of xx. is necessary to explain v. 17, and that xxi. 1 stands in the closest connexion with xx. 18. The writer having thus introduced Jehovah as acting on behalf of Sarah, and fulfilling the divine promise to her, "as Jehovah had said," and as "Jehovah had spoken," then states the fact of Sarah's conception and bearing of Isaac, as having taken place at the set time Elohim had spoken of to Abraham, and states that Abraham circumcised Isaac as Elohim had commanded him. This renewed Elohim seems plainly due to the reference in the writer's mind to the promise and command in ch. xvii., where, though it is Jehovah is said to have appeared in v. 1, yet it was under the name of El Shaddai, in sequence with which the rest of that chapter is Elohistic. It might, quite unconsciously to himself, have happened that, in thus reverting to ch. xvii., the Elohistic use would have recurred, yet there might have quite easily existed a lurking association of ideas occasioning it.

While we have thus in the Jehovistic part a reference to an Elohistic passage, we have also a reference in the Elohistic

י The expression in the Hebrew is אָצֶר בְּעֵּד הַ אָיָ, rendered by the LXX. σ יי έξωθεν, denoting an external hindrance, which accounts for the mention of the healing of Abimelech also, whose debility had a share in the default.

to a Jehovistic passage. For the request, which Abraham says he had made of Sarah when he left his father's house, seems to be only a generalised form of the same request particularly described in ch. xii., and the reference is probably to that occasion as the time when the request was made.

The LXX. all through, except in xxi. 2 where they have κύριος, agree with the Hebrew in the use of the Divine appellations.

The entire of this narrative in ch. xx. is, however, ascribed by the partitionists to the junior Elohist, with the exception of v. 18, which is given to the Jehovist, but with what pretension it is hard to say, except that it contains the name Jehovah. The pretence for giving this narrative to the junior Elohist is that it is merely a varied repetition of the story of Sarah's introduction into the house of Pharaoh when Abraham went into Egypt, xii. 10-19, the same thing having nearly happened also to Rebekah at Gerar. Davidson indeed admits "it is true that in these rude times the same event may have happened in different places, at considerable intervals of time; and that dissimilar as well as like circumstances are connected with each narrative." He adds, however, that it is remarkable that two events so strikingly alike should have occurred in Abraham's life. It is not at all remarkable that an event, which the custom of the times rendered so probable that Abraham took a special precaution against consequent danger to himself, should have taken place a second time under like circumstances. Nothing moreover is said of the preservation of Sarah's charms to so late a period of her life, which he thinks is implied in the fact that she was taken into Abimelech's harem.\(^1\) The occasional use

As the narrative presupposes that at this time Sarah had miraculously acquired a renewal of the capability of childbearing, perhaps this story is introduced to indicate that at the same time, in this the year of her pregnancy, she had acquired such a renewal of the natural concomitant physical attributes, as would render her childbearing a matter of less curiosity. The narrative also presupposes such prolonged ages, as would make a prolongation of comparatively youthful appearance not improbable. This story should therefore be judged in connexion with, and not apart from, the other particulars of the narrative.

of the veil in public, and even by women of loose character, xxxviii. 14, would often render it doubtful what was the age or appearance of women; and it is not unlikely that they might be seized and taken into the harem without respect to their charms, to be employed in any capacity for which they might be suited,—as wives if attractive, as servants if otherwise,—or else with a view to obtaining ransom. Abimelech may not even have seen Sarah, when he dreamed the dream related in this chapter. It is not without reason, therefore, that Davidson says "there is some room for doubting the identity of the facts on which these portions of the history are founded." The last verse of the chapter, containing the name Jehovah, is evidently an integral part of this narrative, and its necessary connexion with it is not consistent with the supposition of different authorship.¹

While the allegation that this passage contains only a varied account of the transaction related in xii. 10-19, which was attributed to the Jehovist, affords a pretext for not assigning it to the same writer, a pretext for giving it to the junior Elohist in preference to the earlier Elohist is found in v. 1. it cannot belong to the primitive document is shown by the commencement, 'Abraham journeyed from thence, שָׁשׁב,' implying a definite locality in the land of Canaan; whereas no such abode is given before in the Elohist, who speaks vaguely of the land of Canaan (xii. 5, xiii. 12, xvi. 3);" Davidson, p. 45. He forgets that this argument is against the junior Elohist no less than against his predecessor, inasmuch as the only passage previously ascribed to him, xvi. 2, does not make mention of the land of Canaan at all, or of any locality. The existence of this adverb, referring to a definite locality, is therefore an argument for connecting the present passage with that which does specify such a locality, namely ch. xviii. xix., which left Abraham in the plains of Mamre. And thus the present

¹ The Bishop of Natal adopts the notion of different authorship with this reserve, that the later Elohist may perhaps have been the Jehovist at a different period of his life. To this conjecture of the Bishop, made more than once, attention will be paid at the proper time.

Elohistic passage is united with the Jehovistic chapters xviii. xix. We are indebted to the partitionists themselves for this argument, which, if it proves anything, proves the Jehovistic origin of the present passage, and so disproves the events related in it to be only a different version of the same that were previously told by the Jehovist in xii. 10–19. A cause which depends on arguments thus destructive of one another has little claim on our respect.

The assertion that its entire spirit and tone are inconsistent with the older Elohist is too vague to be grappled with, and depends entirely on the correctness of the adjudication of the several previous passages to each writer respectively. But it is alleged that "the manner of expression approaches that of the Jehovist," to whose age the junior Elohist is supposed to have been nearer than to that of the older Elohist. The proofs of this assertion are these:—1. Abraham is called a prophet. Prophets and prophesying are not mentioned elsewhere in this book. In the other books of the Pentateuch they are mentioned in only three places, besides in the book of Deuteronomy, to which, however, the partitionists have precluded themselves from appealing, by disallowing the appeal in a case adverse to their views. "Passages in Deuteronomy should be cautiously referred to the documents in question, because the Deuteronomist himself writes much of that book." So says Davidson, i. p. 26, in reference to the different phrases used to express the making of a covenant. The other passages in the Pentateuch are too few to establish any distinctive usage. -2. "The coming of God in a dream to Abimelech." As all the dreams of this book are given to the junior Elohist himself, excepting one of Pharaoh's dreams, which is given to the Jehovist, this is an odd instance of approaching the manner of the Jehovist.—3. "Elohim in the plural." This has been already noticed, and calls for no further remark.—4. "My land is before thee," xx. 15. The phrase occurs, beside the present instance,

¹ Exod. vii. 1, Num. xi. 24-29, xii. 6.

in xiii. 9. What does a single instance like this prove?-5. "the south country," v. 1. Beside the present instance, this word is used four times in places ascribed to the Jehovist, and once by the supposed Redactor. The summary notices to which the Elohistic narrative is reduced in the later part of the book, and the absence from it of all journeyings, sufficiently account for the want of local terms in it.—6. עשה הכר, v. 13. This phrase is the counterpart of אָנָא הָן, already remarked on, and likely to occur in narratives of the same kind as those which would contain the latter phrase. The subject matter, on which the passages given to the Elohist treat, does not afford scope for its employment. If, however, these arguments tend to prove anything, it is the identity of authorship between the present passage and the parts ascribed to the Jehovist. We have already seen how the reference to a definite locality in v. 1 connects it with ch. xviii., which is Jehovistic in its character, and how the concluding Jehovistic verse must also belong to it. Everything that has been adduced tends to contradict the supposition of its so-called junior-Elohistic authorship. The existence of this writer has only been imagined, in order to account for passages which, on the grounds that support the supposition of a plurality of authors, could not well be ascribed to the separated Elohist or Jehovist. Whatever tends to weaken the evidence of his existence, tends to weaken the proofs of a plurality of authors, inasmuch as the other documents are thus separately embarrassed with the very difficulties, which have been supposed to require or support the supposition of separate authorship. Here a plainly Jehovistic passage contains particulars, which have been supposed to have been only a repetition, in another form, of a tradition already given by the Jehovist in an earlier part of the narrative ascribed to him.

Dr. Davidson and his authorities give the first verse of xxi. to the junior Elohist, notwithstanding its Jehovistic character, which comes as abruptly and with as little to explain it after the Elohism of the previous narrative ascribed

to him in xx., as it would if the whole were the composition of one writer using both names. The first and last clauses of v. 2 are then given to the Elohist, and the second to the Jehovist, v. 3 to the junior Elohist, and 4, 5, to the Elohist, with a similar interchange of short sentences and clauses between these and the compiler through the chapter. The Bishop of Natal, however, unhesitatingly gives all from v. 1 to the end of 5 to the Elohist, fully perceiving the improbability of the subdivision made by other critics. His principal reasons for giving these verses to the Elohist are of course the references to xvii. To be sure, if that chapter is by a separate author the references to it may have been by the same; though according to the notion of a Jehovist, who worked upon the original Elohistic document, his referring to that chapter would not seem impossible. He instances, as an indication of likeness between this and another assumed Elohistic passage, the collocation of the words, "Sarah conceived and bare," as compared with "Abraham expired and died," as if in both places the collocation was not natural, that which happens first, conception or expiring, being placed before what must come last, namely bearing or dying.

§ 11. CH. XXI. 5-21. THE DISMISSAL OF HAGAR AND ISHMAEL. ELOHISTIC.

The break between this and the preceding section is not strongly marked. But the previous narrative already gave sufficient indications of Abraham's age at the time of Isaac's birth, namely his age, ninety-nine years, when the promise was given that Sarah should have a son at the same time in the next year, and then the fulfilment of that promise "at the set time," xvii. 21, xxi. 2; and the repetition of his age now, with the allusive way in which Isaac's birth is mentioned in connexion with it, after having been already described and then followed by the mention of subsequent matters, agrees with the prefatory commencement of other sections also. The expression of Sarah

that God had made her laugh, and that others would laugh with her, and of her delight at having an infant to nurse, seems prefixed to the subjoined narrative in special contrast to the mocking laughter of Ishmael. It was in this connexion with Isaac's name and Sarah's laughter that the sting of Ishmael's mocking laughter had its existence. The critics, therefore, who give verses 6 and 7 to the Jehovist, because of the reference to Sarah's laughter in ch. xviii., as the Bishop of Natal, or to the junior Elohist as others, and then give v. 9 to a different author, show a great insensibility to the connecting line of thought that unites these verses. As a reason for withholding the passage 8-20 from the Elohist, the Bishop alleges, amongst some very slender indications, the use of אמה instead of ישפקה in describing Hagar. But it is to be observed that the latter, which, he says, is always used by the Elohist, is in all the passages quoted used for a woman's handmaid, and does not ever bear the additional meaning of a maid used as a wife, which the former has in the case of Abimelech's maids in xx. 17. Here too, this additional idea has place. "Cast out," not this servant-maid, but "this servant-wife and her son." The desire to find verbal differences lying in mere habits of speaking has made the Bishop often quite insensible to the niceties of language.

In assigning this narrative of the dismissal of Hagar and Ishmael to the second Elohist, the Bishop gives the 21st verse to the Jehovist, but others the last half of v. 20, on the ground that the same writer would not have said Ishmael dwelt in the wilderness, and then so soon after that he dwelt in the wilderness of Paran. But this is very weak. The wilderness in v. 20 is of course the wilderness of Beersheba, where they first went, or simply the wilderness in general, as opposed to more cultivated country. There he grew and became an archer. Then he settled finally in the wilderness of Paran, and got married. The great reason, however, for assigning the passage in general to the second Elohist is the pretence, that this story of Hagar's dismissal is only another form of the previously

mentioned flight in the Jehovistic passage ch. xvi. That being by the Jehovist, it would not suit the theory to assign the repetition of it to the Elohist, who is supposed to have preceded the Jehovist. If it belonged to the Jehovist, it must relate to a different event, and would afford no pretext for division. The junior Elohist is therefore called in to take on him the paternity of this alleged repetition. That "the principal circumtances are identical," as Davidson alleges, is plainly untrue-The time was different, the one being before, and the other after, the birth of Ishmael, and when he was over fifteen years of age; the first was a voluntary flight, the second a deliberate dismissal by Abraham himself; the places were different, the one being in the wilderness of Shur, the other in that of Beersheba; in the one case the angel finds her sitting by a well, in the other she looks in vain for water until the angel shows it to her; on the first occasion she is bid return to her house, but on the other nothing of this kind is suggested, nor does she return as she did before; in the one case the name to be given to the yet unborn child is intimated, he is to be called Ishmael because Jehovah had heard her supplication; in the other the name is not mentioned, but allusion made to its import. The only points of agreement are the jealousy of Sarah, so likely to have broken out again, and the appearance of the angel. It is hard to conceive how the occurrence, in its transmission through two independent channels, could take such different forms. The confirmation which Davidson says the supposition derives from the fact that the one account is for the most part junior-Elohistic, the other Jehovistic, is null; this supposed fact is inferred from the imagined identity of the transaction, and cannot in its turn confirm the supposition of this identity. This is the character of much of the reasoning which pervades the entire discussion. The verses which introduce the dismissal of Hagar and her son, namely 8 and 9, bring the difference of the occasion of this from that of her previous flight into such prominence, that it seemed better to assign these as an after invention to the Redactor, than to leave them as part of the original narrative. The Redactor finding this second narrative, and unwilling to let it appear as a somewhat inconsistent repetition of a former narrative, makes an occasion for it, as the account of a different transaction, by fabricating the feast at the time of Isaac's weaning, and Ishmael's mocking on that occasion! Any theory may be proved, if it is allowable to resort to such contrivances to evade the difficulties that offer themselves. Though the intervention of the angel is one of the chief points of resemblance between this and the earlier story, and certainly has no appearance of an interpolation in v. 17, the clause, "an angel of God called to Hagar out of heaven," is here given to the Redactor; and then the appearance of angels is said to be a characteristic of the Redactor, as here and in xxviii. 12; see p. 28. He says the appearance of angels is in the junior Elohist and Redactor, referring to these passages. Is this a contrivance to make a distinctive characteristic for these?

The Bishop of Natal makes this the earlier story, and supposes the Jehovist to have inserted the other in ch. xvi., either not "perceiving that he was introducing a contradiction, or, possibly with the intention of cancelling this earlier notice." What may not be proved, if we may prop a theory with conjectures of this kind? The Bishop adds, "It is plain, however, as we have said, that the account if Elohistic was first written, since if this writer had had before him the narrative in xvi. 4-14, he would hardly have said in xxi. 19, "She saw a well of water," without identifying the well in some way with that which was already so conspicuous in the story." But why should he have done so, if he did not, as he very well might not, intend the same well to be understood? If he was writing in good faith, he might very naturally have believed it different. If he was inventing a second story, it would have been clumsy to bring the fugitives to the same well.1

¹ The difficulty arising from the supposed size of Ishmael, as greater than to be borne by Hagar, is met by the Bishop by a story of a Zulu. "Unkungo, son of Umpande, king of the Zulus, was just such a lad as this, and very fat, when he fled

In regard to the Elohism of this passage, it is intelligible enough on the supposition of a single author. In Sarah's words, "Elohim hath made me to laugh," we see an implied contrast between the supernatural and the natural; this was a pleasure that came to her, not in the natural course of things, but by the direct interposition of Divine power. Then this feeling of contrast between the Divine and human may have still continued in the writer's mind, and he may have ascribed the communication to Abraham in reference to Hagar and her son to Elohim, as if to imply that it was not Sarah's desire nor his own will that made him dismiss them, but a Divine command, just as afterwards it is a Divine command, and not a human fancy, that makes him go to offer up Isaac. Then when we come to Hagar herself in the wilderness, it was natural to represent her in communication with Elohim, not with Jehovah, as being an Egyptian. It is true it was the angel of Jehovah that found her in xvi. 7, and bid her return home. But then Hagar was still identified with the Abrahamic family, though she herself only used the name El; and it was, perhaps, in accordance with the design of identifying Jehovah with the name El-roi, as with other names and titles in other places, that Jehovah was there used. Now Hagar is finally severed from Abraham, and Jehovah would thus be less appropriate. Moreover, the name Elohim seems also to have been here specially used in reference to the meaning of the name Ishmael, "God heard" (Ishma-Elohim) "the voice of the lad."

The LXX. coincide with the Hebrew in this usage in the present section.

§ 12. Ch. XXI. 22-32. THE COVENANT AT BEERSHEBA. ELOHISTIC.

This passage is also naturally Elohistic. Abimelech does not of course use Jehovah, and says to Abraham that Elohim is

from his brother's fury not long ago; and he was then carried by his mother and might have been 'cast under a tree' by her, if dying of thirst, or lifted up and grasped by the hand; and he 'grew-up' afterwards in Natal."

with him, and asks him to swear by Elohim. This Abraham does, but makes no use of the name of God as far as the narrative represents this transaction. The LXX. agree with the Hebrew. The passage is ascribed to the second Elohist, as in sequence with ch. xx.

This section seems naturally to close at Abimelech's return into the land of the Philistines, though there is no decided break of sections. Only the subject of the next chapter is wholly different, and belongs to a considerably subsequent period. The question is, therefore, at what point the division of sections should be made. The reasons for dividing at the end of v. 32 will presently be stated.

§ 13. CH. XXI. 33, 34-XXII. 1-19. THE OFFERING OF ISAAC. ELOHISTIC AND JEHOVISTIC.

One reason for commencing a new section at xxi. 33 is the absence of the name of Abraham in v. 33. If this verse had been written in immediate connexion with the preceding, or introduced into immediate connexion with it by a different writer, the ambiguity arising from the fact that the subject in v. 32 is Abimelech would have been avoided. If it is joined to 32, the natural supposition will be that it was Abimelech planted the grove, especially as Abraham is named in v. 34. This, however, was plainly not intended by the writer, and he would searcely, if writing in continuity, have left out Abraham. But if he had broken the connexion with v. 32, so that Abimelech was no longer in his thoughts as the subject of his previous sentence, it was quite possible that Abraham, the general subject of the history, should have been brought into action in the three first clauses, without being named until after the last verb in them. Abraham is named, however, both by the LXX. and the Samaritans in v. 33. Another reason is, that in xxii. 1 it is not simply Elohim, but the Elohim that tempts Abraham, that is, the Elohim just spoken of in xxi. 33, the commencement of xxii. being thus, as already noticed, brought into

the closest connexion with the last verses of xxi. Abraham plants a grove, and he invokes there Jehovah by the name of El-Olam, the everlasting God. It has already been noticed, that the worship of God under certain localised names and titles seems to have been prevalent in those times. The instances have been already enumerated, and the rendering of the LXX. in the present case, in accordance with this practice, noticed: ἐπεκαλέσατο ἐκεῖ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου, θεὸς αἰώνιος. This latter expression—an equivalent in meaning, or nearly so, for Jehovah is used as an indeclinable in apposition with ὄνομα. writer, having thus described the invocation of Jehovah by this localised name, mentions that Abraham sojourned in the Philistines' country many days, meaning a considerable period, inasmuch as Isaac was somewhat grown when the next event is introduced. Then after these things, namely all that had been mentioned, the planting of the grove, the invocation of El-Olam to it, and the sojourn for this extended period, the Elohim, the God whose worship Abraham had established for himself in that place, tempts him as described in this chapter. The article of reference thus connects the passages together, and accounts for the Elohistic character of the commencement of ch. xxii. And it is remarkable that, while Abraham speaks of God as simply Elohim, in the two instances in which the writer himself again refers to the command expressed in v. 1 Elohim has this article of reference. The Elohim of the grove, El-Olam, gave the command, v. 1; Abraham went to the place of which the Elohim just mentioned had told him, v. 3; and they came to the place which that Elohim had told him of, v. 9. This continued reference plainly connects the command with some special manifestation of God to Abraham at that grove, which accounts for the writer's use of the name in his own person. An additional motive to the use of the name in v. 1 is the contrast to be marked between this temptation as proceeding from a Divine source, and men's ordinary temptations from other sources.

While the use of Elohim by the writer himself is thus explained, its use, as attributed to Abraham in v. 8, is also explained by the implied contrast between God and man. It is as much as if Abraham had said in reply to the question, Where was the lamb for a burnt offering? "We need not trouble ourselves about that; God will see to that, not man." And then when the angel says in v. 12 "I now know that thou fearest Elohim," this is equivalent to saying that he was a godly man; while if the angel had said, "I know that thou fearest Jehovah," this would more naturally signify that he was a worshipper of Jehovah as distinguished from some other God that other men served, which is not at all what is intended. At the same time, that Jehovah should be introduced at the crisis of the story, when he comes forward in a personal and visible form, is quite natural, especially as this is the last and greatest, the grand crowning appearance of God to Abraham. On the other hand nothing is gained as regards the use of the names of God by the separation of 14-18 from the rest of the narrative, inasmuch as v. 11, which introduces Jehovah, must remain a substantive part of the earlier portion of the narrative, and is necessary to render the succeeding verses intelligible. But the partitionists themselves are not agreed to which of the writers these parts must respectively be assigned. Some, as Davidson, will have the early part to be by the later Elohist, and the verses 14-18 by the Jehovist, while the Bishop of Natal gives these verses to his Deuteronomist, and leaves the rest to the Jehovist. His great reason is that, as noted by Delitzsch, Jehovah swears by himself, as he does nowhere else in his intercourse with the Patriarchs. And yet Abraham says in xxiv. 7 that Jehovah had sworn unto him, which the Bishop will not, however, allow to be a reference to this passage, because here there is no promise of the land as there mentioned. Still it is an instance of Jehovah swearing. Another is mentioned in xxvi. 3. The Bishop evades these by saying that the covenant of Jehovah was regarded by the Jehovist as equivalent to an oath. The separation of these verses, however, is contradicted by a very striking reference in one of them to the earlier part of the story. That reference is in the name which Abraham gave to the place where the offering was made. Jehovah-jireh is manifestly adopted from the Elohim jireh of v. 8: "My son, Elohim jireh, Elohim will provide himself a lamb for a burnt-offering." This was fulfilled in the ram caught in the thicket, while in the future form which the Patriarch still preserves in the name Jehovah-jireh, there is the prophetic anticipation of the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world. It is impossible to believe that this reference to v. 8 was accidental, and the existence of it negatives the supposition that the Jehovistic verses belonged to a separate and independent narrative. They must, if not à prima manu, have been a simple interpolation of a later writer, who, if he had written with this reference in view, would rather have made it more exact by using Elohim, to which it is admitted he was not averse on a suitable occasion, or would have changed the Elohim of v. 8 to Jehovah. In the latter clause, "as it is said, in the mount of the Lord it shall be seen," or "in the mount the Lord shall be seen," the unpointed Hebrew is the same as in the former, יהוה יראה, and it would naturally be expected that in the latter case the verb would have been read actively, as in the former-Jehovah will provide. Instead of this, however, while the pointing in the first case is active, יְרָאֶה, in the second it is passive, יֵרְאֶה. Now the LXX. by their respective translations, κύριος εἶδεν, and κύριος αφθη, show that in their time the word was in the first instance read actively, and in the second as a passive, just as now in the pointed Hebrew, a clear proof of the antiquity of the traditional vocalisation in this case. A writer having in view a proverbial saying of his day, would, if inventing, have been much more likely to have made Abraham's words, in giving the name Jehovah-jireh, accord with this proverbial saying, than to have made an inexact reference to the words of v. 8. For what is purposely done is always more likely to be exact than what proceeds from spontaneous, and it may be unconscious, suggestion.¹

The LXX. agree with the Hebrew in this section as regards the names of God.

§ 13. CH. XXII. 20-24, XXIII. FAMILY OF NAHOR, DEATH OF SARAH, AND PURCHASE OF A BURIAL PLACE. ELOHIM IN ONE INSTANCE.

The concluding verses of ch. xxii., which have no connexion with what precedes, seem to have been prefixed to xxiii. with the design of introducing to the reader the new female, through whom the descent of the promised race was to take place, simultaneously with the removal of Sarah from the scene. Hence we have the names of Milcah's and the other children of Nahor, with the one grandchild Rebekah,2 enumerated immediately before the mention of Sarah's age and death. But while ch. xxiii. is assigned to the Elohist, these genealogical verses must, according to the partitionists, belong to the Jehovist, because the verb "beget" is used in the Kal instead of the Hiphil form, in mentioning that Bethuel had begotten Rebekah. Yet this form seems to have been used in conformity with the feminine of the same conjugation, tense, and person, adopted in describing the birth of Milcah's children. The יְלֶדֶה to which Milcah was the subject suggested quite naturally the 72 in the case of Bethuel, the change of gender being all that the writer would have thought of making in such a context. The Hiphil could not

exist as to the pointing of the second היי in v. 14.

The indirect mention of another, in the words, "Kemuel, the father of Aram," was probably intended to distinguish Kemuel from some other person of that name.

יראב 1 It may be asked, why may not the original vocalisation of the first ארמד been passive in accordance with the proverbial saying afterwards quoted, and the reference to the previous Elohim jireh in v. 8 have no existence at all? The answer to this is that we must deal with the document as it has come to us, the correctness of which is in this instance confirmed by the LXX., who, if not quite sure of the true reading, had every temptation to make the two words coincide one way or the other. If we may depart from the existing document for the purposes of theory, of course it is easy to make it coincide with the necessities of the theory to be proved. But this would be to launch out on a sea of unlimited conjecture; and a theory thus maintained, cannot rise above the uncertainty of the conjectures by which it is supported. Besides, once the unpointed name in v. 14 took its place in the same document with v. 8, its pointing was determined by the evident reference, and a question could only exist as to the pointing of the second π or π or π . 14.

have been used in Milcah's case. The Nindal, supposed to be also a peculiarly Jehovistic expression, is sufficiently accounted for in these verses by the occasion. If they were superfluously introduced, their use would have more weight; but plainly in v. 20 this expression is highly significant. Sarah having had a son at last, news then comes to Abraham, perhaps after a long interval in which no intelligence had been received, that her sister Milcah, she too, had borne children. In v. 24 again it comes in quite naturally, and not as a superfluous phrase. First, the concubine of Nahor is named in the Hebrew manner, "and his concubine, and her name was Reumah." Then follows the new sentence, "and she also bare," etc.

The succeeding part of the section, ch. xxiii., is assigned to the Elohist, not on account of the occurrence of the name Elohim in v. 6 ("thou art a prince of Elohim," βασιλεύς παρὰ $\theta \epsilon o \hat{v}$, LXX., for a mighty prince), but on grounds of style and verbal usages. Thus it is thought that the date of Sarah's death and the statement of her age are specially Elohistic, particularly the phrase, "the years of Sarah's life," which is compared with a couple of somewhat similar phrases in xxv. and xxxv., and five expressions in xlvii., all of which, in their turn, will be referred back to this as an Elohistic authority for their use. And yet the statement of Sarah's age has the word האָב, "hundred," not in stat. constr. as it is in xvii. 17, this being considered a specially Jehovistic form, as is also the longer form for the pronoun "I" used here. The word for "a possession" used in this chapter, and regarded as an Elohistic indication, will be considered in the general survey that will be taken of these supposed distinctive phrases, as will also the particle 17, expressing a wish, v. 13, used also in xvii. 18, and for which the Bishop endeavours to create a more extended use by a conjectural emendation of the pronoun i after the verb in v.5 and 14, and a different position of the full stop. The LXX. do not read the pronoun, it is true, but instead of reading in place of it

with the Bishop, they read the negative κ . And even in v. 13 they read '' "to me," instead of this particle '', which is thus expunged by them altogether. The other phrases adduced are Jehovistic as well as Elohistic, and the repetition of the description of the cave of Machpelah, so often copied afterwards with legal precision, can prove nothing as to the origin of this passage, as it in all cases follows the first use of it here. The style of the whole passage is so peculiar and unlike any other part, that it must be considered *sui generis*, its peculiarity being due to the occasion and circumstances to which it relates, as the earliest recorded instance of a treaty and bargain for the purchase of a possession in land.

§ 14. Ch. xxiv. MISSION TO PROVIDE A WIFE FOR ISAAC. JEHOVISTIC AND ELOHISTIC.

This chapter is given at full length in Davidson's table to the Jehovist, with the exception of the last clause of v. 67, "And Isaac was comforted after his mother," which is assigned to the Redactor. The reason for this of course is, that Sarah's death is only mentioned in the preceding Elohistic passage, and this being a distinct reference to that, it would not suit the theory that the Jehovist was an independent writer. It is convenient therefore to ascribe it to the Redactor. But neither a Jehovistic interpolator, nor a compiler putting together the two accounts, would have had any motive to introduce in this place the mention of Isaac's being comforted after his mother's death. But to a writer who had shortly before mentioned that event, and now tells how Isaac had brought his wife into Sarah's tent, nothing comes more naturally than this intimation of the alleviation of Isaac's grief for his mother. It is a natural and undesigned coincidence, that closely connects the passages as proceeding from the same author.

The Bishop of Natal, however, gives all to the Jehovist, except 59, 60, which he assigns to his Deuteronomist, on the pretext that they do not fit well with what follows in v. 61.

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His verbal justifications are,—The mention of Rebekah's nurse, but not her maidens, the nurse being mentioned again in xxxv. 8, which is referred to this as being also by the Deuteronomist. But it is only the mention of this nurse that there identifies that place with the writer of the present.—The use of "thousands and ten thousands" in v. 60, these numbers being also mentioned in the poetical places Deut. xxxii. 30, xxxiii. 2, 17, but the construction being quite different from what is here.-"Thy seed shall inherit the gate of his enemies," a like saying being also in xxii. 17, which the Bishop gives also to the Deuteronomist, there referring to this place. As the expression occurs nowhere else, each simply supports the other in turn. apart from all this, which can scarcely be designated otherwise than as verbal trifling, there is really no inconsistency, or unfitness in the verses as they stand. It is the regular Hebrew usage in such cases to describe the separate act of each party: Rebekah's family dismiss, that is, bid to depart, and give their blessing to Rebekah; and then she arises and takes her departure.

In describing the mission of Abraham's servant to procure a wife for Isaac, his consequent visit to Bethuel, and his return with Rebekah, the writer uses both names of God frequently, with the strictest observance of their respective characters as the one a proper name and the other a general term, and with a careful attention to dramatic propriety as regards the person who is represented as speaking. Thus in the writer's own usage, and in what is ascribed to Abraham and to his kinsman Laban, God is simply Jehovah without any addition, except in the instances to be noticed presently. But in the mouth of Abraham's servant, who was not of the chosen family, he is simply Jehovah in only one or two instances evidently for the sake of avoiding repetition; but for the most part, and as if with care to make it understood that the worship of Jehovah was only adopted by him from Abraham, he is "Jehovah, the Elohim of his master." And hence when Abraham makes him swear before he departs, it is not simply by Jehovah, as Abraham's

God, but as the God of heaven and the God of the earth, that he adjures him, and as Jehovah the God of heaven that had sworn unto him to give the promised land to his seed. Thus while the servant habitually regards Jehovah as Abraham's God, Abraham, for the solemnity of his oath, will have him remember that he is the God of heaven and the God of the earth. And so wherever throughout the passage Elohim is used, it is in its proper character as a general term forming the predicate of an assumptive preposition, of which the proper name Jehovah is the subject. The only difference in the usage of the LXX. is that they have $\kappa \dot{\nu} \rho \iota o s$, instead of simply $\kappa \dot{\nu} \rho \iota o s$ in v. 40, where the servant repeats his master's words, "Jehovah before whom I walk."

It is in this passage that mention is made of Aram-Naharaim, or Mesopotamia, on which, as distinguished from Padan-Aram, the Bishop of Natal and others rely, as a peculiarity of the supposed Jehovistic writer, to whom they ascribe this passage. But in the first place it is to be observed that the name only occurs in this one instance in the book of Genesis, and a singular instance is not sufficient to warrant the supposition of any habitual predilection for one name over another. And next, if the Bishop had consulted so old-fashioned an authority as Bochart, Phaleg. II. 6, he would have seen that Aram-Naharaim and Padan-Aram are by no means synonymous. Aram-Naharaim denotes the country at large, Mesopotamia or Aram of the two Rivers, thus designated to distinguish it from Aram-Damasek, and other Arams, of which mention is made in the Old Testament. On the other hand, Padan-Aram means a particular district of Mesopotamia, the northern part, distinguished by its fertility from the southern region which was incapable of cultivation, as Bochart shows from Strabo, Xenophon, and Polybius. Padan, as Bochart remarks, was significant of the fertile character of the northern district, the Arabie فداري, phadan, denot-

 $^{^{\}rm 1}$ If, as Davidson argues, one exception cannot spoil a rule, certainly one instance eannot establish a rule.

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ing a cultivated field; and the Padan Aram is consequently represented in Hosea xii. 12 by Sedeh Aram, the cultivated district of Aram, to which the prophet says that Jacob fled, with reference to his journey to Padan-Aram mentioned in Gen. xxviii. The only difference between these expressions is that Padan, from frequent use, had assumed something of the character of a proper name, and is therefore used without Aram in Gen. xlviii. 7. As Padan, thus used for brevity, would be Padan-Aram written in full, so Padan-Aram itself, used in this form for brevity, would, as Bochart remarks, be Padan-Aram-Naharaim if written in full. The Bishop of Natal, apparently with the view of identifying in meaning Padan-Aram with Aram-Naharaim, translates Aram-Naharaim in accordance with a fancied etymology, "the highlands of the two rivers," instead of "Syria of the two rivers." This is quite arbitrary. Aram, whatever was its derivation, is as well established a proper name as any in the Old Testament; and there is no instance of its being used as an appellative in the sense ascribed to it by the Bishop, whose object appears to have been to evade the reply, that Padan-Aram was only a particular district of the entire country called Aram-Naharaim, by making the latter itself appear to be only the name of a particular district, the highlands at the sources of the Euphrates and Tigris. artifice of this kind only weakens the cause it is intended to support. Davidson (p. 27) admits that there may be truth in the assertion that the one name only denotes a particular district, while the other signifies the whole of Mesopotamia, "as far as the original meaning of Padan-Aram is concerned." But as regards the use of the terms, he has nothing better to say than the arbitrary dictum, "we deny that there was any difference between the names in actual usage." There is nothing in the use of Padan-Aram, or Padan by itself, to denote more than a local subdivision of the entire country, the name being only used of Laban's dwelling place. On the other hand, though Aram-Naharaim occurs only once in Genesis, yet it is

used elsewhere in a sense that is plainly general. Pethor, where Balaam lived, "by the river of the land of the children of his people," is in Deut. xxiii. 4 called Pethor (of) Aram Naharaim. This Pethor-Aram would be distinguished from Padan-Aram, and either might be used with or without Naharaim, except it was desired to distinguish this Aram from some other, as in the title of Ps. lx., where Aram-Naharaim is distinguished from Aram-Zobah, whatever value that title may possess. The only other place where Aram-Naharaim is found is in Judges iii., where the king of Mesopotamia is mentioned, and the term of course describes the whole country. Dr. Davidson, therefore, had nothing for it but simply to deny the existence of a difference in usage, for the absence of which he could give no evidence, while in favour of its existence so much is to be alleged.

This chapter has, in addition to this and the word already discussed, one or two phrases which, in p. 30, Davidson mentions as rare words used by the Jehovist. One of these is עשה הסד, for showing kindness, which besides xx. 13 given to the second Elohist, only occurs in this chapter, and in xl. 14, a chapter it pleases him to give to the junior Elohist also. Of course no inference can be drawn from what, by his own showing, is a singular instance in the Jehovist. Another of these words, אַרְצָה, is of frequent occurrence as the form of you with the termination denoting motion or direction towards, and is employed indiscriminately in the parts assigned to both Elohist and Jehovist. The rare case is where this termination is merely paragogic as in Isaiah ix. 1 (viii. 23); but it does not occur in Genesis. The plural אַרְצוֹת, though not unusual, occurs less frequently in this book. In x. 5, 20, 32, where it is found in a recurring formula, it is equivalent to only one instance. This is given to the Jehovist. In xxvi. 3, 4, it is conferred on the Redactor, and in xli. 54 on the junior Elohist. There is nothing therefore to establish distinguishing Jehovistic usage in regard to this word. The participle ברוך cannot be

called unusual, as it is the regular participle of a very common verb. Besides its occurrence in this chapter, it is found in ix. 26 given to the Redactor; in xiv. 19, 20, to the Jehovist; in xxvii. 29, 33, also given to the Jehovist; and in the preceding chapter, v. 29, where it is allowed to the Elohist. The weakness of the cause which depends on such proofs as these is plain to the candid reader.

The length of the narrative, its fulness, and particularity of statement, the necessary repetition of many words which the subject matter required, and the repetition of many more from the tendency to repeat which characterises the entire book, with the opportunity which the subject of the narrative afforded for introducing and reproducing many colloquial phrases and traits of social manners, have made this chapter one of the strongholds of the theory,—the great repertory of Jehovistic characteristics, the frequent recurrence of which in it has tended largely to swell the entire numbers of those expressions on which the Bishop of Natal so greatly relies. The principal of these will be considered in the general survey of the verbal peculiarities that have been summed up by the Bishop. It will suffice to remark here, that the frequency, greater or less, with which phrases or words recur in the same context and connexion of ideas, partly necessary, and partly in accordance with a habit that prevails in all parts of the book, adds nothing to the value of those expressions as distinctive characteristics, beyond what would accrue from a single occurrence of them in the same passage.

§ 15. CH, XXV. 1-11. ABRAHAM'S FAMILY BY KETURAH, HIS DEATH AND BURIAL. ELOHISTIC IN ONE INSTANCE.

This is the concluding part of the principal section headed "The Generations of Terah." It contains the account of Abraham's family by Keturah, the disposition of his property, his death and burial, and Isaac's succession to that divine blessing, which had been the peculiar privilege of Abraham. The first six

verses are assigned to the Jehovist, because in xvii. 17, which is given to the Elohist, Abraham is represented as incredulous in regard to the promise of a son when nearly at the age of an hundred years, while now at a far greater age he marries again and has six sons. "One author," says Dr. Davidson, "could hardly have written both," p. 69. The objection is founded on an assumption not warranted by the words of the author, however the English Version by its "then again" may favour the supposition that the connexion with Keturah was subsequent to Sarah's death. The original does not necessarily imply this; it only says that "Abraham added and took a wife," προσθέμενος δὲ--ἔλαβε γυναῖκα, LXX. The future with the conversive vau may only denote that this was subsequent to the marriage with Sarah, and the connexion with Hagar previously mentioned. And it is quite in accordance with the practice of the writer to go back at the commencement of any of the subdivisions of the book to a period earlier than that reached at the close of the previous section. Abraham had apparently no son but Ishmael before the birth of Isaac, who is afterwards called his only son, with reference merely to Sarah, who was, strictly speaking, his only wife; but the connexion with Keturah may have been any time after Isaac's birth. The sons of his concubines were sufficiently grown to be sent away and established in the east country before his death. It may have been a considerable time before, as seems implied by the statement, that he had sent them away "while he was yet living." As he could not have sent them away after he was dead, the statement that it was while he was yet living would be absurd, if it did not mean something more, and indicate an earlier period, while some different form of expression would more naturally be used to denote that it was just before he died. The narrative was mainly concerned with the circumstances that related to Isaac, and the account of these was not interrupted by the mention of the marriage with Keturah. Before he mentions the death of Abraham, however,

the writer pauses to record this particular in the Patriarch's history; and it is most unwarrantable to infer from its being here mentioned, that it must have taken place at so improbable, not to say impossible, a period of his life. But it seems to be the rule in this discussion to hold the author responsible for the most difficult and objectionable interpretation of his words, however possible it may be by a fair and reasonable construction, which would not be denied to any other writer, to exonerate him from the imputed absurdities.

The Bishop of Natal remarks on the sons of Abraham by Keturah, Pt. v., Crit. Anal., p. 105, that "in v. 3, Sheba and Dedan are derived otherwise than in x. 7 and x. 28, so that all these three notices, notwithstanding these variations, may be due to the same writer, who possibly betrays in this manner some uncertainty in his information, or, perhaps some bifurcation in the tribes themselves." Generally it is by agreements that identity is determined, and discrepancies are made the pretext for supposing a diversity of authorship. But here the alleged discrepancies are made the ground of identification. That is, because the writer of ch. x. is imagined to contradict. himself in the course of that passage, so another contradiction here must be by the same. Surely he could not have been so great a bungler as not to perceive this supposed inconsistency, if it had any existence. But the frequent occurrence of similar names belonging to different persons does not seem to have been thought of as a possible explanation.

The remainder of this passage down to the last clause of v. 11 is given to the Elohist. This is not merely because the name Elohim occurs in it, for it is allowed to the Jehovist to say Elohim; but because this passage connects itself by the mention of the cave of Machpelah, and the burial there of Sarah, with ch. xxiii., which we have already seen it was thought fit to give to the Elohist. Thus the connecting force of the references which are made in subsequent parts to previously mentioned incidents is avoided. Verbal peculiarities cannot go

far in the present instance to justify the appropriation to the Elohist. It is true that in specifying Abraham's age, the word is in the stat. constr., which is asserted to be Elohistic; but in ch. xxiii., in the mention of Sarah's age, it appears not in regimen, as in the Jehovistic passages. The word יגוע is also used in reference to Abraham's death, but as it is coupled with וֹלֶא, little can be built on its use here. But if it suits the theory to make these verses belong to the Elohist, in order to avoid a reference by the Jehovist to the Elohistic ch. xxiii., what would be the use of this, if thereby an Elohistic reference was produced to a previous Jehovistic passage? This would be still more adverse to the theory, as the Elohist is supposed to have preceded the Jehovist. Hence it is necessary to give the last clause of v. 11, "And Isaac dwelt by the well Lahai-roi," to the junior Elohist, because this well is spoken of as wellknown, and is only mentioned in the Jehovistic passages xvi. 14, and xxiv. 62. The convenience of a couple of supernumerary authors, such as the junior Elohist and the Redactor, to take the credit of every stray sentence that would otherwise stand in the way of the theory, is unquestionable; but the contrivance is perfectly arbitrary and unwarrantable. Even this number is felt by some to be insufficient, and a fore-Elohist has been suspected, besides one or two more, whose hands have been engaged in making up this farrago libelli. See Davidson, p. 42, 46.

The statement in v. 11, that after the death of Abraham Elohim blessed his son Isaac, is evidently intended not merely to indicate that in a common way Isaac had God's blessing, which he doubtless had before Abraham's death, but that Isaac now succeeded his father in the inheritance of the special blessing of the chosen seed. And as this is the last verse of one of the principal sections of the book, which commenced by tracing the family of Abraham from Terah, and then at the earliest mention of Abraham after his father's death describes the first communication of this blessing in the Jehovistic xii. 1–3, the

reference should be traced to this in preference to the subsequent blessing in ch. xvii., though that is more Elohistic in its character. The reason why in the present case Elohim is adopted, on the supposition that the writer had each name equally in use according to circumstances, is that here is no special communication of the blessing, in which God might have appeared in a personal character that would have suggested the proper and personal name, and the Divine source of the blessing and of Isaac's prosperity is rather in the writer's view. The LXX. have $\theta\epsilon\delta$ s.

VIII.—THE GENERATIONS OF ISHMAEL.

CH. XXV. 12-18. NO MENTION OF GOD.

The history of Isaac, whose succession to the Divine blessing was mentioned in the last verse of the preceding section, is now interrupted for a short time, to give a brief sketch of the history of Ishmael and his descendants. There is in it no mention of God, but the section is attributed to the Jehovist, doubtless because the particulars relating to Hagar in xvi. 4-14 are attributed to him, and he has no previous mention of the birth of Ishmael. But as the mention of the birth of Ishmael in the latter part of v. 15, with v. 16 of that chapter, is attributed to the Elohist, as also the promise in ch. xvii. of the twelve princes to be begotten by Ishmael, whose names are given in the present passage as the "twelve princes according to their nations," it would seem as if this present passage should belong to the same writer as these passages just mentioned. And this might seem the more reasonable, as the account of Ishmael's age and death in v. 17 is given to the Elohist. But advantage is taken of the concluding clause of v. 18, "And he died in the presence of all his brethren," to give to each writer the mention of Ishmael's death. In the latter clause, however, it is not "he died," but "he fell," and this word does not signify to die, unless something in the context indicates what sort of falling is intended. It denotes to be overthrown in battle, or to be ruined generally,

and with some addition, as "by the sword," to die, or as in the highly poetical 2 Sam. i., 19, 25, "How are the mighty fallen!" where it is added, "thou wast slain," or as in 2 Sam. iii. 38, where special reference is made to the news of Abner's death. Something is needed in the context to make the kind of falling intended manifest, and the use of the word in the present passage would be insufficient by itself, and must be regarded as existing in reference to the previous mention of Ishmael's death in v. 17. Thus the separation of this passage into parts proceeding from different authors is highly objectionable on purely verbal grounds.

IX.—THE GENERATIONS OF ISAAC.

§ 1. Ch. xxv. 19-34. BIRTH OF ISAAC'S SONS, AND SALE OF THE BIRTHRIGHT BY THE ELDER. JEHOVISTIC.

This is the commencement of another of the principal divisions or Toledoth into which the book resolves itself, and, as usual, it begins with a recapitulation of events already mentioned, whereby an opportunity is afforded of supplying to one of the supposed authors a statement of facts already described by another. Thus it tells how Abraham begat Isaac, how at forty years of age Isaac married Rebekah, and whose daughter and sister she was, all before amply described, but now briefly repeated to give completeness to the new section, which contains the separate history of Isaac and his family down to his death. The first subdivision of the section, proceeds from this mention of Isaac's marriage to describe the barrenness of Rebekah at first, how Isaac intreated Jehovah, and how after that she became the mother of Esau and Jacob. As on the occasion of Abraham's death it was said that God blessed Isaac, the Divine favour being thus expressed only in a general way, it was the more likely that the writer should at the outset of Isaac's history bring him into relation with Jehovah, the personal God of the family. This sufficiently accounts for the Jehovistic character of the passage as regards the name of God. The LXX. agree with the Hebrew in this, except that

in the latter part of v. 21 they have God instead of Jehovah: Isaac intreated the Lord, and God was intreated of him. intimation from Jehovah to Rebekah that the elder should serve the younger, in v. 23, naturally leads to the story of the sale of the birthright at the close of the chapter, the principal parts of the section being thus connected. Moreover v. 24, stating that at the time of birth there were twins, is not a repetition that betrays another hand, inasmuch as Rebekah did not know the cause of the sensations which led her to inquire of the Lord, and the information that she was bearing twins rested entirely on the Divine answer to her inquiry. It was therefore quite natural that the verification of that oracle when the time of birth arrived should have been mentioned by the writer. The mention of the twins was also needed in v. 24 to introduce the subjoined particulars. The whole is therefore well connected together.

The passage, however, is anatomised by the partitionists in a way which has the less claim on our attention, as they are not agreed in the division of it. Thus Dr. Davidson's table gives v. 19 to the Jehovist and 20 to the Elohist, this latter containing the name Padan-Aram, which must not be allowed to the Jehovist. The Bishop of Natal, however, gives v. 19 also to the Elohist. If he had left it to the Jehovist this writer would have used Tistead of Tistead of To beget, which the Bishop will not allow. His remark that the particularity of the account of Isaac's marriage implies that the writer knew nothing of the Jehovistic chapter xxiv., in which it had already been fully described, is disposed of by the fact just noticed, that here it occurs in the recapitulatory preface of one of the principal sections of the book, according to the analogy of these divisions in general, and of many of the lesser sections also. Then again 21-26, except the last clause of 26 given to the Elohist, is assigned in Dr. Davidson's table to the Jehovist, while the Bishop gives the first part of 21, 22, 23, to the Jehovist, and the latter part of 21 and 24-26 to the Elohist.

The Bishop then gives the remainder of the chapter to the Jehovist, while Davidson's table only gives him 27, 28, and assigns the story of the sale of the birthright to the Redactor or compiler. If this be correct, the reference to this in xxvii. 36, "He hath taken away my birthright, and behold now he hath taken my blessing," should be given to the compiler also, which it is not in Davidson's table, but is by Boehmer. In this disagreement it is needless to discuss the propriety of the respective partitions. When men fall out about the division of the spoil, the right owner may come by his own.

§ 2. Ch. xxvi. 1-33. ISAAC WITH ABIMELECH. JEHOVISTIC WITH AN ELOHISTIC EXCEPTION.

In this passage Jehovah is said to have appeared to Isaac on the occasion of his going into Gerar, and to have blessed him when he sowed in that land. On the removal of Isaac to Beersheba, he appeared again and said, "I," that is, the same Jehovah who appeared, "I am the Elohim of Abraham thy father." Here Elohim, as the general term, appears in its proper place as the predicate, while the pronoun, implying the proper name, stands as the subject. So far there is nothing remarkable in this passage; but in the subsequent part there is the unusual appearance of the name Jehovah in the mouth of Abimelech, who was not of the chosen family. A little consideration, however, will show that in this Abimelech is speaking of Jehovah, not as his own God, but as the God who had blessed and protected Abraham, and who, he now perceives, has the same care of Isaac also. Abimelech with Ahuzzath and Phicol comes to him, and they assign as the cause of their visit that they certainly saw Jehovah was with him. And then, having desired that a covenant should be ratified between them, they conclude by saying, "Thou art now the blessed of Jehovah." The whole point of the saving is in this word now.2 As Abraham was before, so Isaac is now the

¹ Bishop of Natal, Pt. v., Crit. Anal., p. 130. 2 Here again we have the oft recurring alliteration, אַבָּה אָלָה, and previously in יצְקָק מְצָחֵק אָנָיִר, 8. יצִיּחָק בּיצִיּחָק.

blessed of Jehovah. It is therefore as Abraham's and Isaac's God, and not as his own, that Abimelech here speaks of Jehovah. The use of this name, therefore, by Abimelech and his attendants does not argue any special Jehovistic tendencies on the part of the writer, who merely puts the name into their mouth, as the representative in the later times of the writer of such proper name as Abraham and Isaac had themselves in actual use in their day, whether that was Jehovah or not. The LXX. coincide with the Hebrew.

This passage affords an instance of the renewed imposition of a name already given under particular circumstances, and again re-imposed on a suitable occasion. Abraham had given the name of Beersheba to the place where he had made a covenant respecting a well with Abimelech, and the name became ultimately so well established that, even before the circumstances are mentioned which gave rise to the adoption of the name, the place is proleptically called Beersheba by the writer. Yet we find the writer again in the present passage describing the new digging of the well, the new making of a covenant respecting it with Abimelech, and the new imposition of the name Beersheba in consequence, as if the name had now for the first time been adopted. There is added here, what was not said on the former occasion, "therefore the name of the city is called Beersheba unto this day." This remark may be understood as implying that on the first occasion the name had not obtained such an established use as to perpetuate it, but that the perpetuation of it resulted from its renewed imposition by Isaac. reasonable account can be given of the only real difficulties the passage seems to present, namely the imposition of the name Beersheba by Isaac, and the use of Jehovah by Abimelech and his attendants.

The circumstances, however, mentioned in this chapter of Isaac's sojourn in Gerar, his fears on account of Rebekah's beauty, and the names Abimelech and Phicol, which reappear in this story, have led the advocates of multiplied

authorship to regard this as only a repetition in varied form, and as applied to Isaac, of what had before been related of Abraham's visit to Gerar and Sarah's introduction into Abimelech's family, this being itself supposed to be only a repetition of Abraham's visit to Egypt and the circumstances which took place there. And as it was argued that these two latter were only the forms which the same traditional event took in the hands of two different authors, namely the Jehovist and the junior Elohist, so a third and subsequent writer of the present history must be found. It would disturb the order of the assumed succession of the writers to go back to the Elohist. Hence the Redactor assumes the authorship of the greater part of the first twenty five verses of the chapter. parts not given to him are v. 6, "And Isaac dwelt in Gerar," attributed to the junior Elohist; v. 13, and 14 to end of first clause, describing Isaac's prosperity, 16 and 17, mentioning his departure at the request of Abimelech, 19-22, describing the digging of the wells, together with the first clause of v. 25, all given to the junior Elohist, doubtless because these being all new matter may be given to him, but else would interfere with the notion of a new form of the old story already twice told. But plainly if the Redactor with all the materials before him is not content with interweaving into the compilation the materials that came to his hand, but must add from himself so large a portion, and that not new matter gleaned from other sources, but a mere variation of a story already twice existing in his previous materials, then he ceases to be a mere compiler, and assumes the character of an interpolator of his own inventions. The story, however, is entirely unlike the two former, except in the apprehension on account of Rebekah's beauty, and the pretence that she was Isaac's sister, as regards both, and the sameness of the place and names as regards the later of those two narratives. The apprehension, however, would naturally arise from a knowledge of the former occurrences, especially on Isaac's going to the place where the second of the two had happened, and might

have suggested the same expedient, which had not resulted in any ill consequences on those occasions. The recurrence of the names, whether as official titles or as hereditary names, is so natural and probable, that any objection drawn from this circumstance is purely factious. Indeed, Fuerst notices that the Achish, king of Gath, mentioned in 1 Sam. iii. 21, is called Abimelech in the title to Ps. xxxiv. If that is to be trusted, this name at any rate was apparently a title of office. If, then, there is no reason for regarding the events as identical, there is no occasion for bringing in a new author for each as it occurs.

The concluding passage of this chapter, from v. 26 inclusive to the end, is mainly given to the Elohist in Davidson's table, notwithstanding that the only name of God occurring in it is Jehovah as already noticed, for which no doubt the Redactor would be made responsible. The latter clause, however, of v. 33, "Therefore the name of the city is called Beersheba unto this day," is not attributed to the Elohist. The Redactor is made responsible for this also. It is to be observed, however, that v. 32, which is given to the Elohist, presupposes the last clause of v. 25 given to the Redactor. Isaac's servants digged a well on their arrival at Beersheba, and then they came and told him, as mentioned in r. 32, of the well they had digged, which would be unintelligible as it appears there, if the previous statement had not existed. Then this well of which they bring word is called Sheba, in consequence of the oath made in the meantime; and the name of the town becomes Beer-Sheba after the well thus named. There is no symptom of interpolation in all this, which is closely and naturally connected together.

Such is the treatment of the passage by these critics. The Bishop of Natal, however, does not agree with them, as regards a great part of the passage. He gives the fourth and fifth verses to the Deuteronomist, mainly on the strength of the words, "My charge, my commandments, my statutes, and my laws," similar and synonymous words being thus frequently combined in Deuteronomy, but nowhere else four occurring

together as in Deut. xi. 1 and here. The resemblance, however, is mainly in this number, as the order and one of the terms differ. Another reason is that the words, "and I have given to thy seed all these lands," is a mere useless repetition of the same words in v. 3, and suggests the possibility of an interpolation. The Bishop does not perceive the true nature of v. 4, as here given. In v. 3 Jehovah promises to Isaac that he will give to him and to his seed these countries, and will perform the oath which he sware unto Abraham his father. That oath he then repeats in substance, and nearly in words, as given in xxii. 17. First the promise is made directly to Isaac himself in v. 3, and then it is quoted as part of the oath to Abraham in v. 4. There is therefore no unmeaning repetition in the present case. The rest of the story to the end of v. 16 the Bishop gives to the Jehovist, as he did that of Abraham in Egypt; the second Elohist to whom he ascribes the story in ch. xx. being also, as the Bishop suspects, the Jehovist at a different time of his life. The Bishop thus waves the objection founded on the sameness of the stories so strongly insisted on by others, but explains the repetitions by a complex theory of re-writing and modifying, and then retaining cancelled passages unsuppressed; "and thus the narrative has come down to us with all its contradictions and perplexities,"—contradictions and perplexities which he has, like others, imagined or created for himself.

Verse 18 compared with 15 is given by the Bishop to the second Elohist, with the remark that "it seems plain that one and the same writer cannot have written these two almost identical passages in such close juxtaposition, as part of the same context." And he adds that the Jehovist in v. 15 "represents this 'stopping' of the wells as proceeding direct from the 'envy' of the Philistines towards Isaac, v. 14; whereas in v. 18 it is mentioned merely as a fact, which had resulted in consequence of Abraham's death." Now here one cannot help suspecting that the Bishop, in spite of all his minute analysis of the Hebrew text, has been betrayed by the English

Version in v. 15. The for of that Version, which indicates that the stopping of the wells had proceeded from the envy of the Philistines, has no place in the original, except so far as one might think it needful thus to interpret the copulative \ at the commencement of the verse. But if this were the meaning, and the stopping had preceded from the envy of the Philistines, this I would have been connected with the future as indicating the sequence of events. Instead of this the use of the future with the rau conversive is here interrupted, and the verb is in the past tense. Now this change of tense is not arbitrary in Hebrew; either a new subject wholly unconnected with what precedes is commenced, or else the idea of subsequence is dropped and the time may go back to some period preceding that last mentioned, and the verb have a pluperfect sense. The rendering should therefore be, "And (or, but) all the wells which his father's servants had digged in the days of Abraham his father, the Philistines had stopped them." And the reason why this is here mentioned seems to be that the writer meant to intimate why Isaac continued in Gerar, notwithstanding the envy of the Philistines, until Abimelech desired that he would depart. He was unwilling to go to the neighbourhood of Beersheba, because the wells there had been stopped. It was necessary therefore when he went from thence to the valley of Gerar to dig again those wells which the Philistines had stopped after his father's death. The LXX., it is true, in translating v. 15, use an aorist, ενέφραξαν, but this is with a pluperfect sense, as in the previous use of the aorist ἄρυξαν, where the sense is necessarily pluperfect. And so we have the same aorist forms in v. 18 for both verbs where they are plainly pluperfect.1 The remainder of this

¹ The Vulgate, however, avoids the difficulty in a different manner. It renders thus: "Invidentes ei Palæstini, omnes puteos quos foderant servi patris illins Abraham, illo tempore obstruverunt, implentes humo: in tantum, ut ipse Abimelech, diceret ad Isaae: Recede," etc. Then when it comes to 18 it says, Rursumque fodit alios puteos, quos foderant servi patris sui Abraham, et quos illo mortuo, olim obstruverant Philistiim. The alios is plainly not justified by the מוֹלְיִי of the Hebrew, and is excluded by the definite בַּאֵרֶת הַפַּיִנִים.

passage from v. 18 is given by the Bishop to the Jehovist, in variance with other critics.

§ 3. CH. XXVI. 34, 35, XXVII., XXVIII. 1-4. ESAU'S MARRIAGE, THE BLESSING OF JACOB BY ISAAC, AND HIS MISSION TO PADANARAM. JEHOVISTIC AND ELOHISTIC.

THE marriage of Esau is wholly unconnected with the preceding passage, but stands in close connexion with the latter part of this new section. Hence the two last verses plainly form its commencement, to which there was no occasion to prefix any recapitulatory preface as in other cases. But while these verses are thus the necessary commencement of the ensuing narrative, there is nothing but the juxtaposition to create the impression, which the subsequent history removes, that the transactions related in ch. xxvii. followed immediately on Esau's marriage. The Bishop of Natal indeed insists on the incongruity of the age of Jacob when he set out to be married, upon the supposition of the interval of thirty-six years, which the chronology of the book as it stands requires. But as the partition of the book does not free the narrative to which the Bishop gives his approval, as the purest and most consistent with probability, from the difficulty of extraordinary ages and childbearing at an unnatural time of life, there seems no object in insisting on those incongruities as reasons for breaking up the book as a compilation of inconsistent fragments or separate narratives. Whatever principle is adopted in explaining such difficulties, as they still exist in the separated parts, will just as readily serve in regard to the whole in its integrity.

The first mention of God is when Isaac asks how the venison has been found so soon, and Jacob says in reply, "Jehovah thy Elohim brought it to me." Here each word is in its proper place, one, the proper name, as the subject, and the other, the appellative, as the predicate of an assumptive proposition. And the reason of speaking thus is intelligible enough. Jehovah brought it to him because he was Isaac's Elohim. Next, in

v. 27 Isaac says that the smell of his son is as the smell of a field which Jehovah has blessed; and then he immediately adds, "Ha-Elohim give thee of the dew of heaven," etc., i.e., that Elohim, namely Jehovah just named, give thee the blessing of the field now mentioned. The article here is plainly, as in xxii. 1, the article of reference, and used for the purpose of identifying Jehovah with Elohim. The Bishop is thus as mistaken in making the word with the article a special Jehovistic indication,1 as others are in giving it a special meaning as the personal God, as has already been abundantly shown. There is no further mention of God until in xxviii. 1-4 Isaac bids Jacob go to Padan-Aram for a wife, and then repeats, as his final benediction on Jacob, the El-Shaddai blessing of ch. xvii. This blessing, originally imparted to Abraham and Isaac together, is transmitted by Isaac to Jacob, now that he is about to leave the land which Elohim gave unto Abraham, Elohim here following, as in other places, the use of El-Shaddai, which, if it was the name for which Jehovah was afterwards substituted, would, when it is employed, naturally exclude the use of its later substitute. The LXX. agree with the Hebrew, except that, as already mentioned, they represent El-Shaddai by ὁ θεός μου.

The entire of ch. xxvii. is given to the Jehovist by all the advocates of divided authorship, with the exception of v. 36, which some give to the compiler, as it refers to the sale of the birthright which is also given to the compiler, and then of v. 46. But as Padan-Aram occurs in the commencing verses of xxviii. that passage must be given to the Elohist, as it is assumed the Jehovist could not have used that name. But then, as xxviii. 1 is in close connexion with xxvii. 46, Rebekah in the one expressing to Isaac her dread at the thought of Jacob's marrying one of the daughters of the land, while in the other, apparently in consequence of this, Isaac charges Jacob not to take a wife of the daughters of

¹ Pt. v. Crit. Anal., p. 94.

Canaan, if xxvii. 46 were the Jehovist's, the theory would seem to be entirely upset by the Elohist taking up the Jehovist's narrative. To avoid this difficulty, xxviii. 1 is made to follow in sequence with xxvi. 34, 35, and the Redactor is called in by some to bear the burden of xxvii. 46. But if the Redactor had found in the Elohistic document the last verses of ch. xxvi. followed immediately by the first verse of ch. xxviii., and had interposed between them the Jehovistic ch. xxvii., there would have existed no motive for his then bringing in Rebekah as expressing her fears as to Jacob's marrying one of the daughters of the land. For while Rebekah had her own reason for desiring Jacob to go to Haran, it was already stated that Esau's Hittite wives were a grief of mind to Isaac as well as to Rebekah, and the narrative, as put together by the Redactor, contained already a sufficient motive for Isaac's charge to Jacob not to marry one of the daughters of Canaan. It is to be presumed that the Redactor would have limited his interpolations to what was necessary to connect and complete the compiled narrative, and would have avoided all gratuitous additions. On the other hand it was quite natural that Rebekah, being anxious to get Jacob away from the effects of Esau's anger, and knowing that Isaac agreed with her in disliking the daughters of the land, should have suggested this motive to him, with the view of inducing him to send Jacob away.

The Bishop does not follow those who give the last verse of xxvii. to the compiler, but he agrees with them in assigning the commencing verses of xxviii. to the Elohist. Besides the use of Padan-Aram already mentioned, the other points of distinction on which he relies are attributable to the direct transference of the El-Shaddai blessing from ch. xvii., the expressions of the one being copied in the other. As an author of the entire book might have done this as well, these coincidences prove nothing of the present passage. And even on the Bishop's theory, why might not his Jehovist have taken this blessing from its Elohistic place in ch. xvii.?

§ 4 (1). Ch. xxvii. 5-22. JACOB'S DEPARTURE TO HARAN, AND ESAU'S TO ISHMAEL, TO OBTAIN WIVES. JACOB'S DREAM AND VOW AT BETHEL. JEHOVISTIC AND ELOHISTIC.

THE fifth verse seems the most natural place at which to make a new section commence. The charge which Isaac gives Jacob not to take a wife of the daughters of Canaan, and the command to go to Padan-Aram, with the invocation of Divine blessing upon him, wind up the narrative of the preceding chapter. And now a new section commences with a repetition of Jacob's dismissal by Isaac, and an aunouncement of his consequent departure to Padan-Aram to Laban. And as customary at the commencement of a section, though Bethuel was described in r. 2 as Rebekah's father, and Laban as her brother, the description is for completeness in the new section repeated here with minute particularity. There is also a further repetition. For before entering on the history of Jacob's journey to Haran and his proceedings there, this section contains the account of Esau's journey also to Ishmael for the purpose of taking another wife. And in accounting for this the previously mentioned particulars are in the customary way repeated, namely how Isaac had blessed Jacob, and sent him to Padan-Aram to take a wife, how he had charged him not to marry any of the daughters of Canaan, and how Esau perceived that these were displeasing to his father. This recapitulation both serves as a reason for Esau's departure to Ishmael, and also explains the circumstances and causes of Jacob's departure sufficiently to give completeness in itself to the ensuing account of Jacob's proceedings, which forms almost an unbroken narrative to xxxiii. 17. It has, however, certain stages which naturally separate themselves, and will admit of separate treatment with advantage.

The use of the names of God in the first passage, which reaches to the end of ch. xxviii., is readily explained. When Jacob dreams, he sees a ladder from earth to heaven, and angels,

not the angels, but angels of Elohim upon it, messengers not from earth to heaven but from heaven to earth, from God to man not from man to God. Then at the summit stands God in his personal anthropomorphic representation; he is therefore naturally called by the proper and personal name, and announces himself as Jehovah, the Elohim of Abraham and of Isaac, and now blesses Jacob as he had blessed them. When Jacob awakes it is still Jehovah, he says, is in this place. But, he adds, not this is the house of Jehovah, but "this is none other but a house of God." Elohim is used in this connexion with reference to the well-known name Bethel, which he presently gives the place, El being as yet the word for God used in all compound names. He then vows that "if Elohim will be with him, and will keep him in this way that he goes, and will give him bread to eat and raiment to put on, and he comes again in peace to his father's house, and Jehovah is his Elohim, then this stone which he has set for a pillar shall be Elohim's house." The English Version makes "Jehovah shall be my Elohim" part of the consequent, with which the LXX. seem to agree; but the verb in this clause is in the same tense with the two preceding verbs, and becomes future היהי in the next clause, which therefore seems properly to begin the consequent, as Hengstenberg insists. At any rate the names of God in this passage, with which the LXX. agree except that at the commencement of v. 20 it is $\kappa \nu \rho \log \delta \theta \delta s$, not simply $\theta \delta s$, are naturally and simply explained according to their proper use and import, and require no supposition of different authorship. But as xxxv. 15, "Jacob called the name of the place where God spake with him Bethel," is assigned to the Elohist, and it is assumed that the assigning of the same name on two seemingly different occasions is an evidence of different authors variously describing the same circumstance, and these varied repetitions are usually given to the junior Elohist, so the present passage is assigned to him in Davidson's table. verses 13-16, however, being too Jehovistic, must not be given to

him, while yet they are too closely connected with the context, and too incapable of standing by themselves, to be regarded as a substantive part of the Jehovistic narrative. Hence they are treated as an interpolation of the Redactor. For consistency, the clause, "and Jehovah shall be my Elohim," should also be attributed to him, which, however, is not done. But now, what motive would the Redactor have had to invent this portion of the narrative? The vow is plainly taken from the promise, and follows quite naturally from it; its several clauses, "if Elohim will be with me," "will keep me," "will bring me again," if "Jehovah will be Elohim to me,' as he was to Abraham and Isaac, are plainly taken from the promise. It was quite natural that Jacob, having dreamed a certain promise, should make the fulfilment of that promise the condition of his vow; but as the vow does not in any way presuppose the promise, there was nothing to suggest the invention of it to the Redactor, nor does the narrative in any way require it. And if he had derived the promise from the vow, he would probably have taken in the particulars of food and raiment, which are not in the promise, and not have added to it the grant of the land and the blessing in his seed of the families of the earth. Plainly, the whole chapter is by one hand; and as the vow was that, on condition of Jacob's return, the pillar of Bethel should be God's house, that is, should be what he calls it, Bethel; so when he comes back to the same place afterwards in peace, and then calls that place Bethel, is not the re-imposition of the name a plain reference to the vow? He called it Bethel before conditionally; it becomes so absolutely in the fulfilment of his yow. And it must be remembered that on the earlier occasion, when it is said that Jacob called this place Bethel, that was only a name imposed in his own mind. He was a solitary wanderer, and there was no one to whom he might communicate it. Whatever he may have called it in his own thoughts, the name was not practically given until the subsequent occasion. Surely the Jehovistic passage now before us, and the

Elohistic xxxv. 15 are thus closely and undesignedly connected together, and evince the unity of the authorship from which they proceed.

The Bishop of Natal, having given down to v. 10 to the Elohist, gives the remainder to the Jehovist without interruption; and he remarks on the change from Padan-Aram in 1-9 to Haran in v. 10, as favouring this change of authors just here. Yet the Elohist had already spoken of Haran in xi. and xii., and it seems hard to deny him now the use of the same name, which was not synonymous with the name previously mentioned. Padan-Aram was a district of Mesopotamia; Haran was the particular place in it where the family of Rebekah dwelt, called in xxiv. 10 "the city of Nahor" her grandfather. The Bishop remarks also on the position of the words, "and in thy seed," at the close of v. 14 as possibly by another hand, namely his Deuteronomist. But this position is sufficiently explained by the fact that the preceding clause is exactly and literally adopted from xii. 3, and the addition is therefore subjoined, not incorporated as it appears in the English Version. "This ground," in v. 15, on which the Bishop lays stress as a Jehovistic phrase, is probably not meant as equivalent to "this land," in v. 13, but denotes this very spot of ground, namely Bethel.

§ 4 (2), Ch. xxix.-xxxi. JACOB WITH LABAN. JEHOVISTIC AND ELOHISTIC.

This passage, which contains the history of Jacob from his arrival at Haran to his final separation from Laban, is a continuous and closely connected narrative, of such unity in its character as not to admit of subdivision into briefer sections in any way complete in themselves. The first of the chapters comprised in it is assigned to the Jehovist, with the exception of 24, 28, 32 first and second clauses, 33 first and fourth clauses, 34 first clause, and 35 first and fourth clauses, which the Bishop of Natal gives to the Elohist. Its Jehovistic character as regards the names of God is perhaps attributable to the circumstance,

that Laban and his family, however they may have recognised the true God and worshipped him, were still by no means free from idolatrous notions and practices, as will be seen from the incidents mentioned in this narrative. It may well therefore have seemed fit to the writer, at his first mention of God in connexion with Jacob's wives, to bring them into special relation to the God of the Patriarchs as distinguished from all other conceptions of the Divine Being. This will account for his attributing to Jehovah God's favourable regard of Leah, and making Leah attribute to Jehovah, that is, to the God of Jacob her husband, the blessing of children by which she was made happy. At the commencement of the next chapter (xxx.) which is also, with one or two exceptions to be noticed presently, assigned to the Jehovist, the change to the use of Elohim is easily accounted for. Jacob is provoked by Rachel's appeal to him, to give her children or else she will die, and asks her in reply does she think he is in God's stead.1 It is God not man has caused her barrenness, and God not man can remove it. The contrast between the Divine and human therefore sufficiently accounts for the transition to Elohim. And then when Bilhah bears a son, and Rachel says, "God hath judged me and hath also heard my voice, and hath given me a son," there is plainly a reference to the previous use of Elohim. Jacob had told her that God only, not man, could grant her desire, and now she says God, not man, has heard her prayer and done her justice. Afterwards when Bilhah has another son, and Rachel says, "With wrestlings of Elohim have I wrestled with my sister," Elohim is only used to intensify the sense of the word "wrestlings," as a familiar way of speaking. It seems to have been in a prevalent feeling of the Divine blessing, that Elohim continues to be used in relating the subsequent birth of Leah's two younger sons; while it may have been with more direct reference to the first introduction of the name at the beginning of the

¹ Perhaps we should even render, "Am I instead of a God?"

chapter, that in v. 22 it is said that Elohim remembered Rachel, and that, when she acknowledges the Divine goodness in giving her a son, she says that Elohim has taken away her reproach. The. writer having made her thus use Elohim, with this reference in view, has no longer anything to suggest the contrast between the Divine and human in regard to the granting of her desires, and accordingly, when she expresses her anticipation of another son, she says that Jehovah, that is Jacob's God, shall add to her another son. All this may have come to the writer's pen quite spontaneously, yet still not less really suggested in the manner indicated, it being only of course the substance in the writer's words, and not the actual words of the speakers themselves, that he reports. Jehovah only occurs once more in this chapter, when Laban, in r. 27, asks Jacob to remain with him, as he has found by experience that Jehovah has blessed him for Jacob's sake. Here Laban uses the name with special regard to Jacob's relation to God. It is not simply as God, but as Jacob's God, that the Divine Being has blessed him; and this is expressed by the use of Jehovah.

The story of the mandrakes is treated as an interpolation, and is assigned to the Redactor as coming after the Jehovist. The reason for thus regarding this passage, r. 14-16, is intimated by Davidson, p. 62. "Unity of authorship is discountenanced by duplicates which appear not unfrequently in Pentateuch-duplicate etymologies, and traditional duplicates of the same transaction.\(^1\) Thus there are double etymologies of the names Issachar and Zebulon (see Gen. xxx. 14-16 compared with r. 18 and Gen. xxx. 19, 20). In xxx. 16 the name Issachar is explained by the circumstance that Leah had hired (\(^1\), hire)

¹ The Jehovist is accused of forced etymologies, and an instance is mentioned as occurring in the case of the name of Levi, xxix. 34, "Now this time will my husband be joined unto me." Davidson, p. 30, maintains that the name was given because the Levites were attached to the priests as their assistants. It is not, however, a question about the etymology, which is the same in either ease, but as to the reason of it. Surely it is very forced to supersede the name of the tribe altogether, and to make the term a mere designation of office. There is just the same evidence that Levi was the name of the head of a tribe, as there is in the case of Judah or any of the other tribes, that they bore the names of their fathers.

Jacob from Rachel for a night with her son's mandrakes; while in the eighteenth verse she calls the child Issachar, because God had given her a hire or reward, for lending her maid to her husband." Now in 14-16 the name Issachar is not explained at all, nor is it clear that there is even an allusion in it to the name. If it was an interpolation afterwards made with reference to r. 18, the allusion would not have been so obscure as it is. As an integral part of the original narrative, it seems wholly irrespective of the name, and relates to a circumstance that had taken place before the birth of Issachar, while in v. 18 the name is explained without any expressed reference to that transaction, whatever mental reference to it may have existed. Leah is repaid not merely for giving her son's mandrakes, but for a much greater act of self-denial in allowing her place to be occupied by her maid in the hope of increasing the number of the promised seed. If the name might have been founded on the lower ground, a higher one is assigned with good reason. This explanation of the name on the higher ground being supposed to have already existed, there was no motive for a subsequent writer to assign another, and still less, so much a lower one, as that implied by the story of the mandrakes,—a story moreover which, while quite in character with the simplicity of pastoral life, is very unlikely to have subsisted as an oral tradition to so late a period of Jewish history as that of the supposed Redactor, and which therefore, if introduced by him, would probably have been an invention of his own. But there is no possible reason apparent which should have suggested such an invention.

"In like manner Leah called her sixth son Zebulon, i.e., dweller, because, as she said, 'Now will my husband dwell with me;' but her words, 'God has endued me with a good dowry,' intimate dowry, as the meaning of the name Zebulon, from the Hebrew וְבַרְנִי ,וְבַר has given me a gift, i.e., יְבַרְרוֹן = וְבוֹלִוֹן aleth and lamed being interchangeable letters." Here the alleged double etymology is a pure imagination; as well might

"the Lord hath looked upon my affliction; now therefore will my husband love me," be regarded as containing a second or even a third explanation of the name Reuben (see a son), as God hath endued me with a good dowry, be taken as an explanation of the name Zebulun, in addition to the words "now will my husband dwell with me." The interchangeableness of the letters daleth and lamed, as written letters, is only an interchangeableness by the misreading of copyists from the slightness of the difference in the form of the two letters. It could only have operated here by the change of that which existed originally into the other, in the course of time, through the error of transcribers, and then by some subsequent editor finding the name not agreeing with the explanation, and inventing another explanation to match the altered name. But then if this is what is meant, it is forgotten in all this fine speculation, that the similarity of form between the 7 and 7 only exists in the square or Chaldee character, which came into use with the Jews after the Captivity; the Phœnician or ancient Hebrew, which was in use until after, on all hands it is admitted, the book of Genesis had assumed its present form, had no such resemblance in these letters as would have made such an interchange by copyists in the remotest degree likely. But if the author means that the letters were interchangeable as sounds, this indeed takes place in the lapse of time, and in the divergence of nations who have derived their language from the same common origin, as in the case of the Greek δάκρυ and the Latin lacryma, but there is usually no interchange of these letters in the contemporaneous pronunciation of the same people, except as cognates take different shades of meaning. Nor is there the slightest evidence that at different times the tribe was known by the names in the different forms Zebudun and Zebulun. Had it been so, an editor who found the name different from what was prevalent in his time would, while inventing a derivation for the new form, have also introduced the new form itself, if he did not expunge the old, and would scarcely have trusted to the reader's

perception of a nice phonetic principle, which indeed it cannot be imagined that he knew himself.

A third instance of double etymology is alleged to exist in this chapter: "And she (Rachel) conceived and bare a son, and said, God hath taken away my reproach. And she called his name Joseph, and said, The Lord shall add to me another son." "In the former case," says Davidson, "Joh' is equivalent to Joh' from Joh; in the latter, the Jehovist deduces it from to add. To this Keil replies, that the former gives no etymology, but only makes a slight allusion—a most incorrect statement." That it is not an incorrect statement may be seen by the allusion in the remark, "the Lord hath looked upon my affliction," to the former part of the name Reuben, in which case there exists no pretence on which to ground the supposition of a double etymology. These alliterative allusions, beside the etymology, are of frequent occurrence, as already noticed in other cases, like those of Noah and Japheth.

There is a clause in v. 40, "and set the faces of the flocks toward the ring-straked and all the brown in the flock of Laban," which is given to the Redactor. This clause seems awkward in the English Version. It is not so in that of the LXX., who, however, omit the word Laban at the end of it. Retaining this we must not connect the words, "in the flock of Laban," with the "ringstraked and every brown," but with the verb. "Jacob had separated the lambs, and he set the faces of the sheep towards a ringstraked (ram LXX.) and every brown, in the flock of Laban." The author is describing an additional plan, besides that of the rods. At any rate, designed interpolations are made to clear up difficulties, not to create them. The accidental creeping into the text, through whatever agency, of a few words out of their place and only creating confusion, is what any ancient book transmitted through so long a succession of copyists is liable to suffer. The parts of this chapter which Dr. Davidson assigns to the compiler, the Bishop of Natal leaves to the Jehovist, while he extracts a number of clauses and brief passages which he gives to the Elohist in connexion with those of the last chapter. These are v. 1 first clause, 4 first clause, 5, 6 first clause, 7, 8 first and third clauses, 9-13, 17, 18 first and third clauses, 19, 20 first and third clauses, 21-24 first clause. Even if the general outlines of the Bishop's theory were true, we might decline on the authority of other partitionists to follow him here.

On the other hand the Bishop, still differing from these critics, gives only v. 18 of the next chapter to the Elohist, and assigns all the rest to the Jehovist, notwithstanding its striking verbal Elohism, declaring that he has been unable to detect any decisive signs of a difference in authorship, or of a break in the connexion. In the hands of the others, however, this chapter undergoes most minute anatomising, each of the four alleged authors getting a share of it, in alternating clauses, sentences, or verses, with now and then a somewhat longer passage. The Elohist gets only r. 18.1 His elaim to it is doubtless founded on the mention of Padan-Aram, and the resemblance to xii. 5. It does not, however, connect itself with the last preceding Elohistic passage, xxviii. 1-9, in a satisfactory manner. One of the minor omissions, which it is said the compiler has made in piecing this chapter, must have taken place here, if the Elohist's narrative had ever a self-standing existence. partitioning the remainder amongst the other supposed original writers, and the compiler who put the parts together, verses and clauses of verses are separated throughout; and it is necessary to suppose that the compiler, who broke up the original writings and put them together as we now find them, made several minor omissions of matter which, no doubt, he must have found redundant or inconvenient.2 The use of the names of God has little if anything to do with this subdivision, the improbability

² A general view of these subdivisions will be given hereafter.

^{1 &}quot;And he carried away all his cattle, and all his goods, which he had gotten, the cattle of his getting which he had gotten in Padan Aram, for to go to Isaac his father in the land of Canaan."

of which, from its very minuteness and the gratuitous exercise of ingenuity in putting the fragments together, which the Redactor had first with such minuteness disjoined from their respective documents, will satisfy perhaps most readers of the groundlessness of this theory of the combination of several distinct narratives. What motive could the compiler have had in taking such trouble in thus piecing a number of disjointed fragments? It could not have been reverence for the very letter of the previously existing documents, as too sacred for anything to be lost; the several omissions he is supposed to have made, and his own additions, would prove that he had no superstitious reverence for the documents he handled so freely. Would not the natural, the almost certain course he would have adopted, have been to take one as the basis, and from himself to supply the matter furnished by the others in such form and words as he thought fit, without attempting to dovetail minute fragments of the other documents into that which he took as the fundamental one? If the passage before us has on its face the evidence of interpolation, let the editor have the credit of it. It is absurd to find in the interpolated phrases the ipsissima verba of several other documents. Most readers will probably see little reason to suspect interpolation in the document as it stands, except what the author himself may have subsequently added.

There is, however, a care and discrimination in the use of the Divine appellations which indicates unity of design and authorship in the whole of chapter xxxi. First, in v. 3, the writer says that Jehovah spake unto Jacob. Here he is introduced as the personal and special God of the chosen race; and this name in a manner governs the subsequent designations of the Divine Being. Then in v. 5 Jacob says to his wives, "I see your father's countenance, that it is not towards me as it was before; but the God of my father hath been with me." This latter clause does not indeed refer to the appearance of Jehovah to Jacob implied in v. 3, but it still refers to that Jehovistic verse,

namely to the promise, in its last clause, "I will be with thee," no less than it refers to the preceding v. 2, supposed to be by the junior Elohist. The designation, "the God of my father," is equivalent to Jehovah, Elohim being rendered specific by the addition; but this form is preferred for the contrast between the Divine favour and that of Laban: "I see the face of your father that it is not towards me as yesterday and the day before, but the Elohim of my father hath been (or is, 777) with me." The protection of the God of his father is put in opposition to the human favour of their father. The same contrast is marked in the next verse also. Their father tried to do him wrong, but Elohim did not suffer him; man would have injured him, but God hindered it. So again, v. 9, it was Elohim, and not Jacob, that took their father's cattle, the contrast being still sustained, now between God and Jacob, as before between God and Laban. With this contrast fresh in mind, Jacob is represented as telling, v. 11, that the angel of Elohim spake to him in a dream; and perhaps the use of Elohim has also a further design there, namely to indicate that this dream was a Divine communication, and not a mere ordinary human dream. When in relating the words of this angel of Elohim the author makes him say, "I am the God of Bethel," the word El is used on the purely verbal ground that it forms the second part of the compound Bethel, "I am the El of Beth-El." But the use of Elohim in Rachel's and Leah's words, v. 16,1 is in natural sequence with, and reference to, its previous use. They recognise the Divine interposition, as intimated by Jacob, and bid him act on the Divine command he had received.

In the following verses a division is made, first in r. 17,2 the latter half of which is given to the Jehovist in connexion with r. 3, in order to make his narrative represent Jacob as taking steps to fulfil the command of Jehovah; and then this is joined again to the second clause of r. 19, the first clause

 [&]quot;For all the riches which Elohim hath taken from our father, that is our's and our children's. Now then whatsoever Elohim hath said unto thee, do."
 "Then Jacob rose up, and set his sons and his wives upon camels."

being interpolated after r. 18, which is given to the Elohist, while v. 20 is given to the junior Elohist. The groundlessness of all this will appear from a careful examination of the order of the narrative. We have seen that Jacob's wives had just bidden him to obey the Divine command he had received to return to his own country. In compliance with this advice, he rises up and gathers all together, and carries it away to the land of Canaan. How is he able to accomplish this without opposition from Laban? That is next explained; Laban had gone to shear his sheep. The flocks, be it remembered, had been severed, and as Laban went to shear his sheep, Jacob would naturally be with his own for the same purpose. And here let the force of the tenses be properly observed. It is not, as in the English Version, "Laban went to shear his sheep, and Rachel had stolen the images that were her father's." It should be "Laban had gone," הָּלֵּבְּ, here with the force of pluperfect, as in the Vulgate, ierat, and "Rachel stole," this verb being fut. with vau convers., and so implying a transaction subsequent to Laban's departure. The conjunction vau prefixed to v. 19 should have an adversative force, "But Laban had gone to shear his sheep." Then in Laban's absence Rachel stole her father's teraphim, and Jacob stole away unknown to Laban. These clauses, notwithstanding the Masoretic division of the verses, stand in the closest verbal relation to one another, being connected by one of those instances of play on the sound and double senses of words so common in this book:-"Rachel stole the teraphim that were her father's, and Jacob stole the heart of Laban the Syrian." Connected as the clauses thus are, it is probable that it is with reference to these teraphim that Laban is here named "the Syrian," for which, as they are separated in different and unconnected verses, no sufficient cause appears. It

וַהָּגִנֹב רָחֵל אֵת־הַהַּרָפִים אֵשֵׁר לְאַבִיהַ יי

רובנב יעקב אחרלב לבן הארפוי. The words בל מון are a further instance of alliteration. This is given to the junior Elohist. We might have noticed a Jehovistic instance in xxx. 29:— עַקרים נְקָרִים וּטְלָאִים.

was as being a Syrian that Laban used these images, and the mention of this was natural, in order that the idolatrous tendency might not be imputed to Jacob, and so afford a bad example to the Children of Israel. The reason why the mention of Laban as a Syrian is deferred to the end of the second clause was, that the words on which the play of sound and double sense is made might for that purpose be brought nearer together, and that at the close of the second clause there might be something to balance the first in weight of sound. While Laban's nation is here intimated to account for the use of teraphim, it is mentioned in r. 24 to imply that there was something unusual in a Divine communication being made to one who was not of the chosen seed, and was himself not a decided worshipper of the true God. And so Laban himself perceived that it was not his own Elohim, but the Elohim of Jacob's father that appeared to him, v. 29; his own Elohim he shows in v. 30 to have been the teraphim Rachel had stolen. The reason, however, why it was Elohim and not Jehovah that was said to have appeared to Laban, was to distinguish this dream as a Divine communication from a mere ordinary and natural dream. In v. 29 there is another instance of the play on sound and double sense, which accounts for the use of Elohim: "It is in the El of my hand to do you evil, but the Elohim of your father spake to me"-"it is in the might of my hand, but the mighties of your father." The generic Elohim becomes specific by the addition, "the Elohim of your father," and is equivalent in the writer's view to Jehovah. And so in v. 42, where there appears a reference to the Jehovistic v. 3, the Jehovah of that verse is represented by the paraphrastic expressions, "the Elohim of Abraham, the Elohim of my father, the fear of Isaac." This Elohim, in fulfilment of the promise of v. 3, has been with Jacob, else Laban would have sent him away empty. But the Elohim of the latter clause, "Elohim hath seen my affliction," is emphatic; it was God that rebuked Laban the night before, not any remorse of his own conscience, or any imagination of his own mind.

In v. 49 Laban says, "Jehovah watch between us," not as if it were implied that Laban was in any special sense a worshipper of Jehovah, but because he knew that Jacob would not heed an appeal to any other God but the God of his fathers, who is described by this name. But in the next verse it is Elohim, because of the contrast between God and man: "no man is with us, see, God is witness between me and thee." In v. 53 Elohim is rendered specific in different senses by several additions, in accordance with Laban's polytheistic conceptions. Anxious to bind Jacob more strongly by an oath, and with the view of embracing in the adjuration his own hereditary Elohim, he says, "The Elohim of Abraham, the Elohim of Nahor, be judges betwixt us, the Elohim of their father." The verb "judge," אָשָׁבְּשׁי, is plural here, not from the plural form or sense of Elohim, but from the mention of several Elohims, whether regarded as numerically different, or as different in the relations between the different persons named and the one Elohim,—several in regard to these several relations. however, only recognises one, and swears "by the fear of his father Isaac." It thus appears that throughout this chapter, as far as the names of God are concerned, there is a great unity of conception, and a nice discrimination in their use, that marks unity of authorship; while the narrative itself is so well connected, and so free from any needless redundancy, that its resolution into fragments of four different authors is a most uncalledfor proceeding, and wholly unwarranted by anything on the face of the documents, and in parts contradicted by the relation of the separated fragments.

As regards the names of God in these chapters, the LXX. differ from the Hebrew in some of their readings, having in two instances $\kappa \acute{\nu} \rho \iota o_5$ \acute{o} $\theta \epsilon \acute{o}_5$, where the Hebrew has simply Jehovah, and in two other instances, where the Hebrew also has Jehovah, using $\theta \epsilon \acute{o}_5$ alone.

¹ A great difficulty of a chronological nature is made by Davidson, p. 68, 69, in reference to the period of Jacob's stay in Mesopotamia. He endeavours to show that

§ 4. (3.) Ch. XXXII., XXXIII. 1-17. JACOB'S RETURN AND MEETING WITH ESAU. ELOHISTIC WITH ONE JEHOVISTIC EXCEPTION.

This passage contains an account of Jacob's meeting with his brother Esau on the way to his former home, and of his encounter with God at Penuel. It is given entirely by the Bishop of Natal to the Jehovist, but is divided amongst the several alleged authors by others as follows:-The two first verses mentioning the meeting of Jacob with the host of God at Mahanaim are given to the junior Elohist; from thence to v. 22 is assigned to the Jehovist. The first clause of 221 is interpolated by the Redactor, with what motive it would be hard to say. It is true the previous verse concludes with the statement that Jacob lodged that night with his company, and the next words, "and he rose up that night," may seem rather at variance with that. The variance is only seeming, as he may have lodged during the early part of the night, and risen towards the conclusion of it. At any rate this seeming diserepancy is the best evidence against the interpolation of the suspected clause. So ingenious an editor as this Redactor would never have written these words; his object would have been to remove rather than to create a difficulty. The remainder of this verse, except the last clause, is given to the

according to some parts of the narrative Jacob must have remained there for fifty years, while by other parts his stay was only twenty. The difficulty is all created by the supposition that Jacob's departure to Syria was soon after the marriage of Esau with his Hittite wives, namely, when they were both forty years of age. The narrative implies no such immediate sequence in regard to time. It was not until there had been a sufficient interval at any rate for Rebekah to have grown so weary of her life because of the daughters of Heth, xxvii. 46. that she suggested to Isaac that Jacob should go to Syria to seek a wife. Moreover, the commencement of ch. xxvii. implies an interruption of the immediate sequence of the events related. It is not, as in a narrative of events immediately following each other, "and Jacob was old and his eyes were dim," but 'p', 't', 't', 't', 't', 't', and Jacob was old and his eyes were dim," but 'p', 't', which is rightly translated, "It came to pass that," a form of expresssion which denotes an interruption of the near sequence of events, and implies a considerable interval. An interval of thirty-seven years will satisfy all the chronological requirements of the book.

Jehovist, the last clause being assigned to the junior Elohist. Then the words of v. 23,1 "and he took them," or rather the single word thus rendered, being interpolated by the Redactor, the remainder of that verse is given to the Jehovist. Redactor again interpolates the word "alone," in v. 24,2 while the junior Elohist finishes this verse. Then, again, the Redactor supplies v. 25 containing the story of the dislocation of Jacob's thigh, as well as the last clause of v. 31 and v. 32, which refer to this circumstance, the intervening part being the work of the junior Elohist. Now the seeming inconsistency between c. 22 and 23, on which these interpolations of the compiler are founded, vanishes when the ambiguity of the word נחל is taken into account. This word signifies not merely a brook, but also a valley or hollow which has a brook running through it. It should here be rendered "the valley" or hollow. First Jacob takes all his family by night and crosses the ford; then he takes them and sends them all across the valley, and remains himself by the ford. For the LXX. have χειμάρρους, a word which well agrees with what has just been said. For in the rainy season the hollow would be full of water, and the brook would be a torrent which could not be passed, while in the dry season the brook would be a shallow stream, and the hollow would be rather a dry valley, that would present a considerable space of ground between the banks and the stream. Of course it was not at a season when the ford would be impassable and the hollow full, that Jacob took across his family and cattle, but at such a season as would have left this space dry between the banks and the brook. Thus all difficulty vanishes when the nature of the Eastern wady is taken into consideration. The story of the dislocation of Jacob's thigh is assigned to the Redactor, which seems intended to remove a difficulty in the way of regarding this account of the change of Jacob's name to

^{1 &}quot;And he took them and sent them over the brook, and sent over all that he had."
2 "And Jacob was left alone; and there wrestled with him a man, until the breaking of the day."

Israel, and that contained in xxxv., as only different versions of the same transaction. So serious an addition as that in question, would seem to negative this supposition. Hence to get rid of this difficulty in the way of the theory, the Redactor is brought in to invent this story, or to supply it from popular tradition. But this is a purely gratuitous assumption. The remainder of the section, xxxiii. 1–17, is given to the Jehovist, the narrative being considered in sequence with the early part of xxxii., which was attributed to the Jehovist.

As regards the use of the names of God in this passage, it is said at the commencement, that when Jacob went on his way from Laban the angels of Elohim met him, and that when he saw them he said, "This is Elohim's host." Whenever, throughout the book angels of God are mentioned, in the plural number, Elohim is the word used for God. The angel of Jehovah was a singular manifestation of God himself. As Hengstenberg remarks of the angels of Elohim on the ladder in Jacob's dream. they are called angels of Elohim to distinguish them from human angels or messengers of men. If angels alone were mentioned, the term would be ambiguous. "Angels of God" describes whose messengers they were. Hence the general term Elohim, which stands in opposition to men on so many occasions, is properly used. Thus the Elohistic character of the commencement is accounted for. The next mention of God is when Jacob, apprehensive of his brother's revenge, prays in v. 9 to the Elohim of his father Isaac, the Elohim of his father Abraham, Jehovah who had bid him return to his own country. Here each term holds its own proper place and character, one as a general term rendered specific by the addition of the genitives, the other as a proper and personal name in apposition therewith. The next mention of God is in the reason assigned for changing the name of Jacob to Israel. Since Jehovah was not yet in use for the formation of proper names, as already observed, El was the only name used for this purpose. Hence in giving the reason for the name of Israel, "as a prince thou hast power with God and

with men," Jehovah would be quite out of place, while Elohim, which contains the radical El, its shorter counterpart, is quite in its proper place. But besides its appropriateness on this purely verbal ground, it is also suitable in respect of the contrast between God and man, as Hengstenberg notes. If a particular man was specified, the proper name of God might not have been inappropriate, as if it had been said that he had prevailed with Jehovah and with Esau. The generic term in the one case would necessitate the generic term in the other, apart from the verbal ground for the use of Elohim. The answer to Jacob's enquiry, what was the name of the person that wrestled with him, "Wherefore is it that thou dost ask after my name?" does not imply that there was any mystery about it, or that God had any unwillingness to tell him. It merely intimates that Jacob needed to be at no loss to know who it was, especially after the reason assigned for giving to Jacob himself the name of Israel. And accordingly Jacob at once concluded that it was God, and called the place Peniel, saying, "for I have seen Elohim face to face," in which words the same verbal reason for the use of Elohim exists as before in regard to the name Israel. So far, the names employed in this passage are readily accounted for from the nature and proper use of each. Then in the subsequent communication between Jacob and Esau, it would have been very unsuitable to the occasion to have made Jacob attribute his family and wealth in v. 5 and 11 specially to Jehovah. As this would have seemed to lay claim to his special favour as the tutelary God of the family, and the enjoyment of his care attendant on the possession of the birthright, and on the blessing of Isaac which had been surreptitiously obtained, it would have been most unfitting to the occasion to have made Jacob thus suggest to Esau's recollection the very cause of quarrel; and we may readily perceive that a writer equally accustomed to the use of either name would have chosen Elohim here as most suited to his purpose. For the reason of the use of Elohim in v. 10, "I have seen thy face as though I had seen the face of Elohim,"

it will be necessary to refer to the scene at Penuel. That scene was the answer to Jacob's prayer, offered for deliverance from Esau in apprehension of immediate hostilities, and of the destruction of his family. Whatever further and deeper meaning that scene may have had, the immediate design was plainly to encourage Jacob in regard to these apprehensions. He wrestles with a person over whom he prevails, who turns out to be God, and from whom he obtains a blessing. His name is changed to Israel, because he has power with God and with men, and has prevailed with God in obtaining a favourable answer to his prayer, with men in the averting of Esau's wrath. He calls the place in consequence Peniel, because he has seen God face to face and yet his life is preserved, the common notion having been that to see the face of God would be fatal, a notion of which it is unnecessary to adduce any of the numerous evidences that occur in the early books of the Bible. This scene having been vouchsafed in answer to Jacob's prayer, he could not but perceive its significance; and when Esau meets him with kindness, nothing is more natural than that it should recur forcibly to his mind, and suggest the remark that he had seen Esau's face, as though he had seen the face of Elohim,1 and yet Esau was favourable to him, and the anticipated destruction was not inflicted. This reference to the scene at Penuel necessitates the use of Elohim, as having been employed in the account of that transaction. Hengstenberg entirely overlooks this reference, and mistranslates the conjunctions בי על בן, as if Jacob urged Esau to accept his present, because for this purpose, namely that he might offer the present, he had ventured into his dreaded presence, as one would venture to see the face of a God with the apprehension of dying in consequence. Understanding Elohim here as equivalent to "the heavenly powers," he says Jehovah would be simply inadmissible. But why so? Would

¹ To make the verbal reference to Peniel more evident seems to have been the reason why the article is omitted, though by the reference the expression is definite in its signification. The words are Penay Elohim, not Penay Ha-Elohim.

not the argument have been stronger if he had used a name that would have excluded any subordinate heavenly power? Besides, these particles, as above united, do not mean "because for this purpose," but simply because. Out of numerous instances of this combination, the only place where such a rendering would be admissible as regards sense is Gen. xviii. 5, rendered in our Version, "for therefore are ye come to your servant." But it would be much more natural to have invited the angels to take food simply because they had come, than to have intimated to them that they had come in order to obtain it. At any rate, this instance is not such as to justify a departure from the general meaning of the expression. Gen. xix. 8 is not in favour of such a rendering, though it is thus translated in the English Version. The angels had not come under Lot's roof in order to obtain protection; having even declined his invitation at first; and however natural it would have been to plead the rights of hospitality ("unto these men do nothing, because they have come under the shadow of my roof"), it would have been absurd to claim safety for them, because they had come to him to seek it. The LXX. have ἔνεκεν τούτου here, their conception seeming to have been, that Jacob accounts for Esau's kindly reception of him by reason of his having sent the present before him, whereby Esau was propitiated, and therefore Jacob now urges him to accept it, as having been propitiated by the offer of it already implied. By this way of understanding the expression, the reference to the scene at Penuel is not lost, as it is entirely by Hengstenberg's explanation. It thus appears that through the entire of this Elohistic portion there is not a single instance in which Jehovah might properly be substituted for Elohim by a writer equally accustomed to the use of both. The LXX, are conformable to the Hebrew in the use of these names.

§ 5. Ch. xxxiii. 18, xxxiv. JACOB AT SHECHEM AND THE STORY OF DINAH. ELOHISTIC.

The preceding section concluded with a statement that after

the interview between Jacob and Esau, Esau returned that day on his way to Seir, and Jacob journeyed to Succoth, where he built an house, and made booths for his eattle. This implies a somewhat permanent settlement on the east of Jordan, and therefore not properly in the land of Canaan. What reasons may have determined his stay there for any length of time we are not told; but there is no inconsistency in this delay with his intention of going to his father Isaac. From Succoth he could without difficulty visit him in his own person, while he left his establishment there, the moving of that being, no doubt, his great difficulty. As Dinah was not over six years of age at the return from Haran, some time must, at any rate, have elapsed, whether spent at Succoth, or at the place to which Jacob next moved, before the transactions in ch. xxxiv. could have taken place. But as Succoth was not in the land of Canaan, when the new section announces Jacob's removal to Shechem, the introductory statement mentions this as in the kand of Canaan, while in the usual recapitulatory manner it says that he came there on his return from Padan-Aram. That return was already described, but now he is for the first time in the land of Canaan since he left Laban.1

The Bishop of Natal gives the entire of this section to the Jehovist, in which he tells us he is at variance with Delitzsch and Knobel, who have given the story of Dinah to the Elohist, and with Boehmer, who partitions as follows:—r. 17 of xxxiii. having been given to the compiler, the words "when he came from Padan-Aram" in r. 18, and r. 19, are joined to it, as by the compiler also, and then in xxxiv. every sentence that relates to Dinah's defilement, or implies her having been domiciled with the Shechemites, is also supposed to have been interpolated by him in the Jehovistic story of the violence of Simeon and

¹ Keil's supposition that Shalem, which the Versions make the name of a place to which Jacob came, was not the name of a city at all, but should be rendered peaceful, or in peace, with an allusion to xxviii. 21, Sheehem itself being the city to which he came, seems extremely dubious. At any rate, the allusion to xxviii. 21 would be more appropriate in describing the return finally to his father's house.

Levi against the Shechemites. The mention of Padan-Aram in xxxiii. 18 is given to the compiler that the Jehovist should, not use this name. The Bishop, indeed, says that in this case the Jehovist used the name in imitation of the Elohist; if so it is not the distinctive mark it is said to be. There was nothing, however, to suggest this clause to a compiler, as there was no question whence Jacob had come, the only reason for the mention of this particular being the usual repetition in the introduction of a section, designed here as a general indication of time. The omission of the sentences relating to Dinah's defilement does not render the story in any way more consistent or natural, while it leaves the cruel treachery of Simeon and Levi without cause, and the adoption of circumcision by the Shechemites without a motive. It is true that in Jacob's dying address to his sons he makes no allusion to the cause of the treachery he so strongly reprobates, but as this cause, though a provocation, was not a justification, or even an excuse, it is quite intelligible that he should not have weakened the force of his censure by alluding to an occurrence that must, under any circumstances, have been a painful subject of recollection. The assigning, therefore, of these particulars to the compiler is quite groundless. The Bishop remarks on the expression in xxxiv. 6, "he had wrought folly in Israel—and so it should not be done," that the former phrase is "a mere reflection of the later age in which this passage was written," and both almost identical with 2 Sam. xiii. 12, "it is not so done in Israel, do not this folly." Pt. V. p. 224, Note. The word is not properly folly, but disgrace, or a disgraceful deed, aσγημον, LXX.; and though the use of Israel here as a national designation would have been an anachronism, if put into the mouth of any of the persons to whom the narrative relates, it was quite natural in the writer, at whatever time he lived. Surely if this expression had been familiar in David's time, as occurring in this book of earlier and sacred origin, it would have been nothing extraordinary that Tamar should have borrowed the phrases as here given; and their occurrence in 2 Sam. is rather a proof of the pre-existence of, and familiar acquaintance with, the book of Genesis in David's time.

The only mention of God in this section is where Jacob is said to have erected an altar at Shalem, and "called it El-Elohe-Israel," as it is in the English Version. If this be the meaning, we cannot understand El as denoting God, or mighty, as if the altar was called God, the God of Israel, or the mighty God of Israel. In such case we should regard El as a preposition, and suppose that the altar bore the title, "To the God of Israel." The LXX., however, took a different view of the matter, and rendered simply ἐπικαλέσατο τὸν θεὸν Ἰσραήλ. According to this we should render, "invoked on it El, the Elohim of Israel," and it is an instance like others already noticed of a localised worship under particular titles, as El-Elion, El-Olam, El-Bethel. Here we might indeed have had "Jehovah, the Elohim of Israel," but El seems to have been adopted with reference to the name Israel, of which it forms a part. On the other hand, "El, Jehovah of Israel," would have been impossible, as no other Jehovah was ever imagined to have existed.

- § 6. Ch. xxxv. 1-8. RETURN TO BETHEL. ELOHISTIC.
- § 7. Ch. xxxv. 9-29. RENEWAL OF THE NAME ISRAEL. SUNDRY PARTICULARS TILL THE DEATH OF ISAAC. ELOHISTIC.

These passages, forming separate subsections, as already shown, have been subjected to the same partition amongst the several supposed authors, as some of the others which have been considered. It had been assumed that the scene at Bethel contained in ch. xxviii., where Jacob was represented as giving the name of Bethel to the place of his dream, and that in xxx., where he was first called Israel, are only different accounts of the same transaction as that related in this chapter, 9-15, where he again receives the name of Israel, and again gives the name of Bethel to the scene of his vision. In order to bear out this

וַיִּקְרָא־לוֹ אֵל אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל. י

assumption, it is necessary to expunge from the original narrative in the present chapter ascribed to the Elohist every allusion to the particulars related in ch. xxviii. Accordingly, as on all such occasions, the compiler comes in, and finding, as it is alleged, amongst his materials narratives sufficiently different in respect of time and other circumstances to stand as separate parts of the consecutive history he was compiling, notwithstanding the coincidence of the two main particulars respecting the names of Israel and Bethel, he supplies what is wanted to make these narratives form separate and substantial parts of the history. On the supposition that the story in ch. xxviii. is by the junior Elohist, and that the mention of Jacob's return to Bethel in this chapter, and the allusion to God's appearance to him there, v. 6, 7, is by the same writer, the compiler invents and interposes before these verses the story of God's command to Jacob to return to Bethel, and of Jacob's purgation of his family from strange gods, v. 1-4, introducing from the Jehovist v. 5, which mentions the fear of molesting Jacob that prevailed amongst the surrounding tribes. This is ascribed to the Jehovist, because the slaughter of the Shechemites being attributed to him, the mention of the fear which hindered the neighbouring tribes from pursuing Jacob is thought to fall in well with that narrative. But as regards the previous verses, if it is allowable to bring in an editor who invented and interpolated everything that would else be inconvenient to the hypothesis which is to be maintained, of course it is easy enough to make any theory good. The Redactor also gets the credit of the last clause of v. 7, and of v. 8, describing the death and burial of Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, and he interposes in r. 9 the word "again," where it is said that "God appeared again to Jacob when he came out of Padan-Aram," this and the following verses being given to the Elohist on account of this name Padan-Aram. But if the Redactor dealt in such wholesale invention and interpolation, he may as well have invented other parts of the history ascribed to others of the supposed authors, and the credit of the entire theory

is thus invalidated. At any rate, he had no motive to invent the introductory verses of this chapter, or the story of Deborah's death. The narrative ascribed to the Elohist would fall into its place in the history just as well without these additions; they do not in any way tend to explain the difficulty of the second giving of the names Israel and Bethel, which alone he would have felt it necessary to account for, if he wished to make two versions of the same transaction stand as descriptions of different events. This, at any rate, was the only circumstance that could have seemed to require his interposition. That it did not really require it will be seen presently; meanwhile the Redactor's hand must be traced to the close of the chapter, as well as the parts ascribed to the other authors. Having brought the Elohist down to the close of v. 15, the Redactor then says "And they journeyed from Bethel," in order to bring in the Jehovistic account of the birth of Benjamin, which commences with saying that "there was but a little way to come to Ephrath," and ends with r. 21. This Jehovistic portion, which is thus allotted because the Jehovist has the birth of the other children of Jacob, is interpolated by the Redactor with the words, "that is the pillar of Rachel's grave unto this day," these words having somewhat of the appearance of a gloss. The existence of such glosses taken into the text has been thought possible by all critics; there is no necessity of supposing it here, as an original writer might naturally appeal to a monument existing in his day. At any rate, a compiler to do wilfully what has often happened accidentally in the course of transcription is an uncalled-for and unwarranted supposition. The junior Elohist now comes in and relates the story of Reuben's misconduct, which the Jehovist, according to this theory, refers to in xlix. 4, without any previous mention being made of this transaction in the Jehovistie parts; and then the junior Elohist enumerates the twelve sons of Jacob, thus getting their names into his narrative, and saving the Jehovist from the use of the name Padan-Aram in v. 26. Equally arbitrary is

the way in which the three last verses are dealt with. Elohist, besides the two last verses of the chapter, is supposed to have written at r. 27 "And Jacob came to Isaac his father to the city of Arbah, that is Hebron." The Jehovist had also written "And Jacob came to Mamre where Abraham and Isaac sojourned." Out of both, the existing v. 27 is formed by the Redactor. The ages and deaths of the Patriarchs being given for the most part to the Elohist, he is made to bring Jacob back to Isaac; and the Jehovist's account of Jacob's journeyings is also made more complete by bringing him back as well. Bishop of Natal ascribes the enumeration of the twelve sons of Jacob to the Elohist, who he supposes had described the birth of Benjamin after that of Joseph in ch. xxx., the Jehovist having expunged that in order to introduce the more graphic account of his birth in this chapter, and thus produced a discrepancy, as r. 26 represents all the sons of Jacob to have been born in Padan-Aram. The discrepancy exists in words; it is like calling the Apostles the twelve after Judas had left them, and like the enumeration of Hezron and Hamul amongst the sons of Jacob who went down into Egypt, though afterwards born in Egypt. In the present case the exception is merged in the general. Had Benjamin come last as the youngest, this would not have happened; but having been placed before the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah, the birth of Benjamin in the land of Canaan came not to be excepted from the birth of the family in general in Padan-Aram, as mentioned at the close of the list.

It is plain that with all this subdivision the names of God have nothing to do, this passage being exclusively Elohistic. The first Elohim, v. 1, if not quite casual, or suggested by the El of Bethel to be just after mentioned, may be understood to indicate that it was a Divine intimation which determined Jacob to go to Bethel. His own perception of the necessity of the case would have made him determine to quit Shalem. In his settlement there he seems almost to have forgotten his vow recorded in ch. xxviii., and to have lost all thought of going

back to Bethel in fulfilment of it. Now being driven from his resting place, and obliged to move, God brings back to his memory what he had himself been willing to forget. Hence the name Elohim at the commencement is accounted for, the object being only to express the Divine source of the command to go to Bethel. The El that appeared to him when he fled from the face of Esau was Jehovah, xxviii. 13, the El of Bethel, to which Jacob is bid to go. For this etymological reason, the name El would naturally be used, especially as Bethel was not yet an established proper name, but merely "the house of El" to Jacob himself. He is bid go to that house of El and build an altar to the El (לְאֵל) that had appeared to him there. To this reason there is to be added, as regards the use of the same word in v. 3, the contrast between this El and the strange Elohim that Jacob bids his household put away, as a reason for using the general term El in preference to Jehovah. The earrings mentioned in connection with the strange gods were doubtless of an idolatrous character. It being part of the theory that articles of luxury are attributed by the Jehovist alone to patriarchal times, with the simplicity of which they are alleged to have been inconsistent, as if the contemporaneous civilisation of Egypt did not render the use of such things highly probable in neighbouring countries also, the occurrence of earrings in so purely Elohistic a passage as the present might be alleged as an exception to the Jehovistic character of such representations. This objection is met by saying that in the present passage it is due to the compiler (Davidson, p. 28). But as the passage is only given to the Redactor to help another part of the theory, as already noticed, this mode of obviating the objection is inadmissible. When, having purged his family from their idolatry, Jacob sets out for Bethel, it is said, v. 5, that a terror of God, not the terror as in the English Version, was upon the cities around, so that they did not pursue after Jacob. slaughter of the Shechemites having been given to the Jehovist, this is also given to him as accounting for Jacob being allowed

to go without opposition. Its commencement, "and they journeyed," being but the single word "joy", connects itself, however, very abruptly with the conclusion of ch. xxxiv. in which, though Jacob complains of his uncomfortable position at Shalem, yet nothing is said of his intention of removing; whereas it comes in quite naturally after the earlier verses of this chapter. The expression, "a terror of Elohim," if not a superlative, is designed to indicate the source or cause of the fear. It was not Jacob they were afraid of, but God, who was supposed to have him under special protection; or the fear was produced by Elohim. In either case Elohim is the proper word, as marking the contrast between the Divine and human. Next, when Jacob comes to Bethel, he raises an altar and calls the place, according to the English Version, El-Bethel. The LXX. translate similarly, but omit the first El. Retaining this, it is better to translate, "he invoked on the place the El of Bethel." In the reason assigned for this, "because there the Elohim were revealed to him," Elohim is used as a plural noun with a plural verb, not because it denotes merely the angels who appeared upon the ladder, but because taken generically, and in a larger sense, it here includes both the angels and Jehovah, who was at the summit of the ladder, "the heavenly powers," as Hengstenberg would translate it.

The introduction of the death and burial of Rebekah's nurse, between this and the mention of God's appearance to Jacob at Bethel in the verse next following, is so unconnected with the subject in v. 7 and v. 9, that without any such statement in his materials, a compiler would never have thought of interposing it here. As the production of a narrator who tells each particular in its proper order, it comes in its place, after the arrival at Bethel, but before the appearance of God to Jacob there. And the apparent awkwardness of its mention with such little connexion with the adjacent particulars vanishes, when we perceive that it is introduced just at the close of one section, and before the commencement of another, where there was a break in the

continuity of the writer's thoughts, as already noticed at p. 337. On the other hand, though the want of connexion with the subject matter might be an argument for an accidental interpolation in the course of transcription, it is an argument against a designed interpolation. In this particular instance a person, who was trying, as supposed, to interweave into a consecutive narrative the materials supplied by different writers, would never from himself have added what was so wholly unconnected with the matter in hand. Even if he wished to introduce a tradition that Deborah was buried at Bethel, and thus to account for the local name Allon-Bachuth, he would have chosen a more convenient place for it. The Bishop of Natal, who gives all that precedes this to the Jehovist, adds to the want of connexion with the context, the great age that Rebekah's nurse must have attained at this time, and the improbability that she should have been with Jacob, and not with Isaac. But it is not said at all that she was with Jacob when she died, or that it was Jacob and his people that buried her. On the contrary, this is avoided by the use of the passive verb, "she was buried." The difficulty of the age is not greater than in the case of the other members of these households, if we suppose the death to have taken place at this time, and not in the interval after Jacob's flight, with which, as what was last mentioned, the fut. with rau conversive might be in sequence. It is even probable that the mention of this, and of the name which was given to Deborah's burial place, might have been introduced in this place with special reference to the name of Bethel. Luz was its original name; the Abrahamie family had associated another name with the place in consequence of Deborah's burial, but now both names are to be superseded by Bethel.

In the mention of God's renewed appearance to Jacob at Bethel, it has been observed by Hengstenberg, that Elohim, as standing in connexion both with Israel and Bethel, is used on etymological grounds. The use of the name El-Shaddai in r. 11 is attributable to the reference to ch. xvii., from which

this verse is adopted, and to Isaac's prayer for Jacob at his departure, xxviii. 3, also taken from the same source. The omission of Tiy, "again," in v. 9, to make this account only a different version of former particulars, is so arbitrary and unjustifiable on any critical grounds, that it must be refused. The occurrence at the time of Jacob's wrestling is represented ashaving taken place at a wholly different place, a place toowhich received its name, Penuel, from that occurrence. Jacob's new name, Israel, should not have become fully adopted, after that first communication of it, is what might be supposed very likely to happen. The slackening of his religious apprehensions, which led him to rest without returning at once to Bethel, and to allow idolatrous practices in his family, would naturally account for an indifference as to the assuming the name of Israel. If this were only a different version of the former transaction by another hand, it is to be supposed that it would at any rate have had some explanation of the reason of the name. The absence of this implies that Jacob was already aware of its cause and import. The re-imposition of the name of Bethel, which previously had only been imposed in Jacob's own thoughts, is in manifest fulfilment of the vow, xxviii. 22. If he should be brought back in peace to his father's house, the pillar he set up there was to be the house of Elohim. The condition of the vow has now been fulfilled, he is at Bethel again, and on the point of being re-united with his father; he now finally calls the place Bethel, the house of God, as he had vowed it should be. It was called so before as it were conditionally; it is now so absolutely and finally. The former transaction requires the present, without which there would be an unsatisfied vacuity in the narrative; the present is the proper complement of the former, and supplies the vacancy that else would exist. Everything tends to confirm the distinctness of the transactions, and to establish, instead of throwing doubt on, the unity and integrity of the narrative as it stands. Bishop's difficulty in regard to the word "again" is that the

Elohist who gets this passage had described no previous appearance to Jacob, and he is driven to the supposition, that he meant to represent this as the second appearance of God to any of the Patriarchs! Instead of this, which the place of the adverb contradicts, he should in fairness say, here is an Elohistic reference to an event told by one of the supposed later writers. The mention of Padan-Aram in connexion with this may be accounted for, either by understanding the word "again" to have referred to the former appearance at Bethel when he was going to Padan--Aram, God appearing to him now again on his coming back to Bethel from Padan-Aram; or the reference might be to the appearance at Penuel; now again, the second time on his return from Padan-Aram God appeared to him. The former seems however, far preferable. The promise in 11, 12 is simply taken from xvii., and adds nothing to the Elohistic characteristics. Except in the variation in regard to El-Shaddai already mentioned, the LXX. agree with the Hebrew in the use of the Divine appellations in this passage.

X.—THE GENERATIONS OF ESAU.

CH, XXXVI. 1-8. TO ESAU'S PARTING FROM JACOB. NO NAME OF GOD.

This brief section takes us back to the marriages of Esau. The difference in the names of Esau's wives here given, as compared with those mentioned in xxvi. 34, and xxviii. 9, has been thought to show that these accounts have proceeded from different authors. In order to account for the discrepancy being allowed to exist by the person who interwove the history as it now stands, Davidson supposes that his Redactor exercised a moderate control over his materials. "It is easy to account for the discrepancy on the hypothesis of a Redactor having two or more documents independently composed, and exercising on the whole a moderate degree of control over their contents." Introd. I. p. 67. He should have said, only a very moderate degree of control; for if the compiler ventured to exercise any,

it is hard to believe that he would have observed such abstinence, as not to bring the two accounts into literal and exact agreement. However the difference may have originated, the supposition of a compiler who exercised any degree of control over his materials, and yet allowed the difference to remain, and who, if he introduced the words, "daughter of Zibeon," in v. 2, embarrassed matters in a still greater degree, is scarcely credible. A much more natural and simple explanation of the difficulty may readily be imagined, though of course any explanation must be more or less conjectural. In xxvi. 34 Esau is said to have taken to wife Judith, the daughter of Beeri the Hittite, and Basemath, the daughter of Elon the Hittite. As regards the first of these, no single particular agrees with the names in the present passage, by which she might be identified with any of those here mentioned; there is no Hittite but Elon, no Judith nor Beeri. Supposing that this wife had no offspring, her name would probably be omitted in "The generations of Esau" setting forth his descendants, while another wife may have been taken, subsequently to the union with the daughter of Ishmael mentioned in ch. xxviii., so that three are still enumerated, though one may have been passed over in silence. Then as to Basemath, the daughter of Elon the Hittite, there can be no question that she is the same called Adah, the daughter of Elon the Hittite in ch. xxxvi. As in this latter place another Basemath is mentioned, the first Basemath is probably called by a second name, whether adopted for distinction or otherwise. Then in ch. xxviii. we are told that Esau, seeing that the daughters of Canaan did not please his father, and that Isaac had sent Jacob to his own family for a wife, went and took to wife Mahalath, the daughter of Ishmael, and sister of Nebaioth. Now as Isaac was one hundred and thirty-seven years of age at this time, and Ishmael's age when he died was one hundred and thirty-seven years, the latter must have now been from thirteen to fourteen years dead. Hence when it is said Esau went to Ishmael, this must only mean the Ishmaelites. Moreover, supposing this Mahalath to have been only forty years old when Esau married her, she must still have been born when Ishmael was one hundred and eleven, if his immediate daughter. But then this Mahalath appears as Basemath in ch. xxxvi., and perhaps the difficulty as to the double names, and that occasioned by the ages just indicated, might be avoided by supposing the original reading in both places to have been "Basemath, the daughter of Mahalath, the daughter of Ishmael," and that one name has slipped out of one place, and the other name from the other place.1 The reason why this Basemath would, on such a supposition, have been traced through her mother, would have been to show her connexion with Ishmael, the design of Esau in marrying her having been apparently to please his father by this connexion. We now come to the third wife mentioned in this chapter, "Aholibamah, the daughter of Anah, the daughter of Zibeon the Hivite," as described in v. 2 and in v. 14. In v. 20 ff. we have amongst the sons of Seir the Horite a Zibeon and an Anah. This Zibeon has a son Anah, and Zibeon's brother, the duke Anah, has a daughter Aholibamah. Plainly this is the wife of Esau, the connexion thus formed with the family of Seir being the motive of Esau's removal to Seir. This Aholibamah being evidently the daughter of the duke Anah, not of the Anah who was Zibeon's son, a question arises as to the connexion with Zibeon in v. 2 and 14. The LXX. and the Samaritan text both read "the son" of Zibeon, instead of "the daughter," in each verse. This was probably, however, only the result of an endeavour to remove the difficulty by the supposition that Aholibamah, Esau's wife, was daughter of the Anah

that found the mules or hot springs. May not the duke Anah's daughter have been by her mother a daughter of Zibeon? Zibeon's brother Anah might have married his niece, as took place in the case of Abraham and Sarah, and thus Aholibamah would have been both daughter of Anah, and likewise daughter, or granddaughter, as the word also means, of Zibeon. As in v. 2, where Basemath is called "the daughter of Ishmael, the sister of Nebaioth," sister is in apposition, not with Ishmael, but with daughter and Basemath, and as in v. 14, when Aholibamah is called "the daughter of Anah, the daughter of Zibeon, the wife of Esau," wife is in apposition with Aholibamah and the first daughter, so the second daughter both in 2 and in 14 may be taken in apposition with the first daughter and Aholibamah. She was daughter of Anah, and through her mother daughter of Zibeon.1 It is unnecessary to read "the Horite" for "the Hivite" in v. 2, as some have thought should be done. The Horites may have been originally Hivites, and indeed it is expressly said that Esau took his wives from the daughters of Canaan in v. 2, i.e., Adah and Aholibamah, the order of time being disturbed to separate the daughter of Ishmael from these daughters of Canaan. Perhaps these conjectures are a more natural solution of the difficulty than the supposition of a compiler who used the freedom that is attributed to him in dealing with his materials elsewhere, yet left this difficulty unexplained, when introducing here this account of Esau's wives from a different source from that already embodied by him in his compilation. Indeed, we should rather say that the compiler increased the difficulty, if, as is supposed by some, he introduced into v. 2 the words, "the daughter of Zibeon," without which in this verse and in v. 14 the descent of Aholibamah would be clear.

The Bishop of Natal indeed gives the entire of this passage to the original Elohist, who he supposes had received different

 $^{^1}$ The Anah, indeed, of v. 2 and of 14, 18, might as well have been the name of a woman, as the Aholibamah of v. 41 the name of a man.

accounts at different times, and recorded the particulars here mentioned without correcting those he had previously mentioned in xxvi. and xxviii. This would be less probable in the case of the supposed Elohist, than of a single author of the entire book; for when the Elohist's narrative is extracted from the entire, and its parts brought together, these varying particulars come into much closer proximity than at present, and so would have been less likely to have escaped explanation. But while the Bishop takes this view, others on the ground of the inconsistency give the description of the wives in this chapter to the second Elohist, and thus introduce the difficulty of a compiler putting together these inconsistent accounts. They agree, however, in giving v. 6^1 to the original Elohist, on account of its resemblance to the description of Abraham's removal in xii. 5, and of some other similar removals, which for the same reason are given to him. All these resolve themselves into the first. The resemblance has no weight unless it is distinctive, and the only plea for its distinctiveness is the supposed necessity of assuming that xii. 5, as a needless repetition, must have been by a different hand from the writer of xii. 4. But we have already seen that this repetition is due to a very different cause.

The compiler, however, is supposed to have introduced, in v. 6, the words, "to a country," into the clause, "went from the face of Jacob." He had no motive to introduce this, and had he introduced anything he would have been more explicit, and have told what country he meant. If we might connect the expression, "from the face of Jacob," with "country," instead of with the verb from which it is unusually separated, there would be no difficulty in regarding the words to have come from the author as they stand, the meaning being a country somewhat removed from Jacob. The absence of the article before country is not decisive of anything. The preposition $\frac{1}{2}$ so often gives the

^{1 &}quot;Then Esau took his wives and all his substance which he had got in the land of Canaan; and went to a country from the face of Jacob." The sequel to the end of v. 8 of course goes with this.

article to an indefinite word, simply by virtue of the stat. constr., that its absence here might have been caused by a proper name following in the genitive, which has now disappeared from the text. The LXX. have a totally different reading, ἐκ τῆς γῆς Xávaav, in which they agree with the Samaritan Pentateuch. There is no ground for supposing that the succeeding verses, 7-8, are by a different author from the writer of xxxii. 3, in the statement there that Jacob on his first return from Padan-Aram sent messengers to Esau to Seir, which the author informs us was the same country as that known, at any rate in his time, as the country of Edom, "to the land of Seir, the country of Edom." From this we learn, indeed, that Esau himself was then in the land of Seir, which, as he married in that land, was not an improbable circumstance. It is also said that after his interview with Jacob, "Esau returned that day on his way to Seir." The final removal, however, of his family and all his possessions, is what is stated in the present chapter to have been consequent on the greatness of Jacob's possessions, which did not admit of both dwelling in the land of their sojourning. He might have already acquired possessions, and even territory in Seir, the שֹרֶה אָרוֹם already mentioned. This was likely by reason of his marriage with Aholibamah. Now, we are told that it was the family and possessions he had gotten in the land of Canaan which he removed from the land of his sojourning, the land of Canaan being here mentioned, as if to indicate that he had already possessions elsewhere, and being called the land of his sojourning, in which Jacob continued to dwell, xxxvii. 1, in contradistinction to Seir, where he obtained a permanent settlement. There is no opposition therefore between this statement and the incidental reference previously made to Esau, as already in Seir at the time of Jacob's return from Mesopotamia; rather the manner of expression coincides with this fact than the contrary.

XI.—THE GENERATIONS OF ESAU IN SEIR.

CH. XXXVI. 9.—XXXVII. 1. THE EDOMITES. NO NAME OF GOD.

This passage, which forms a new section with the usual introductory formula, contains one of the alleged anachronisms which have been supposed to betray a later authorship than that which has been traditionally assigned to the book of Genesis, and thus calls for examination. In v. 31, which introduces the enumeration of the kings that reigned in Edom, it is said "these are the kings that reigned in Edom, before there reigned any king over the Children of Israel." This remark, supposed to be made quite gratuitously, has been regarded as unconsciously betraying the writer's contemporaneousness with the government of kings established in Samuel's time amongst the Children of Israel. But first it is to be observed, that the title of king was given to earlier governors of the Israelites than the kings usually so named. Moses is called by this title in Deut. xxxiii. 5, where he says of himself, "He was a king in Jeshurun, when the heads of the people and the tribes of Israel were gathered together." This instance of the use of the word king, it may be said, is poetical, but the cognate verb is used in a very prosaic narrative in Jud. ix. 2, in reference to the government of Abimelech, and of his brethren, who are spoken of as reigning. At any rate, the construction (before to reign a king) does not imply that a king had yet reigned; we have the same form in xxvii. 4 for a yet future event: "before I die." And then it is to be considered that the design of the remark is not chronological at all. A series of aristocratic rulers called dukes are first enumerated. These were succeeded by an elective monarchy, twelve kings having been elected in succession, whose government had again merged in an aristocracy described as dukes. These were in existence at the time of the writer, and it appears from Exod. xv. 15,1 that this was the nature of the Edomite government in the

^{1 &}quot;Then the dukes of Edom shall be amazed."

days of Moses. Now it was not to mark the date of the dynasty of elective sovereigns, that the reference to the government of the Children of Israel by kings is mentioned. Rather the design is to mark the contrast of the early rise of the descendants of Esau to the rank of an independent kingdom, which had lasted through a succession of twelve kings, before ever the Children of Israel, to whom such great promises had been made, had reached the condition of a people united under an independent government, which they first were in the days of Moses. This contrast of the early rise of the sons of Esau with the early depression of the Israelites is further marked at the close of the passage. During Jacob's lifetime Esau migrated to mount Seir, and there obtained the land of his possession, where the succession of rulers enumerated continued to govern; "but Jacob dwelt in the land wherein his father was a stranger, in the land of Canaan." The contrast is lost by the incorrect division of the chapters, this concluding verse being severed from its proper connexion, and joined to the succeeding introductory formula, which uniformly throughout the book marks the commencement of a new section. If it be joined to its proper context, the contrast becomes apparent, the connecting assuming, as it often does, an adversative character, as in the $\delta \hat{\epsilon}$ of the LXX. And then this contrast throws light on the import of r. 31, which is not simply to mark the date of the commencement of the royal dynasty in Edom, as is supposed by those who think that it was the appointment of a king over Israel in the time of Samuel that was intended in that verse, but marks the contrast between the early progress of the Edomites as a nation, and the depressed state of the Israelites for so long a period.1

As regards the distribution of this section generally amongst the several supposed writers, the names of Esau's wives and

¹ The following remark is quoted by Hengstenberg from Witsius, Misc. i., p. 125:—
"Jacobo facta erat de regibus promissio, Esavo non. Merito ergo observat Moses
tanquam rem memerabilem, et in quâ ingens esset fidei exercitium, quod antequa
hace promissio impleretur in posteritate Jacobi, Esavitæ tot jam reges habueriat.
Non est necesse propheticum hic quicquam fingere. Omnia historica sunt."

their immediate sons in v. 2-5 having been given to the junior Elohist, now 11-14 are also given to him as carrying on the succession of their descendants, while 9 and 10, as repeating the sons of two of his wives, are given to the Jehovist. For this reason r. 14 ought also to be given to him. But the repetition is not to be accounted for in this way; it is the customary resumed mention of what had previously been mentioned, at the commencement of a new section, so far as is needed to make the new section more complete in itself. Then in r. 18, where the sons of Aholibamah are again mentioned, the words, "duke Korah," are given to the Redactor, no doubt because "duke Korah" was previously named amongst the sons of Eliphaz. But the interpolation is plainly not in v. 18, but in v. 16, where duke Korah seems out of place. Of v. 19 the junior Elohist has "who is Edom," and the Jehovist the remainder. Then the junior Elohist has 20-28, describing the sons of Seir; but the recapitulation of them in 29, 30 goes to the Redactor, though it is hard to say what should have suggested to him to repeat them, when they had already been mentioned in the previous verses. However an original author might have recapitulated what he had previously mentioned, an editor would never have imagined that such a repetition was needed. The Jehovist is allowed to finish the chapter, while the first verse of the next chapter, which has been shown to be closely connected with r. 31, is severed from it and given to the first Elohist. The Bishop of Natal gives from 20-30, describing the sons of Seir the Horite, to the Jehovist, as also the clause in 35, "who smote Midian in the field of Moab," because the word "smote" is like the Jehovist, and "the field of Moab" is like "the field of Edom" in xxxii. 3. Every one, according to the Bishop, is limited to his own little vocabulary.

But now, in opposition to all this subdivision, there is observable a method in the arrangement of the entire that is quite incompatible with the piecing and patching thus imagined. First, there is the regular introductory formula in v. 9, setting

forth the generations of Esau in Seir. Then there is the usual recapitulation of what is needed from the preceding section, namely the sons of Esau by his several wives, preparatory to the naming of their sons again. But here it is to be observed that only the sons of Adah and Basemath are first mentioned, and then their grandsons are enumerated, while the sons of Aholibamah are named after these, and have no sons assigned them. These are all again enumerated; but not now simply as sons, but also as dukes, the sons of Esau by Aholibamah appearing in this capacity, while only the grandsons by the other wives are dukes. This falls in with what was already said of the substitution of Aholibamah, as a new and much later wife, for the first of the wives previously mentioned, Judith the daughter of Beeri, who is omitted from these sections as not having had any offspring. Thus Basemath and Adah have grandsons by the time Aholibamah has sons. And by the time these grandsons have obtained the position of dukes in Seir, the sons of Aholibamah are in the same rank and authority. This will explain the collocation of Aholibamah and her sons in v. 14, and the absence of any mention of her grandsons either in 14 or 18. The enumeration of duke Korah amongst the dukes that came of Eliphaz is plainly a mistake; he does not appear amongst the previously enumerated sons, who are only six, while Korah makes a seventh duke. This must be attributed to an accident in transcription. The concluding words of v. 19, "This is Edom," attributed to a different author from the other parts of the verse, is the proper conclusion of the enumeration of the sons of Esau as contrasted with that of the sons of Seir next set out. These are brought in by reason of the connexion between Esau and the daughter of Anah. The form of government which had existed under them was that aristocratical form which the descendants of Esau afterwards assumed for a certain period. After mentioning these Horite dukes, their names are recapitulated, as if for greater exactness, before the writer proceeds to a new kind of government that succeeded

the aristocratical government of dukes, namely a succession of elective kings. After these kings have been successively enumerated, there follows a return to the aristocratical government of dukes, which, as already noticed, prevailed at the time of the Exodus, these being the dukes, "according to their habitations in the land of their possessions," and "according to their families, after their places," and therefore probably one set of contemporaneous rulers. In all this there is an orderly and methodical arrangement highly consistent with itself and other passages, and nothing to warrant the minute subdivision that has been grounded on an entire oversight of the design in the whole passage. This design and methodical plan will become more apparent by an arrangement of the several parts of this account as regards the sons of Esau, which is borrowed from the "Historical Geography of Arabia," by the Rev. Ch. Forster, B.D., Vol. II., p. 3:—

"And these are the generations of Esau, the father of the Edomites, in Mount Seir:

These are the names of Esau's sons:

Eliphaz, the son of Adah, the wife of Esau:

Reuel, the son of Basemath, the wife of Esau.

And the sons of Eliphaz were

Teman, Omar, Zepho, and Gatam, and Kenaz.

And Timna was concubine to Eliphaz, Esau's son; and she bare to Eliphaz,

Amalek:

these were the sons of Adah, Esau's wife.

And these are the sons of Reuel:

Nahath, and Zerah, Shammah, and Mizzah:

these were the sons of Basemath Esau's wife.

And these were the sons of Aholibamah, the daughter of Anah, the daughter of Zibeon, Esau's wife; and she bare to Esau,

Jeush, and Jaalam, and Korah.

These were the dukes of the sons of Esau:

the sons of Eliphaz, the firstborn of Esau:

Duke Teman, duke Omar, duke Zepho, duke Kenaz, [duke Korah,] duke Gatam, and duke Amalek.

These are the dukes, that came of Eliphaz in the land of Edom: these were the sons of Adah.

And these are the sons of Reuel, Esau's son:

Duke Nahath, duke Zerah, duke Shammah, duke Mizzah.

These are the dukes that came of Reuel, in the land of Edom: these are the sons of Basemath, Esau's wife.

And these are the sons of Aholibamah, Esau's wife:

Duke Jeush, duke Jaalam, duke Korah: these were the dukes that came of Aholibamah, the daughter of Anah, Esau's wife.

These are the sons of Esau, who is Edom: and these are their dukes."

The writer knew the family history of the last of the Edomite kings, and therefore, the Bishop of Natal says, must have been contemporary with him or nearly so. For this last king, whose death is not mentioned as in the case of the others, (but is in Chronicles as by a later author), is said to have lived in a city called Pai, and to have married Mehetabel, the daughter of Matred, the daughter of Mezahab. Moreover this last king, called Hadar in Genesis, appears as Hadad in Chronicles; and then we read in 1 Kings xi. 14-22 of Hadad the Edomite, of the king's seed, who had escaped as a little child from the slaughter of the Edomites in David's time, and afterwards returned from Egypt, to which he had been carried, to become an adversary to Solomon. And it is said by the Bishop that this Hadad may have been the son or the grandson of the last of the Edomite kings of the same name, and thus the supposition of the composition of the Elohist's writing about the time of the commencement of the kingdom of Israel in Samuel's days is confirmed. Now of course all this about Hadad is built on the correctness of the reading in Chronicles of Hadad for Hadar, a very possible and likely various reading, but as likely

to be wrong in Chronicles, as Hadar is to be a mistake in Genesis. Then it is to be observed that in Gen. xxxvi., one generation of contemporary dukes, sons of Esau, is followed by a succession of seven elective kings, who are succeeded by one succession of contemporary dukes again. Now while these might very well have filled the time from Esau to the Exodus, they never could have filled it to the kingdom under Saul. And yet the Elohist must have imagined that they did, if he brought down the kings of Edom to this late period. On the other hand, as we learn from Exod. xv. that there were dukes in Edom again at the time then spoken of, the last of the preceding kings might have been contemporary with Moses, and his family history known to him. This argument is therefore equally good for a writer at the time of the Exodus as of Samuel, while the fewness of the successive kings and dukes is more favourable to the former than to the latter. Even if the Hadad of Chronicles was the true reading, and not the Hadar of Genesis, the Hadad of 1 Kings xi. may as well have derived the name from the earlier kings, as from a recent one, or the name may have been of frequent occurrence from time to time. But nothing is too weak to afford an argument to the Bishop.

XII.—THE GENERATIONS OF JACOB.

§ 1. Ch. XXXVII. 2-36. JOSEPH'S SALE INTO EGYPT. NEITHER JEHOVISTIC NOR ELOHISTIC.

A NEW section of the book begins here with the customary formula, "These are the generations of Jacob." The history of Jacob had been carried down to the death of Isaac, and was then interrupted by the two sections which contained the particulars of the history of Esau and his descendants, that have just been discussed. The present section, having for its subject matters mainly connected with the history of Joseph, goes back a few years to the time when he was seventeen years of age, and from thence traces the events which are to be described.

This recession of the date of the narrative to an earlier period than that already arrived at, is, as before observed, in accordance with the custom of the author at the commencement of the sections in general into which the book is divided. Its existence here was shown in p. 323, Note. This section taking its date from this earlier period is a continuous history to the end of the book, with the exception that the narrative is interrupted by ch. xxxviii. which contains the particulars of Judah's family commencing with his marriage about the time of Joseph's sale into Egypt. The first portion of the history, which is severed from the rest by the interposition of this narrative of Judah's family relations in ch. xxxviii., is a passage which does not mention God, and is, therefore, as far as the Divine designations are concerned, indifferent. It is, notwithstanding, shared between Davidson's junior Elohist, Jehovist, and Redactor. The only attempt, however, which he makes to assign any ground for the subdivision is founded on the mention of the Midianites in v. 28, 36. He says, p. 65, "In Gen. xxxvii. we read that, according to Judah's proposition, Joseph was sold to the Ishmaelites (25-28). But it is also stated that a company of Midianites passing by took him out of the pit (v. 28), and sold him into Egypt to Potiphar (v. 36). The Jehovist insertion in the twenty-eighth verse, 'and sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites for twenty pieces of silver,' confuses both accounts. That two traditions are given, appears from the fact that the selling of Joseph into Egypt is related twice, and assigned once to the Midianites and once to the Ishmaelites." But what if these Midianites were Ishmaelites? In Jud. viii. 24 we are told that the Midianites whom Gideon conquered "had golden earrings, because they were Ishmaelites." If the name Ishmaelite, at the date of the book of Judges, was used to include other Bedouin tribes besides the natural descendants of Ishmael. there is no reason why that name should not have been so used when the book of Genesis was written; and the Midianites of Gen. xxxvii. may have been of the same tribes as those of

Judges viii.1 When the sons of Jacob saw the company at a distance they were generically Ishmaelites. As the caravan passed along, a party of merchants belonging to it came up, who were Midianite Ishmaelites, and being traffickers, purchased Joseph, carried him down into Egypt, and sold him there. Besides making no reference to the fact that there were Midianite Ishmaelites, as shown by Jud. viii. 24, Davidson quietly assumes, as if it were quite clear, that it was the Midianites that drew Joseph out of the pit and sold him to the Ishmaelites. There should have been the pronoun 778, or a relative, as nominative ease to the verb drew, to render this necessary. As the text stands the verb drew may have Joseph's brethren from v. 27 for its subject, just as consistently with the grammatical construction; and then the clause, "and sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites for twenty pieces of silver," having Joseph's brethren also for its subject, does not confuse the account at all. The repetition of the sale in xxxix. 1 is no indication of the union of two distinct traditions, the Midianites of the last verse of xxxvii. being the Ishmaelites of xxxix. 1, and the repetition being occasioned by the interruption of the narrative in order to mention the circumstances of Judah's family relations. The important event of Joseph's sale into Egypt was the concluding particular of the first part of the narrative. The story having then been interrupted by the mention of matters wholly unconnected with it, the writer naturally resumes his narrative in a new subsection by repeating that important event with which he had left off. There is therefore no necessity, as far as this mention of the Ishmaelites and the Midianites is concerned, to resolve the present chapter into two narratives. That, however, is in fact the only ground on which the resolution is founded with any shadow of reason.

In effecting it, the second verse is given to the Jehovist, and

¹ These Midianites might have been both Midianites and Ishmaelites, by means of an intermarriage; just as the Idumaeans were reckoned Nabataeans by reason of the connexion of Esau with Nebaioth, through his wife Basemath: Naβαταῖοι εἶσιν οἱ ¹ιδυμαῖοι, Strabo, Syria, xvi. p. 760, c. Ed. Casaub. See Forster's Arabia, ubi supra.

in immediate sequence with the mention of the bad account Joseph brought his father of the conduct of the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah, the same writer is made to add from v. 3, that Jacob made for Joseph a coat of many colours. From this mention of the parti-coloured coat, the Jehovist is made to pass to the first clause of v. 11, "and his brethren envied him." Now, however natural this mention of the coat is as an indication of Jacob's partiality for Joseph, it is very silly as a cause of the envy of his brethren, who were so much older than he was. Still less is it a rational cause for their conspiring to slay him, which is the next statement that is given to the Jehovist, being the latter clause of v. 18. He next, in the second half of v. 23, tells that they stripped off the coat, and (r. 28) sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites for twenty pieces of silver, the remainder of these verses being given to the junior Elohist. He then tells, v. 32, that they sent the coat of colours, the junior Elohist interposing with the mention of their father as the person to whom they sent it, while the Jehovist makes Jacob ask if it is his son's coat, and tells that he knew it, v. 33, and so makes him conclude that his son has been devoured by an evil beast. All the succeeding account of Jacob's grief, to the last clause of 35, is also given to the Jehovist, this being entirely out of proportion to the brevity with which the more important particulars are specified. The remaining parts of the chapter are then treated as an account of the same events by the junior Elohist, who makes the dreams the chief cause of offence, represents the brothers' part to be only the casting into the pit, while the Midianites take Joseph out and sell him into Egypt, as mentioned in the last verse.

¹ The repetition of Joseph in this verse, instead of a pronoun in the second clause, may seem to favour the supposition that the two parts of this verse were put together, having previously existed separately. But nothing is more common than such repetitions of a proper name, instead of the substitution of a pronoun in the second clause. Thus, opening at random we find, Jud. iv. 24, "the hand of the children of Israel prevailed against Jabin king of Canaan, until they had destroyed Jabin king of Canaan; '1 Sam. i. 5, "Unto Hannah he gave a worthy portion, for Hannah he loved;" iii. 14, "I have sworn to the house of Eli, that the iniquity of the house of Eli shall not be purged;" 2 Sam. xvii. 21, "They told king David, and said unto David." Such instances might be multiplied indefinitely.

The Redactor's aid however is sought in certain difficulties. As it was the original Elohist who was supposed to have mentioned in xxxv. 27 that Jacob had gone to Hebron to Isaac, the mention of Jacob's sending Joseph to his brethren from the vale of Hebron, r. 14, in a passage by the junior Elohist, is highly inconvenient. Its natural effect would be, as an undesigned coincidence, to connect this passage with that in ch. xxxv. just referred to, and so to form a proof of the unity of authorship. To evade the force of this the Redactor is called in, and he supplements the narrative with this mention of Hebron. If everything which thus gives an air of genuineness to a writing may in this way be put aside, as the work of an editor patching together incoherent materials, it is of course possible to destroy the credit of any ancient work. But true criticism has not recognised this arbitrary mode of treatment. The Redactor is again brought in at v. 18, which in the original runs thus: "And they saw him afar off; and he had not yet come near them, and they conspired against him to slay him." The last of these clauses is wanted, in order to be connected with the clause of v. 11, "his brethren envied him," to eke out the Jehovist's The intermediate clause which, as the text now narrative. stands, comes in very well, to intimate that when they saw him coming, they did not wait for his arrival, but conspired before he came near, would not fit in with the separated Jehovist narrative, which has no mention of Joseph's approach; and attached to the first clause without the last, it has an air of unmeaning and silly repetition. Its existence would therefore naturally serve as a bond to unite the two other clauses as proceeding from the same writer. But to a third person putting the narratives of two others together, it would never occur to introduce this clause, which is not necessary, as the first and third clauses would read very well together without it. Though an original writer might have naturally introduced it, a compiler under the supposed circumstances never would. The Redactor's addition to v. 22, "that he might rid him out of their hands, to

deliver him to his father again," is also a piece of uncalled-for meddling on his part, as the design of Reuben is sufficiently clear without it, being implied by his return to the pit to take him out. However an original writer might naturally mention this purpose, a compiler not finding it expressed in his materials, but having it sufficiently implied in them, would scarcely think of introducing an express mention of it. The last interference of the Redactor is in the interpolation in r. 36 of the name of Potiphar, who on the hypothesis of a double narrative, is a different person from the "officer of Pharaoh and captain of the guard." these latter words being in like manner considered to be an interpolation of the Redactor in the first verse of ch. xxxix., which is attributed to the Jehovist, as this last verse of xxxvii. is to the junior Elohist. The identity or difference of these persons will be considered better when we come to ch. xxxix. The Bishop of Natal makes a much more simple subdivision of the chapter, only giving to the original Elohist the first clause of v. 2, the first clause of v. 21, and v. 36:—"These are the generations of Jacob, Joseph being seventeen years old, was feeding the flock with his brethren. And there passed by Midianites merchantmen; and the Midianites sold him into Egypt." Something he supposes to have been expunged before v. 36, explaining how the Midianites became possessed of Joseph. With these conjectures it is of course easy to complete an imaginary Elohistic story thus picked out of the general history, and to leave a sufficiently complete account to the Jehovist also, to whom the Bishop gives the rest of this chapter.

There is an alleged difficulty, on the supposition of the unity of the narrative, created by the words of Judah in v. 26, which seem to imply that they still intended to lay violent hands on Joseph, which may be thought inconsistent with their previous acquiescence in Reuben's counsel not to shed blood, but to cast him into the pit. Accordingly, the Jehovist's narrative is supposed to have no mention of the pit, but to represent the

^{1 &}quot;What profit is it, if we slay our brother?"

brethren as purposing to slay him until they saw the Ishmaelites coming. The supposed difficulty, however, does not require this division of the narrative. The narrative as it stands in its integrity implies that the brethen in casting Joseph into the pit expected that he would meet his death in this way. Reuben alone had any different intention; and his proposition to them was made ostensibly as offering a means of getting rid of him, not consistently with the saving of his life, but merely without slaying him with their own hands. And Reuben himself imagined that he had come by his death, when he found him not in the pit, and accordingly subsequently reproached his brethren with his death, as related in xlii. 21, 22. He had been originally ignorant of the sale, and was left in ignorance of it afterwards, his brethren preferring that he should suppose his death had happened accidentally, to confessing their guilt in selling him. And so while Reuben says his blood was required of them, the others only reproach themselves with being "guilty concerning their brother, in that they saw the anguish of his soul, when he besought them, and they would not hear." Ranke, Untersuchungen, I. p. 258, remarks that "Reuben's intercession had only so far prevailed, as that they should not put him to death at once, but leave him to die in the pit, as though their guilt might be less heinous." He replies to De Wette's objection that the admission of the unity of the narrative renders it necessary to suppose that Reuben was absent when the proposition to take Joseph out of the pit and sell him was made and adopted, that it belongs to æsthetics, and not to criticism, to determine whether a narrative may pass over in silence a circumstance which the connexion obliges us to suppose. when De Wette asks, "Where should he have been; did he go away just at the moment when his presence was of such necessity for hindering the original design of slaying the lad?" Ranke replies that one might in the same way object to the story of the death of Atys, as related by Herodotus, and ask how could Adrastus have been so incautious as to slay his benefactor's son? De Wette thinks that at any rate it should have been mentioned that Reuben had gone away, whereas it appears that all the brethren sat down together to eat. And Ranke replies, that in like manner we only learn that Atys had separated himself from the company of his attendants by the consequence, while yet no one has thought of making it an objection, that the historian had not previously told this. He also bids us read the narrative in which Josephus supplies the several omitted particulars, and asks whether the story gains in probability in this way? The omission of particulars sufficiently implied in a narrative is really an indication of originality and authenticity. On the contrary, the readers of apocryphal narratives are familiar with the prolixity and minuteness with which the slightest particulars are set forth.

§ 2. Ch. XXXVIII. THE FAMILY OF JUDAH, JEHOVISTIC.

This section, Jehovistic in its character as regards the Hebrew text, having Jehovah three times and Elohim not once, while the LXX. have $\kappa \acute{\nu} \rho \iota o s$ once, and $\theta \acute{e} o s$ twice, is wholly attributed to the so-called Jehovist. The nature of the particulars related in it, so discreditable to the regal tribe of Judah, affords a guarantee of the authenticity of the passage. It is very unlikely to have been introduced under the circumstances and at the time the supposed Jehovist wrote, when Judah was the royal tribe, and David's house was on the throne of Israel. The story must either have been a pure invention of this writer, or he must have taken it up as a traditional tale, and incorporated it in the narrative he was composing or enlarging. In neither way would such a writer have been likely to have given perpetuity to a story like this,—a story which the earlier authority had omitted, if such a tradition was ever in existence.

The interruption which this passage causes to the continuity of the history of Joseph, and the difficulty arising from the mention of Judah's grandchildren amongst the descendants of Jacob

who went down into Egypt, have caused some to suppose that this chapter has been displaced, and should be referred back to an earlier part of the history. Though the passage interrupts the history of Joseph, yet it is not out of place in a section which is entitled "The generations of Jacob;" while Judah's age, about three years more than that of Joseph, would have rendered his marriage soon after the sale of Joseph not improbable, but certainly very unlikely at a much earlier period, -at any rate, so much sooner as to remove the difficulty regarding Hezron and Hamul. Judah's marriage could only have taken place during the time that elapsed since Jacob's return from Laban. This interval was but eleven years, as Joseph was seventeen at the time of the sale into Egypt, and was six when Jacob parted from Laban. At that time Judah could only have been nine years of age, as he was the fourth of Leah's sons, and at the earliest could not have been born before the eleventh year of Jacob's stay with Laban, and it was probably later. Judah's age therefore at the time of Joseph's sale did not exceed twenty, and his marriage could not be pushed back sufficiently to make any material difference as regards the possibility of Hezron and Hamul having been born before the descent into Egypt. Another supposition has, however, been made, which might have rendered this possible. Archbishop Ussher thinks that Leah's marriage was not deferred till the expiration of the first seven years of Jacob's service, but took place at once, the service for her being rendered afterwards as in Rachel's case. This, however, cannot be supposed without doing great violence to the narrative, such as is not admissible in order to get over a difficulty, when the authenticity of the narrative is in question. At any rate, as regards the place of this chapter, the repetition of Joseph's sale in xxxix. 1, however in accordance with the frequent custom at the commencement of a new subsection, is so particular as to imply a greater interruption of the narrative than usual.1

¹ Ranke, Untersuchungen, I. p. 261, remarks that this chapter, relating chiefly to

§ 3. CH. XXXIX, JOSEPH IN POTIPHAR'S HOUSE, AND CAST INTO PRISON. JEHOVISTIC.

This section has the usual recapitulation at its commencement, rendered more needful, and more than usually particular, by the interruption occasioned by the story of Judah's marriage and relations with his family. This cause of the recapitulation disposes of the plea it has been supposed to afford for a double narrative combined, as if the officer of the guard and Potiphar were different persons, though identified by the compiler of the history in its present form. Before we discuss this question, however, it will be convenient briefly to survey the use of the divine names to the end of the book.

Throughout the thirty-ninth chapter the historian in his own person constantly and frequently uses the name Jehovah in sequence with ch. xxxviii. It was Jehovah was with Joseph in his captivity and caused him to prosper, and Joseph's master saw that Jehovah was with him, and made all that he did to prosper in his hand. In this latter statement, however, it is not to be supposed that the writer intended to intimate that this Egyptian knew anything of Jehovah under that or any other name, but simply that he perceived that the Divine blessing attended Joseph, and this he would naturally attribute to the God whom Joseph worshipped. So far, however, was the writer from intending to imply any special knowledge of this God of Joseph amongst the Egyptians, that when in the course of this otherwise purely Jehovistic chapter Joseph asks Potiphar's wife, how he could venture to do the great wickedness which she proposed to him, and sin against God? he is careful to make Joseph use to her the term Elohim, not the name Jehovah. It is true the word Elohim would have been more proper in

events subsequent to Joseph's seventeenth year, could not have been introduced so conveniently at any other place. At the sale of Joseph there is a pause, whereas the rest of the history is so continuous, and the events so closely connected, as to make any interruption of the narrative extremely awkward.

any ease, as it might be regarded as used in an implied antithesis to man; he would have sinned not merely against man, namely against her husband, but against God. But apart from this antithesis, which may be observed in several subsequent instances of the use of Elohim, it will be found that throughout this entire narrative the writer has been careful to avoid the use of the name Jehovah in eases which would have implied any knowledge of the true God on the part of the Egyptians. Thus Joseph says to the dreamers in prison, ch. xl., that interpretations belong to Elohim, where the contrast with men may indeed also be understood,—to Elohim, not to men; and in xli. it is Elohim that shows Pharaoh what he is about to do, and Elohim that will shortly bring it to pass. It has been noticed by Hengstenberg, that in speaking to Pharaoh in this chapter (xli.) Joseph uses Elohim with the article, while Pharaoh uses it without one, and he thinks that Joseph thus intends to imply his belief in the one living and true God as opposed to the several gods of the Egyptians. This usage, however, is not invariable as regards Joseph, who in v. 16 uses Elohim without the article, while Pharaoh connects the word with a singular verb in v. 39, which seems opposed to any design of contrasting the monotheism of Joseph with the polytheism of Pharaoh. The most that might be implied in Joseph's use of the definite Ha-Elohim with a singular verb would be the more distinct and definite notions in regard to the deity, that he might be supposed to have had. But in fact the article all through is only the article of reference, and that emphatic reference. In the first instance, therefore, in v. 16, there is no article: "Elohim shall give Pharaoh an answer of peace." To this Joseph reverts in the subsequent verses,—the Elohim of whom I spake showeth what he is about to do, v. 25, 28; the Elohim I spake of, with whom this is established, will shortly bring it to pass, v. 32.1

 $^{^{\}rm 1}$ See in reference to these instances the general discussion already given of the use of Elohim with and without the article.

When Joseph, v. 51, 52, attributes the birth of his sons to the Divine blessing, the use of Elohim would have been natural in preference to any personal name of Joseph's family God, as doubtless these sayings would have been addressed to the Egyptians of his household. So also in the subsequent parts of the narrative, as long as Joseph is unknown to his brethren and they regard him as an Egyptian, in which character he also addresses them, it is quite natural that Elohim, not the personal and proper name of the God of the chosen family, should be used; and thus the use of Elohim through a large part of this narrative in preference to Jehovah, or any name for which it might have been the substitute, is accounted for. Such a name, however, El-Shaddai, that which according to Exod. vi. 3 was the proper name at any rate most significant to the Patriarchs in these earlier times, Jacob employs when he sends Benjamin with his other sons, and prays that God Almighty would grant them favour in the eyes of Joseph. And perhaps it was with reference to the use of this name by Isaac in pronouncing on Jacob himself the El-Shaddai blessing adopted from ch. xvii. when he sent him to Laban, that Jacob now commends his sons to El-Shaddai also. But when one of Jacob's sons says to his brethren, on finding the money in his sack, "What is this that God hath done unto us?" xlii. 28, the use of Elohim in preference to any proper name of God is to be accounted for by the fear which a guilty conscience had awakened, suggesting to them the contrast between God and man; it is not any man, but God that has done this, to bring about their punishment. And so again in Judah's words, xliv. 28, "God hath found out the iniquity of thy servants," where the use of the article is to be regarded as generalising in the greatest possible degree the idea of God, instead of denoting the personal God in any special sense as so many suppose: "the Divine Providence hath found out the iniquity of thy servants." Thus the use of Elohim is strictly justified in every case of its occurrence, until we reach the point where Joseph is made known to his brethren.

In Joseph's words to his brethren on that occasion the use of Elohim is also justified by the contrast between Divine and human agency. They were angry with themselves because they had sold him; he says it was God that did it;—not they, but God, that had sent him before them for their preservation. This contrast is also implied in the message he sends to his father. His brethren must now confess their guilt to their father; the pain of such a confession will be mitigated by their telling him at the same time that, though they had sold Joseph as a slave, God had made him lord of all Egypt. This contrast between Divine Providence and human design makes Elohim there also the proper term.

Thus we are brought to ch. xlvi., where the writer for once during the entire passage resumes in his own person the mention of God. That in doing so the Elohistic habit, which he had in a manner acquired in the proper and almost necessary use of Elohim in the mouths of his interlocutors through so considerable a portion of the narrative, should have suggested its use now, where the occasion did not specially call for it, is what might have been naturally expected. Its use would have been rendered still more likely by the employment of the name Israel (now used in common with that of Jacob, ever since it was finally conferred on that Patriarch), as the name adopted in the commencement of ch. xlvi. That the first Elohim in this chapter is not thus to be accounted for, may be observed from the paraphrastic expression, "the God of his father Isaac," where Elohim is in its proper character as a general term, rendered specific by the addition which distinguishes this Elohim from any other. Hence, as on other occasions, this paraphrastic clause might follow even if Jehovah had also been used, while on the other hand, in the expression as it stands, Jehovah could not be substituted for Elohim; neither could it in the like expression attributed to God himself in the third verse. It is the Elohim in v. 2, and the Ha-El in v. 3, the El who was the Elohim of his father, that are attributable to the sort of

Elohistic habit which might have exercised its influence after the composition of the preceding narrative, in which the term was so often employed by a kind of necessity, together with the influence occasioned by the adoption of the name Israel. Then as regards v. 3, the El there mentioned with the article prefixed specifies the El, who as El-Shaddai was by that name known to the Patriarchs, as stated in Exod. vi. 3, the name Jehovah being at times substituted for it by the author, where it is put, as frequently happens, even into the mouth of speakers introduced into the narrative, if this name was not itself also actually in use. There is no further mention of God in this chapter, nor is there any mention of God in that which follows. In ch. xlviii., however, which contains the conversation between Jacob and Joseph on the occasion of Joseph's visit to his father when he heard of his sickness, and Jacob's blessing pronounced on Joseph's sons, the use of Elohim is still found to prevail. It seems to follow in course, however, from the name which Jacob employs at the first, the name for which, as so often noticed, Jehovah was more exclusively substituted in the time of Moses: "El-Shaddai appeared to me at Luz in the land of Canaan, and blessed me, and said unto me, Behold I will make thee fruitful, and multiply thee, and I will make of thee a multitude of people." Here there is a manifest reference to xxxv. 11, where God is represented as calling himself El-Shaddai, that being itself repeated from ch. xvii. In connexion with the promise of a fruitful progeny thus recalled to mind, he now adopts as his own the two sons of Joseph born in the land of Egypt, while Joseph says these were his sons whom Elohim had given him in that place, as if in fulfilment of the promise of El Shaddai just mentioned. In addition to this connexion, the contrast between human expectation and Divine disposing will account for Elohim in v. 11, where Israel says, 'I had not thought to see thy face, and lo, God hath showed me even thy seed." A similar contrast between the human and Divine is marked in the last instance in this chapter

where Elohim occurs, "Behold, I die, but God shall be with you." In the blessing described in r. 15, 16, Elohim, as well as the angel mentioned in apposition with it, is in both instances of its use rendered definite by the article, and with the relative clauses subjoined, "the Elohim before whom my fathers did walk, the Elohim which fed me all my life long, the angel which redeemed me from all evil," specifies a particular Elohim, to denote which the general term thus rendered specific is highly appropriate, and stands as an equivalent for the proper name El-Shaddai, used at the commencement. And while in this name there is a reference to xxxv. 11, and through that back to xvii. 1, where El-Shaddai is identified with Jehovah, so in the angel that redeemed him there is a manifest reference to the first scene at Bethel, where the angels of Elohim ascended and descended on the ladder, at the summit of which was Jehovah, referred to afterwards, xxxi. 11, 13, as the angel of God, the God of Bethel. There is one other instance of Elohim in the chapter, "In thee shall Israel bless, saying, Elohim make thee as Ephraim and as Manasseh." Besides the natural suggestion of Elohim in this place arising from its previous use throughout this passage, the occasion is one in which the simple power of God in the ordinary superintendence of the course of natural events is invoked, and its use in such a case would, under any circumstances, be as probable as that of Jehovah.

In ch. xlix. the name Jehovah, which had been for so long dropped, not for the most part, if in any case, without sufficient cause, now re-appears for once in Jacob's ejaculation, when in the midst of the predictions of the future condition of his descendants he pauses for a moment and cries, "I have waited for thy salvation, Jehovah." Nothing can be more natural, or more beautiful, than the representation of the aged and dying Patriarch, wearied as it were in the contemplation of circumstances not in all respects pleasing to his mind, stopping to refresh himself with this pious exclamation. If therefore it wants connexion with the context, it certainly cannot be pro-

nounced out of place. The LXX. indeed escape the difficulty of want of connexion by a rendering which is construed with the concluding words of the previous verse, καὶ πεσείται ὁ ίππεὺς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, τὴν σωτηρίαν περιμένων κυρίου. It is impossible to say whether this is a purely conjectural rendering of a text corrupted hopelessly, or the translation of an intelligible various reading.1 But if kuplov represented Jehovah in that reading, it would have been a singularly inappropriate use of the name, where the idea intended to be conveyed is that of a rider thrown from his horse and unable to find any assistance but that which God might give, the Divine help in such a case being mentally contrasted with the absence of all human aid. and the general name of God being, as so often exemplified, the proper term in such a contrast. Shortly after, in blessing Joseph, the ancient proper name El-Shaddai recurs with this peculiarity, that the El and Shaddai are separated: "From the El of thy father, and he shall help thee, and from Shaddai, and he shall bless thee." Thus the early name and its later representative are both presented to us in this discourse. Finally, towards the close of the last chapter, Joseph's brethren send him a message begging that he would "forgive the trespass of the servants of the Elohim of his fathers." This, as already observed, is the paraphrastic substitute of a proper name; Jehovah might have been prefixed, but not substituted in this phrase for Elohim. Joseph in reply asks, is he in the place of Elohim? and says that they thought evil against him, but Elohim meant it unto good. In both these cases the contrast between Divine and human requires, according to custom, as well as the proper use of the term, Elohim and not a proper name; Joseph is a man and not a God, and their intentions, as the designs of men, were very different from the orderings of

¹ Dean Stanley, History of the Jewish Church, Lect. xii., p. 269, says, "'For thy salvation, O Lord, have I waited,' seems to have been his (Dan's) war-cry, as if of a warrior in the constant attitude of expectation." It is plain that the LXX. had no traditional knowledge of such a war-cry having been employed by this tribe on any occasion.

Providence, as disposed by God. There only now remains the instance of Joseph's words before his death, in which the sentence, "Elohim will surely visit you," is twice repeated. And here too the contrast between the Divine and human lies deep in the speaker's mind. His family seems now to be permanently settled in the land of Egypt, and doubtless Joseph foresees for them a future state of oppression, in which they might seem to be forgotten by God. Still he has faith in the Divine promises, they shall be brought back to the promised land. But that cannot take place by their own power. God will surely visit them. The LXX. agree with the Hebrew as regards these names of God.

It remains now to observe how this long passage is apportioned amongst the several authors who are supposed to have contributed to the composition of it. And in doing this it will be convenient to return to the separate discussion of the several sections.

The entire of ch. xxxix. has been given to the Jehovist by the Bishop of Natal; and by others, with the exception of two interpolations assigned to the compiler. The concluding verse of ch. xxxvii., which the Bishop gives to the original Elohist, had been given by the other critics to the later Elohist. The semblance of a different narrative, which the repetition of the matter contained in it in xxxix. I would have produced, if the latter had been in immediate juxtaposition with the former, is done away by the interposition of ch. xxxviii., to say nothing of the customary repetition in commencing a new section or lesser division. In all such cases of the interruption of the course of any particular series of events, by the introduction of any kind of digression, a writer naturally reminds his readers of what had been last mentioned before his attention had been diverted to other matters. The repetition therefore would not justify the supposition of different writers telling each the same story. But as the Ishmaelites who brought Joseph into Egypt, were supposed to have been different from the Midianites to

whom the same act is attributed—the Jehovist ascribing it to the former and the second Elohist to the latter-so also the "officer of Pharaoh and captain of the guard," to whom he is sold by these, is supposed to be different from Potiphar to whom he is sold by the others. In order to bear out this supposition it is necessary to employ the assistance of the compiler, who interpolates the mention of the "officer of Pharaoh and captain of the guard" in xxxix. 1, having previously interpolated the name Potiphar in xxxvii. 36. There is no necessity for supposing them to be several on the ground that Joseph's master in xxxix. is a married man, while the word rendered an officer in xxxvii. 36 is strictly speaking an eunuch. The word is used of officers employed in other capacities than those for which eunuchs, literally speaking, would be required, and it seems to have had a larger use from the transference of the term to officers in general.1 The Redactor, who is supposed to have identified Potiphar and this officer, would at any rate have expunged this word, which was not needed, as the title "captain of the guard" was sufficient, if he thought the term implied a condition that would have rendered the story of his being a married man an absurdity. The use of such an argument as this would therefore tell as forcibly against the performance ascribed to the Redactor, as against the original unity of the narrative. It was not a needless addition to the mention of his office to say that he was an Egyptian. The subsequent employment of Joseph in a high office of state shows that foreigners were to be found in such positions. That Joseph's bondage was not only in Egypt, but to an Egyptian, had special significance in the writer's view. Some countenance to the theory of a double narrative is, how-

¹ The word is Hebrew, not Egyptian, and as Wilkinson denies the employment of Eunuchs in ancient Egypt, it should on that account be understood here in its larger sense. It is used in xl. 2, 7 of the officers of Pharaoh's household in general, including the chief butler and the chief baker. We may also refer to 2 Kings xxv. 19, where the word is applied to an officer set over the men of war. Fuerst refers to certain passages of Terence and Juvenal to show that even the literal acceptation of the word does not render the story as it stands absurd. Modern travellers have also made observations to the same effect, and mention instances of such persons being married.

ever, thought to exist in the circumstance, that while in this chapter Potiphar puts Joseph into prison, and the keeper of the prison entrusts Joseph with the charge of all that was under his hand, in ch. xl. the chief butler and baker are committed to the house of the captain of the guard, who gives them in charge to Joseph, as if still in his house as a servant, not as a prisoner. In order, however, to gain this countenance for the theory it is necessary to impute to the Redactor the interpolation of the clause in v. 20 of this chapter, which describes the prison to which Joseph was committed as "a place where the king's prisoners were bound," this description being manifestly added with a view to the narrative following in the next chapter, and to account for Joseph being in the same prison with the chief butler and baker. An original writer would naturally thus anticipate what he was just about to mention. But though the clause comes in naturally, it is not necessary, and there was therefore nothing to suggest its interpolation to a compiler, who would naturally be sparing of needless additions. On the other hand, the Redactor is made to interpolate in xl. 3 the words subjoined to the mention of the house of the captain of the guard, namely, "into the prison, the place where Joseph was bound;" and so also every word or sentence in this latter chapter that might make it appear that the place where the chief baker and chief butler were in ward was a prison. These alleged interpolations in xxxix. and xl. must be considered together, and we shall revert to them presently.

§ 4. CH. XL. THE CHIEF BUTLER AND BAKER IN PRISON WITH JOSEPH. ELOHISTIC.

This section is given by the critics in general to the second Elohist, with the exception of certain interpolations. These, according to the Bishop, are v. 1 and part of 3 and 5, inserted by the Jehovist to effect a transition from the previous chapter to the second Elohist's story here, and to make the connexion

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more plain. The compiler's additions according to other critics are more serious and extensive, as already noticed. The only evidence of their being interpolations is to be found in the seeming mention of two houses in v. 3, the house of the captain of the guard, and the house of the prison.1 But the change of construction alone shows that there is no interpolation here, as an interpolator would naturally have followed the existing construction; and it leads one to understand the expressions in a different sense: "In ward of the house of the captain of the guard, into the house of the prison." The Hebrew word קשׁמָל rendered "ward," does not mean a place of safe keeping, as the English word "ward" sometimes does,2 but the safe keeping, the custody itself, the act of keeping guard or watch, not the place where a thing is kept, and there is no instance where the word is required to be understood otherwise. If then the genitive house coming after it signified a place or material house, the meaning would be the guarding or protecting of that house, which is here out of the question. Hence "the house of the captain" must mean, like "the house of Pharaoh," the people or servants of the captain, or the captain himself with his people. The use of the word house in two different senses in such close proximity is justified by the fact that the second house is only a part of a compound phrase, the house of roundness, or round-house. The word rendered guard denotes executioners, and Gesenius, s.v., observes the similarity in this respect between the chief of these and the Captain Pasha at the Ottoman Porte. They, under the command of their captain, had charge of the king's prisoners, and were answerable for the safety of the prison, which had its own internal keeper also, as in xxxix. 21. While this keeper found Joseph useful to him in the general management of the prison, the captain, Potiphar, on putting into the prison his brother officers, as if out of consideration for

בְּמִשְׁמֵר בֵּית שַּׂר הַשַּבְּחִים אֶל־בֵּית הַפֹּהַר ב

² The LXX have φυλακη, which is ambiguous, but more properly bears an active sense. If the Hebrew word is ever used of a place, it is of a post where a watch is set.

them, requires his own servant Joseph, whom he had previously put into prison, to attend on them. The charge of them which was given to Joseph does not imply any special favour or confidence towards him now on the captain's part, but rather denotes the menial office to which he was degraded. And that Joseph did this not simply as the captain's servant attending on them, while kept in his master's house, but as himself their fellow prisoner, is plain from the remorse the chief butler felt when he recalled to mind Joseph's interpretation of his dream, after having so long forgotten him, "I do remember my faults this day." It is also implied in the request of Joseph that the butler when restored should remember him and make mention of him to Pharaoh, "and bring me," as he said, "out of this house;" and then in the significant way in which the butler is said to have forgotten him when restored. It was not likely that a purchased slave should have expected the king, at the butler's request, to liberate him from his servitude, but it was a very natural thing for him to hope to be delivered from an undeserved imprisonment. Or if Joseph himself might have vainly hoped that the king might free him from his master's service, the chief butler could scarcely have felt remorse at not having made so unreasonable a request, but he would naturally have blamed himself for allowing him so long to remain in prison without interceding for his deliverance. There is therefore no ground for suspecting the interpolation of xxxix. 20 and of xl. 3; and if these alleged interpolations are not such, so also are not the other expressions, "in the prison," v. 5, "with him," v. 7, and "here also I have done nothing that they should put me into the dungeon," v. 15. It is not allowable, without some other reason, to say that anything which militates against the application of a theory is an interpolation. Rather such expressions disprove the theory; and there is no ground for the allotment of chapter xl. to the junior Elohist, as containing a different narrative from that in ch. xxxix. ascribed to the Jehovist.

§ 5. Ch. XLI. 1-45. PHARAOH'S DREAMS INTERPRETED, AND JOSEPH ADVANCED. ELOHISTIC.

The so-called junior Elohist's narrative is supposed to be carried on in ch. xli., with certain portions of the Jehovist's history interposed, and with the usual assistance of the Redactor to bear the credit of whatever is inconsistent with the theory. As there are two dreams of Pharaoh told, while in v. 15 Pharaoh speaks to Joseph of having dreamed a dream, as if there were only one, and these dreams have evidently the same significance, the dream of the kine is given to the Jehovist, and that of the ears of corn to the junior Elohist. Now in either of these narratives it would be sufficient and natural for the narrator simply to mention that Pharaoh had a dream, and then let him tell his dream himself; or first to tell the dream and then to let Pharaoh refer to it without repeating it at length. Or either of the narrators might both tell the dream himself, and make Pharaoh afterwards repeat it. But as this is a superfluous incumbering of the story, it is less probable that two independent narrators should both have adopted the same needless prolixity, and burdened their narratives with a similar and superfluous repetition. The natural effect of such an improbability would be to identify the two narratives as original parts of the same single story. To evade this effect, however, the Redactor is made to interpolate in the junior Elohist's narrative the dream of the kine, from the second clause of v. 1 to the end of the first of v. 5, before that of the ears of corn as told by the narrator. This, however, is perfectly arbitrary, and manifestly only an artifice to evade a difficulty that stands in the way of the theory. As regards the reference to the dreams as one dream in v. 15, nothing is more natural. One dreams, and wakes, and sleeps and dreams on again with fresh images in the mind, but with a feeling of continuity between the first and second dreams, or rather the successive parts of the same dream. Moreover the significance of both dreams was so evidently the

same, that on this ground also one would naturally speak of them as one, and yet might afterwards distinguish them in their successive narration. And in this case it did not need that the import of the dreams should be understood, in order to perceive at once that their significance was identical. Moreover, in v. 8 it is said that Pharaoh told "his dream" to the magicians and wise men, but that none "could interpret them," where the singular word dream is referred to by the plural pronoun them. This, at any rate, cannot be attributed to the Redactor; for if he had changed the number of the pronoun, he would never have left the noun to which it refers in a different number.\frac{1}{2} As far as the dreams are concerned they must belong therefore to the same original narrative.

All three have a share of v. 14 allotted to them; the first clause, "And Pharaoh sent and called for Joseph," is given to the junior Elohist; then the next word represented by the English "and they brought him hastily," and the last clause, "and he came in unto Pharaoh," are assigned to the Jehovist; and the words, "from the dungeon, and he shaved and changed his raiment," are assigned to the Redactor. The Jehovist, indeed, might have represented him as in prison, but because the sentence in xl. 15 which uses the expression dungeon is ascribed to the Redactor, and the word might be thought to express too severe a confinement to be consistent with the employment of Joseph by the keeper of the prison as represented at the close of ch. xxxix., this present mention of the dungeon and the words connected with it are also given to the Redactor. Of course if the word was due to the Redactor in xl. 15, it may be due to him here also. But though the word is literally a pit or dungeon, yet it has a wider use as describing a prison in general. Thus in Jer. xxxvii. 15 the house of Jonathan the scribe is made the prison, and this is called in the next verse בות הבוֹת "the house of the dungeon." As in some cases a mild and euphemistic term would naturally be employed to denote a

¹ The LXX. have made them both singular.

prison, so in others the stronger word would naturally occur. Thus, as in xl. 15, where the prisoner is speaking of his own misfortune, he naturally uses the strong term so expressive of his sense of unjust imprisonment; so in xli. 14, where the contrast between Joseph's condition as a prisoner, and his subsequent introduction as a minister into Pharaoh's court, is evidently in the writer's mind, the same word is naturally used, as suggested by this contrast. These natural indications of originality are not to be thought of in the case of an interpolator, who only tries to patch up his story, but would never think of such little touches of reality, which must come spontaneously in free composition, or not at all.

After Pharaoh has told his dreams-one, as alleged, in the Jehovist's account, and the other in the junior Elohist's—there follows a minute subdivision of the remainder of the chapter, according as the copiousness of detail, and the multiform representation of the same particulars, afford opportunity of giving to each of the narrators a tolerably intelligible account of the transactions described, the compiler's assistance being sought to get over any difficulties that stand in the way. Indeed the whole success of this resolution into two narratives depends on the parts that belong to the compiler, which, except as introduced by him, would render the partition impracticable. But now as to the probability of his introducing the parts assigned him, we may first remark that the repeated assertion that the dream was one, v. 25 and 27, and the reason assigned for doubling it, v. 32, which of course are ascribed to him, would have been needless. For even supposing he had put the two dreams together from different sources, we have already seen that there was in the existing text, which he had before him, enough to indicate the unity of the dreams in their import, as already perceived by Pharaoh. And even if he had felt it necessary to make Joseph assert this, he would not have betrayed his hand by repeating the assertion immediately after, and so creating a suspicion of interpolation. Much less was there anything to suggest to him the advisableness of introducing a reason for the duplication of the dream. The reason assigned would naturally suggest itself to a believer in the significance of dreams, and while a single dream would possibly pass without exciting anxiety, a double one would naturally seem to indicate something serious. The interpreter might also naturally take occasion from this double indication, to impress on the king's mind the importance of what was thus foreshown. But the very naturalness of the conclusion, which the doubling of the dream would lead one to draw from it, would make the absence of any express mention of this conclusion the less noticeable; an inference that every one can draw for himself is not missed, and an interpolator, who would confine himself to what was necessary, would not think of introducing it; this would be the work of a paraphrast. The alleged interpolation in v. 24, in which the king tells Joseph that the magicians could not interpret his dream, would have been also quite gratuitous, the fact having been previously mentioned in v. 8. Then as regards the probability of a compiler cutting up two narratives by different authors into small fragments, oftentimes single clauses, and afterwards interweaving them, as is supposed to have been done, it is to be remembered that this Redactor had not the two narratives drawn out, as it were with the vacant spaces on one side, and the sentences to fit into those spaces on the other. The two stories would present themselves each in compact continuity, and the compiler setting out with one would have had as he went along to pick out the words or phrases or sentences of the other, to be introduced into their proper places. One who had so little respect for the sacredness of the original text, as to add or omit what was needful to make the combined narrative consistent, would scarcely have taken this trouble. His probable course would have been to take one or other of the two narratives, and as he went along to interpolate in his own words whatever the other narrative supplied as additional matter. If he might perhaps have transferred the longer

passages from one into the other, he would hardly have done this in respect to short clauses and simple phrases.

As regards the repetition of the same particulars, which may seem to indicate the interlacing of two narratives, the first to be noticed is the sentence, "What God doeth, he showeth to Pharaoh," v. 25, repeated in v. 28, "What God doeth he maketh Pharaoh to see." But this latter sentence is introduced by another that plainly refers to the former. Joseph first tells the king that God shows him what he is about to do. He then tells the general import of the dreams, and after that adds, "This is the thing which I have spoken unto Pharaoh." What thing does he mean? Plainly what he had first said, namely "What. God doeth he maketh Pharaoh to see," the only difference being in the use of a synonymous verb. Thus the assignment of these words two to different writers is evidently wrong. Then the following statement of the import of the dream, ascribed to the Jehovist, is not a needless repetition of the previous indication of the meaning of it in v. 26, 27, assigned to the junior Elohist. This latter had only told in a general way that seven years of plenty and seven years of famine were denoted; when or where is not expressed. In the subsequent passage, 29-31, the dream is not repeated, but the place and time, and the grievousness of the famine following on the abundance of the years of plenty, are more exactly declared. The place is all the land of Egypt; the time is at hand for the years of plenty, "Behold they are coming (באוֹת);" the plenty is to be great, but it shall not be known for the grievousness of the famine which shall afterwards consume the land. In all this there is plainly no needless repetition, on the supposition of the unity of the narrative. Again the recommendation to appoint a discreet person over all the land in v. 33, and to appoint officers to gather food during the years of plenty, are not mere varied statements of the same advice, as if belonging to different narratives. Plainly for such a business one chief administrator would require a large staff of subordinate officers. The giving of the ring, and the arraying

in fine linen, and putting a chain of gold on Joseph's neck, are rather complementary to each other, than mere varied statements of the same circumstance, as if by different writers. The repetition of Joseph's appointment over the land of Egypt, 41 and 43, is accounted for by the first being Pharaoh's announcement of his promotion to Joseph himself, the second, the historian's statement of the fulfilment of the intention thus announced. In v. 45 it is said that Joseph went out over the land of Egypt, and in v. 46, that he went through all the land of Egypt. These are not statements of the same import; in the first the verb NY does not signify a progress through the land, but denotes Joseph's coming out from the presence of Pharaoh, over the land, that is as ruler and with authority over it; the verb does not signify a journey or progress, but an exit, and the preposition (עֶל) is that used in the previous mention of Joseph's appointment over the land, from which, or from v. 46, the English Version has borrowed the word all, introduced here to spoil the sense; in the latter case the preposition (2) is different, and the verb יעבר denotes an extended progress and journey through the place with which it is connected with a preposition like that here used: "he passed along in all the land."

It should be observed that in this portion the Bishop of Natal, whose Jehovist was also the compiler, only gives him v. 31, expanding and explaining, as he thinks, the remark of v. 30, that all the plenty should be forgotten in the land of Egypt; v. 35, because it speaks of collecting all the food, whereas 34 only speaks of the fifth part, though in collecting all the food, of course he could only collect what was superfluous after the support of the people, and a fifth may have seemed enough for the public stores at any rate, as people would themselves naturally store whatever else they might have to spare; and

¹ Indeed it is by no means certain that a fifth part of the produce was what was meant by "let him five the land of Egypt." Might not this mean that the country was to be divided into five districts, whether for the purpose of collecting or of storing the corn? Comp. Exod. xiii. 18, margin, "The Children of Israel went up by five in a rank (lit. fived) out of the land of Egypt," or perhaps in five different bodies.

finally 40-43, as in like manner expanding what was implied in 39, 44.

This section may be properly closed at this point of Joseph's exaltation, and the indications of commencing a new one at v. 46 will presently appear.

§ 6. CH. XLI, 46-57—XLII. 1-4. JOSEPH'S ADMINISTRATION. THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE FAMINE. ELOHISTIC.

The 45th verse of chapter xli. described, as we have just seen, how Joseph came forth from Pharaoh invested with authority over the land of Egypt. This was a natural conclusion of the history of his life in Egypt during his time of depression ending in this marvellous rise. And as this turning point naturally marked a close of the former events, so we have in v. 46 the plain indications of a new section. First, there is the statement of Joseph's age when he stood before Pharaoh at the time of his exaltation, the event at the time of which the age is specified not being directly mentioned, but indirectly alluded to, as in other like cases already noticed: "Joseph was thirty years of age in his standing before Pharaoh." And while this is thus allusively repeated, so also the sentence, "he went out from the presence of Pharaoh," is repeated in substance from the previous verse, as common at the commencement of a new section. If the Bishop of Natal had been looking for points of agreement, and not of difference, he would not have failed to notice the agreement between this 46th verse, and so many others which he attributes to the Elohist, in the assumptive manner in which the event at the time of the age specified is alluded to, instead of being directly mentioned in stating the age of the person of whom the account is given. Yet this verse is not given to the Elohist. For out of this passage as limited above, the Bishop gives to his Jehovist the commencing verse, 46, and then from 48-55, describing the years of plenty, the birth of Joseph's sons, and the commencement of the famine; and he observes that the notice of time in v. 46 is that which, he

had already remarked, had introduced great discrepancies into the story. These discrepancies, however, are all of the Bishop's making. He will not allow what the chronology of the book as it stands at present requires, the interval of thirty-six years from Esau's marriage to Jacob's departure for Haran. If the Elohistic narrative, which he separates, admits of shorter dates in this case, it certainly is not free from the abnormal ages in regard to other cases which characterise this book, while we have just seen that on verbal grounds this very notice of time in v. 46 connects itself with the Elohistic notices of time elsewhere: "Abram was a son of seventy-five years in his departing from Haran," xii. 4; "Abraham was a son of ninety and nine years in his circumcising the flesh of his foreskin," xvii. 24, etc.; "Joseph was a son of thirty years in his standing before Pharaoh." But while the Bishop only gives v. 47 and the two last verses of this chapter to the writer of the greater part of the preceding narrative, the second Elohist, and then again gives the first four verses of xlii. to the Jehovist, others, agreeing as to these commencing verses of xlii., differ from the Bishop in much more minutely subdividing the remainder. In this total disagreement of the partitionists themselves it can hardly be expected that the traditional belief in the unity of this passage should be surrendered.

- § 7. Ch. XLII. 5—XLVI. 7. THE DESCENT INTO EGYPT. ELOHISTIC.
 - (1.) XLII. 5-38. FIRST VISIT OF JOSEPH'S BRETHREN TO EGYPT.
 - (2.) XLIII. SECOND VISIT, WITH BENJAMIN.
 - (3.) XLIV. BENJAMIN IS TAKEN.
 - (4.) XLV. JOSEPH IS MADE KNOWN TO HIS BRETHREN AND SENDS FOR HIS FATHER.
 - (5.) XLVI. 1-7. JACOB'S JOURNEY TO EGYPT.
- (1.) This long passage forms a very unbroken narrative, but has certain stages indicated as above. The significance of regarding xlii. 5, 6, as the commencement of a new section has already been fully insisted on. The repetition of the statement of v. 3, that Joseph's brethren went down to buy corn in Egypt,

in the first clause of v. 5, "The sons of Israel came to buy among those that came;" the next clause, repeating that the famine was in the land of Canaan, fully intimated already in xli. 57 and the beginning of xlii., and the announcement in v. 6 that Joseph was governor over the land and sold to all the people, all appear now as the prefatory recapitulation, prefixed in so many cases to new sections. Thus the assigning of v. 5, and the first part of 6, to the second Elohist by the Bishop of Natal, and the connecting of 1-5 with xli. 54 first clause, as part of the Jehovistic narrative, by others, is shown to have no necessity on the score of these supposed needless repetitions. The only other part of this chapter which the Bishop gives to the second Elohist is the commencement of v. 7, "Joseph saw his brethren, and he knew them," as being repeated again in v. 8. To this we shall presently revert, only here remarking that the other critics give it to the Jehovist, while the second Elohist gets the repetition in v. 8. This plainly shows how conjectural and arbitrary is this whole assignment of parts to the different supposed authors whose writings have been, according to this theory, combined into one narrative. In the more complex subdivision, not adopted by the Bishop, the compiler is made responsible for the first half of v. 6. Both the Jehovist and the second Elohist having already represented Joseph as governor of all the land of Egypt and charged with the disposing of the supplies of food, the Redactor is now made to say that "Joseph was governor over the land, and he it was that sold to all the people of the land." But now, when Joseph's elevation had been previously so fully set forth in the narrative which the Redactor had just compiled, what possible motive could he have had, or what could have suggested to him, to repeat what had been so distinctly and repeatedly stated already? An original narrator might naturally mention as he went on, and especially at the beginning of a new section, that Joseph was still in the same position when his brethren came, as he had been during the years of plenty and the earlier years of the famine; a compiler

putting together existing materials would see no need of this, and would not have thought of it. The latter half of v. 6, mentioning how Joseph's brethren came and bowed themselves before him with their faces to the ground, is given to the junior Elohist, because it was thought fit to assign to him the account of Joseph's dreams, of which this was the fulfilment. The Jehovist then takes up v. 7, and tells how Joseph knew his brethren, but made himself strange and spake roughly to them, "and said unto them, ye are spies," the first of these latter words, "and said," being once omitted by the Redactor as superfluous and inconvenient, and the rest being picked out of v. 9. The latter part of v. 7, v. 8, and the remainder of v. 9, are then given to the junior Elohist, as having reference to Joseph's dreams, and with v. 12 making up an intelligible narrative, while v. 11 contains the contradiction of Joseph's brethren to the charge of being spies, as given in the words of the Jehovist. Now the only shadow of a reason for supposing two narratives here lies in the seeming repetition in v. 8 of the statement made in v. 7, that Joseph knew his brethren, but that they knew him not. It is not, however, a simple repetition, needless on the supposition of one author, and therefore indicative of a second. The statement in v. 7 is that Joseph recognised his brethren, but dissembled or feigned himself another person. Nothing is said of their not knowing him. The effort to dissemble might not have been successful, and it is not therefore a mere unmeaning repetition to add that he recognised them, but they did not recognise him, these two clauses standing as it were in an opposition to one another; it is the Hebrew way of saying, that though he recognised them they did not recognise him. It is also to be observed that the use of the same verb, הְבִּיר, in both verses, while a choice between this and the more general word יָרָע existed, is rather indicative of the sameness of the writer. In the few other places where the former word occurs in this book (xxvii. 23, xxxi. 32, xxxvii. 32, 33, xxxviii. 25, 26), it is in passages like v. 7 ascribed to the Jehovist, and doubtless if it was convenient to

assign v. 8 to the Jehovist also, its use there would be regarded as an indication of his authorship. The only remaining passage \cdot n this chapter assigned to the junior Elohist, 21, 22, 23, was already insisted on, when xxxvii. was under consideration, as marking the unity of parts of that chapter supposed to have had different authors, and it is unnecessary now to repeat what was then said.

(2.) (3.) As ch. xlii, with the exceptions which have been considered, is ascribed to the Jehovist, so is the entire of xliii., and xliv. with the exception of the two first verses, which are supposed to have been introduced by the Redactor. In the subsequent part of the latter chapter nothing is said of the money being found in the sacks, when search was made for the silver cup, while in 1, 2, the corn money is put into every man's sack, as well as the cup into Benjamin's. Now so far is this from being an indication of the Redactor's meddling, it is rather evidence that he was not the author of these verses, for however he might have thought it well to introduce the direction, which Joseph is represented as giving his steward, to put the cup into Benjamin's sack, it is plain he would not have gratuitously added the putting of the money into the sacks of all, which there was nothing in the subsequent narrative to suggest to his mind. Moreover, the want which would plainly have been felt in the absence of any directions about the cup, and the abrupt way in which it is referred to in v. 5, as if the reader was aware of the circumstance, is rather an argument in favour

^{1 &}quot;And they said one to another, We are verily guilty concerning our brother, etc."

2 The earlier partitionists, as De Wette, saw evidence of a double narrative in the retention of Simeon as an hostage, according to the account given in this chapter, while in the next chapter, Judah, in speaking to his father, tells him that Joseph protested they should not see his face again unless they brought Benjamin, without any mention of Simeon, as if Joseph had relied on the pressure of the famine as sufficient to compel the sending of Benjamin. The weakness of this is well shown by Ranke, I., p. 265, 6. He observes that if Jacob's partiality for Benjamin was such as to make him indifferent to the deliverance of Simeon, or if Judah was so thoughtless as to forget to urge this consideration, these are matters that belong to the region of morals, and not of criticism. He also notices that in xliii. 14 Jacob in sending Benjamin prays not only for his return, but for Simeon's also. This pretext for division of the narrative seems now to be abandoned.

of the genuineness of the commencing verses, than an indication that they were subsequently added.¹

(4.) The next chapter also, xlv., is given by most of the same critics at full length to the Jehovist, with the exception of v. 2, 3. The bestowal of these two verses on the junior Elohist is certainly ingenious. The last passage that had been ascribed to him, xlii. 21-23, describes the remorse of the brethren expressed amongst themselves, and Reuben's reproach of the others for not heeding his advice, and represents them as supposing that Joseph did not understand what they were saying. By connecting with this xlv. 2, 3, Joseph's resolution to preserve the character of a stranger is overcome by the sayings of his brethren, which he understands, though they think he does not; he weeps aloud, tells them he is Joseph, and asks for his father, while they are so confounded that they cannot make any answer. And as these verses are not essential to the narrative contained in this present chapter, there is the more colour for appropriating them to the supposed second Elohist. Of course this depends on the correctness of the supposition that he was the writer of xlii. 21-23, against which a strong argument has been already adduced. And though the matter contained in xlv. 2, 3 is not necessary to the remainder of the narrative, it is not superfluous. Joseph's weeping when about to reveal himself; the absence of restraint in this, so that the people in the house heard him; his asking if his father yet lived, which,

¹ Another argument of De Wette, in favour of a double narrative, is the circumstance that, according to xlii. 27, one of the brethren finds his money in the sack on the way home, while, according to v. 35, every man's money was found in his sack on his return home. And then Stahelin adds a new difficulty, that, according to xliii. 21, the brethren on their return tell Joseph that, when they came to the inn, they had found every man's money in his sack. The former objection is treated by Ranke with deserved contempt: he says it almost sounds like a jest. To the latter he replies that the statement in xliii. 21 is not made by the historian in his own person, but by the brethren speaking to Joseph; that all the brethren had found their money, the commencement of the discovery being made on the way, though the completion of it not till they had returned home; and that in their speech to Joseph, it was not the place where they found the money, but the fact that they had discovered it, which they were concerned in mentioning, and that therefore they mention the two discoveries together (I. p. 266, 7). Such a reference of the entire discovery to its commencement is quite natural, and this objection is now abandoned.

in the outburst of his feelings, he forgets was implied in the previous saying of his brethren; their confusion when he announces to them that he is Joseph; all these particulars, if not necessary, are at least natural, and such as might be expected just where they occur; and Joseph's re-assertion in v. 4, that he is Joseph, is not a needless repetition, as his brethren would naturally seem perplexed and incredulous at the first announcement of so unexpected a fact. The ingenuity shown in connecting these verses 2, 3 with xlii. 21–23 is not therefore a sufficient justification of the disruption of the narrative as it now stands in the existing book.

The Bishop of Natal does not concur with these critics in giving v. 1, 2 to the second Elohist. He also differs from them in his supposition that 16-18 belongs to that writer, on the ground that Joseph himself had already told his brethren to bring their father down, and that he would provide for them in the land of Goshen, as if no need of any directions from Pharaoh existed. Clearly it was the writer's intention to represent Joseph as acting on his own authority, in bidding his brethren to bring their father and families, and promising to provide for them in Egypt, or at least anticipating as certain the obtaining the requisite authority from the king. And with this there is no inconsistency in supposing that the king should also spontaneously suggest the same thing to Joseph, or that Joseph should have sought his authority, and obtained it in the words contained in 17, 18. The change from thou to ye in 19 is intelligible enough. The command given to Joseph in 17, 18 is to be communicated to the whole party: "Say unto your brethren, This do ye," etc. They are to lade their beasts with the needful corn, and go back to Canaan, and to bring their father and households to Egypt. But now a difficulty occurs as to the means of transit for their wives and little ones. Accordingly, Pharaoh says to Joseph, "And thou are commanded,"—thou hast my orders for what I am going to say,-"This do ye," etc. The authority is given directly only to Joseph; the command is to

be accomplished by all. One writer adding to another would have been likely to have avoided this difference in number. The Bishop also gives the first clause of 21, "And the sons of Israel did so," to the second Elohist in sequence with v. 18, "for how could they either 'take the wagons,' which Joseph had to give them, or 'not regard their goods' while they were yet in Egypt?" This is so weak that it is enough to state it without remark. The words only mean that they did their part in compliance with the king's directions.

(5.) The commencement of xlvi. down to the first clause of v. 5 is given to the compiler, or by the Bishop, with the rest of v. 5, to the Jehovist, who, indeed in his theory acts the part of the compiler. The particulars, however, mentioned in these versesthe sacrifices at Beersheba, the nightly vision, and the divine communication made to Jacob—are all matters of too substantial importance, and too little suggested by anything in the other parts of this narrative, to have been the pure invention of a person acting in the capacity of a mere compiler. other hand, there is no inconsistency between the spontaneousness of Jacob's journey as represented in v. 1, and the mention of his being carried as described in v. 5. Neither does the dimness of Jacob's sight, implied in the promise in v. 4, that Joseph should put his hands on his eyes, present any inconsistency with Jacob's expression of his readiness to die because he had seen Joseph's face, as related in v. 30. This is a very natural and common way of speaking, and may be instanced by reference to xlviii. 10, 11, where, though Jacob's eyes are so dim that he cannot see, yet he says notwithstanding, that though he had not thought to see Joseph's face, yet God had showed him his seed. It is for this reason that the first clause of v. 10 in that chapter is given to the junior Elohist. But there is no necessity for this. Nothing is more common than to speak of seeing when the sight is not merely imperfect, but wholly lost. The habit of thus speaking, especially with regard to persons, is too strong to be left off. After the Redactor has introduced

the commencing verses of xlvi. ascribed to him, the Jehovist continues his narrative in the concluding part of v. 5, and then in 6, 7, the Elohist, of whom nothing has been heard since the first verse of ch. xxxvii., tells us that they took their cattle and their goods, and that Jacob and all his seed with him went down into Egypt. Now it will be observed that these verses stand in the closest connexion with xlvi. 5, but are disconnected from xxxvii. 1 both grammatically and otherwise. But it is necessary that the Elohist, brief as the narrative ascribed to him has become, should not omit all mention of so important an event as the descent into Egypt. Hence these verses are taken out of their proper connexion here and appropriated to the Elohist, the copious enumeration of the various persons and possessions carried with them by the sons of Jacob having a general resemblance to the forms in which the like migrations are described through the book generally, which are all given to the Elohist as his notices of these migrations, on the ground of their general similarity. They will be more closely compared hereafter, when we examine the summary view which the Bishop has given of the characteristic peculiarities of the different authors.

§ 8. CH. XLVI. 8-XLVII. 11. THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL WHO CAME INTO EGYPT, AND THEIR SETTLEMENT THERE. NO NAME OF GOD.

A NEW section evidently begins here, with the enumeration of the Children of Israel, a family designation which in this case includes Jacob himself, who came into Egypt. Some give this to the later Elohist, with an interpolation in v. 12 by the compiler, while the Bishop of Natal assigns it to the original Elohist, giving the interpolation in v. 12 to the Jehovist, as also a part of 20 and 26. The interpolation in v. 12, attributed by one party to the compiler, by the other to the Jehovist, is the notice that "Er and Onan died in the land of Canaan, and the sons of Pharez were Hezron and Hamul." That these could not have come into Egypt, but must have been born in Egypt, seems

a necessary consequence of the chronology of the book as it exists, and has caused great difficulty. But whatever its weight may be, the difficulty is made still greater by the gratuitous assumption, that the first or second Elohist had originally represented Er and Onan as having gone down into Egypt, the mention of their death in the land of Canaan, and the enumeration in their place of Hezron and Hamul, being regarded as an interpolation. But the Jehovist having written ch. xxxviii., or a compiler having it before him, and having placed it in its present position plainly on chronological grounds, would have known just as well that he was creating a new difficulty, as that he was correcting an old one. That the Elohistic writer did not know of the death of Er and Onan in the land of Canaan is a gratuitous assumption. The difficulty itself, as the account now stands, is something of the same kind as that of enumerating Benjamin amongst the sons of Jacob that were born to him in Padan-Aram. Hezron and Hamul, though born afterwards, came to take the place, for genealogical purposes, of Er and Onan, in this list, just as Ephraim and Manasseh came by Jacob's adoption to enjoy the same rank. Some at any rate of the sons of Benjamin, and certainly two, who were only his grandsons according to Numb. xxvi. 40, must likewise have been born in Egypt. The additions which appear in the LXX. are not reckoned amongst those that came into Egypt, but they tend to raise a suspicion that this enumeration, even in the Hebrew text, may have had additions made to it in after times, and that the whole may have been regarded as not belonging to the original narrative at all. The grammatical connexion of v. 28 with r. 7 would certainly be better than either the present connexion with 27, or its connexion with the previous Jehovistic sentence, in v. 5.

After the enumeration of those that came into Egypt, the Jehovist is made by all to resume the narrative, and carries it on to the close of the section, only that the Bishop thinks the passage xlvii. 7-11 to be a fragment of the original Elohistic

narrative. This is grounded on the absence of any mention of the bringing up of Jacob from Goshen to where Pharaoh held his court, which, if all were by the same hand, we should expect to have been told us. The Bishop also suggests, after Boehmer, the improbability that the same writer, having said that Pharaoh had commanded to settle Joseph's family in the land of Goshen, should so soon after say that he settled them in the land of Rameses. But he admits that the two designations must have been in some sense equivalent. One name was doubtless more definite than the other; the command was to give a settlement in the land of Goshen, and this was carried into effect by placing them at Rameses in that land. A compiler or subsequent writer would have avoided this disagreement in these names.

\S 9. Ch. xlvii. 12–26. THE PROGRESS OF THE FAMINE. NO MENTION OF GOD.

THE narrative having brought Jacob and his family to a final settlement in the land of Egypt, now returns in a new section to the history of the famine. It reverts to the promise of Joseph in xlv. 10, 11, that if they would come down with their children and all that they had, he would nourish them during the continuance of the famine. This we are now told he did. His father's household had bread, but there was no bread in all the land of Egypt. At last the people sell their land to Pharaoh, and a new system of the tenure of land is introduced by Joseph. This is all assigned by the Bishop and others to the Jehovist. But the Bishop remarks in reference to Boehmer's assignment of it to the compiler, that he does this on the external ground, that by reference to Herodotus it would appear that the passage could not have been written at so early an age as that of the Elohist or Jehovist; which reason the Bishop, suspecting the accuracy of everything but his own theory, says "assumes that the accounts here given are accurate and true accounts of Egyptian matters, which is by no means certain." Now, whatever may be thought of the chronological argument, the correctness of the narrative, as regards the tenure of land, is fully borne out by the reference to Herodotus ii. 109. Though this system of land tenure is said by Herodotus to have been established by Sesostris, yet Sesostris is too mythical a personage, too much in the nature of a general receiver of the credit of important transactions of unknown dates and performers, to warrant any argument founded on the supposed time of his reign and exploits. On this subject a reference may be made to Hengstenberg's, Die Bücher Mose's und Aegypten, p. 60ff.

§ 10. Ch. XLVII. 27—XLIX. JACOB IS SICK, BLESSES JOSEPH'S SONS AND HIS OWN, AND DIES. ELOHISTIC WITH JEHOVAH ONCE.

The new section commencing here repeats as usual that Israel dwelt in the land of Egypt, in the country of Goshen, and adds that they grew and multiplied and had possessions, Israel being used as the family name in this verse. It next mentions that Jacob lived (not dwelt as before) seventeen years in Egypt, and was one hundred and forty and seven years of age when the time of his death arrived. He sends for Joseph, and makes him swear that he will not bury him in Egypt, but will carry him to the burying place of his fathers. The Bishop gives the latter part of 27 and v. 28, and others the entire of both verses, to the Elohist, as eking out with the customary formula of the growth of the family, and the age of the head of it, the brief abstract to which that supposed writer's narrative has now dwindled. The remaining two verses of xlvii. the Bishop gives to the Jehovist, and others to the compiler, whose interference there was nothing here to suggest.

In xlviii. 1 we are told that Joseph being informed that Jacob was sick took his two sons, and went with them to see his father. This circumstance, as related in the two first verses, is attributed to the junior Elohist by some. It appears by the introductory clause, "It came to pass after these things," to have been subsequent to the particulars mentioned in the concluding verses of the last chapter, which are ascribed to the

Jehovist.¹ The theory, however, makes these verses the commencement of the junior Elohist's account of the same final interview between Jacob and Joseph which the Jehovist had just before mentioned, and these commencing words of the chapter, indicative of subsequence, instead of being regarded as an evidence against the theory, are pronounced to be the Redactor's interpolation, added by him in order to convert the one transaction as described by different authors, into two as if related by one. Having noticed how this difficulty, which offers itself to the theory at the very outset, is thus quietly set aside, we will take separately the particulars assigned to each of the three writers, who are supposed to describe the final interview between Jacob and Joseph.

1. In ch. xlvii. 27, 28, the Elohist is represented as mentioning that the family of Jacob had possessions in Egypt and multiplied therein, and as setting forth the number of years which Jacob lived in Egypt, together with his entire age. The next passage ascribed to him is 3-7 of the present chapter, in which, without any reference to the time, place, or circumstances, as the passage is separated from its context, Jacob is said to have told Joseph of God's appearance to him at Luz, to have adopted Joseph's sons as his own, and to have related the death and burial of Rachel. As in this passage the name by which God is said to have appeared to Jacob is El-Shaddai, the reference is of course to the appearance of God to Jacob at Bethel on his return from Padan-Aram, as related in xxxvi. 9-15, rather than to that which took place when he was going thither. Hence as xxxv. 9-15 was ascribed to the Elohist, this is also attributed to him, the verbal peculiarities being borrowed from that passage, as in it they were adopted from ch. xvii. This manifest adoption renders the present passage unavailing as an independent evidence of the Elohist's style. That they were by the same author it does not concern us to

¹ The Bishop of Natal, however, gives these two first verses to the Jehovist, as his connecting link for introducing the Elohistic verses next following 3-7. The Jehovist with the Bishop acts the part of the compiler.

deny. But it is to be remembered that, according to this partition, the Elohist, as far as his story has yet reached, has no mention of the names of the sons of Jacob, nor of his wives' names.1 Yet here are Joseph, Reuben, Simeon, and Rachel, spoken of as well-known persons. Now, however the Elohist himself may have known these names, it is not likely that he would have thus incidentally introduced them into his narrative in a way that implies a previous mention of them, no such mention having been made. The force of this objection is sought to be weakened by making the comparison with Reuben and Simeon to be an interpolation. It was not so easy to get rid of Joseph's name, as the adoption of his sons Ephraim and Manasseh rendered its presence here unavoidable; and there was no way of disposing of the reference to the death and burial of Rachel, except by leaving it in connexion with the preceding verses. Besides it was necessary, if possible, to confine the use of the name Padan here found to the Elohist. A better reason, however, for connecting this latter verse with those preceding it will presently be noticed. As the Bishop of Natal makes the Elohist to mention the particulars here noted, he gains but little by making the clause, "as Reuben and Simeon they shall be mine," an interpolation.

With this passage of ch. xlviii. is connected another, also by the Elohist, in xlix., namely from v. 29 to the end. In this Jacob charges his sons to bury him in the cave of Machpelah, where, he says, they buried Abraham and Sarah, and Isaac and Rebekah, and he buried Leah. One reason for giving this to the Elohist is of course that the purchase of the cave by Abraham having been originally related by the Elohist, as the theory assumes, every subsequent mention of it is also ascribed to him,

¹ The Bishop of Natal thus quotes and comments on Boehmer: "We cannot possibly think of E for these verses, since he has nowhere named the sons of Jacob, not even Joseph, much less his grandsons—[yes he has in xlvi. 8-27, and expressly Manasseh and Ephraim, v. 20]—and thus v. 3, 4, which most strongly remind us of him, would have no hold in his narrative. We must therefore have recourse to the compiler's reminiscences of the Elohistic formulæ." But the Bishop should remember that Boehmer gives the passage to which he refers to the second Elohist.

there being one further reference to it, which winds up "the book of Genesis by the Elohist," namely l. 12, 13. The purchase of that burying place is described at full length in ch. xxiii. The very next passage ascribed to the Elohist is xxv. 7-11. where the burial of Abraham is related, and the cave and field are described in words borrowed from that account in xxiii.; as much as would make if put together a chapter, such as many in this book, then intervenes, and the burying place is again described in the same familiar words at the close of xlix.; and this description is immediately repeated in the very next passage ascribed to the Elohist, l. 12, 3. These repetitions are not so remarkable in the existing history, where they are all separated by considerable intervals; but in the brief narrative of the Elohist, as picked out of matter with which it is supposed to have been combined, such a frequent repetition, with such brief intervals, or rather, except in one case, in the closest proximity, seems almost absurd, and may be regarded as an evidence against the theory which supposes such unmeaning babbling in so otherwise concise a narrative.

If no reason for the reference to the death and burial of Rachel, as it stands in its present connexion in ch. xlviii., could be assigned, then it might be thought that it was originally mentioned with immediate reference to the charge of Jacob respecting his own burial where his father and Leah were buried, as following it in the Elohist's narrative in xlix. 29-31, and thus the connexion of these passages might gain some support. But the mention of Rachel's death, with which her burial is associated in the tender recollections of the Patriarch, is to be accounted for sufficiently, as the narrative now stands. Jacob had several sons by Leah; he had only two by Rachel, all possibility of a greater number having been precluded by her death at the birth of Benjamin. In respect to her memory, and in some measure to increase the number of her sons in the reckoning of the tribes, he adopts Joseph's two sons as his own, and takes them into the same rank as the two eldest of Leah's

sons. Having done this, he immediately assigns as a reason the early death of Rachel: "And I,-in my coming from Padan, Rachel died by me." The cause of her death he does not mention, but it was what gave significance to the reference to it in the present connexion. She had died in childbirth, and thus proved that had she survived she might have had other sons. This being rendered impossible by her death, the sons of Joseph are adopted as if they had been her immediate offspring, and not merely her grandsons. The connecting conjunction is 1, but this in many instances has the force of for. Gen. xx. 3, 1 Sam. xv. 6, Job xxiii. 16, Is. iii. 7 and xxxix. 1, are all clear instances. In fact, this conjunction expresses the connexion of ideas in general, the particular nature of the connexion being determined by circumstances. The grammatical connexion of the words in the present passage being disturbed, the conjunction may, however, be taken as a simple copulative, and an ellipsis of words expressing the causal connexion may be supposed: "And I do this, because Rachel died as I came from Padan." The painfulness of the recollection may be expressed by the broken construction. This reference to the death of Rachel connects the present passage with the account of that event in ch. xxxv., which, though there, as here, it immediately follows the appearance of God to Jacob at Bethel, is assigned to a different writer. This reason for introducing the mention of Rachel's death in the present passage is sufficient without any relation to the subsequent charge of Jacob to his sons in general respecting his burial, supposed to follow it in the Elohist's narrative. To make the charge to follow thus, violence has to be done to the existing text in xlix. 29, "and he charged them." This pronoun connecting the passage with the mention of all the sons of Jacob in the preceding part of that chapter, is incompatible with the connexion of the passage with xlviii. 3-7, in which there is no mention of any of the sons of Jacob as present but Joseph. Hence it is alleged that the original reading of the Elohist was "his sons," and that the Redactor in disconnecting

the passage from its original context, and placing it where it now stands, changed these words into the pronoun them. There would have been no need of his doing so, as the other words, "his sons," would have answered the purpose well enough. Rather there would have been a reason against the change; for the verse immediately preceding does not mention the sons, but the twelve tribes of Israel. The Redactor would therefore most probably, indeed one might say certainly, have left the text as it was. In the last verse of ch. xlix., the clause, "he gathered up his feet into the bed," is by some supposed to be interpolated from the second Elohist. The reason for this is that xlviii. 2, in which it is said that Jacob strengthened himself and sat upon the bed, being given to the junior Elohist, this clause must go with it. On the supposition of the present united text being the original, the clause comes in just as naturally and properly here, having still reference to xlviii. 2, and there is no reason for its removal, except that it would be out of place in the Elohist's separated narrative.

2. The account of the last scene of Jacob's life, as attributed to the junior Elohist, may now be considered. In xlviii. 1, 2, Joseph is told of his father's sickness, and takes his two sons to see him. Jacob is informed of the visit, and he strengthens himself and sits on the bed. Then in v. 10, first clause, this writer adds that "the eyes of Israel were dim for age, he could not see." In 14, 15, Joseph brings his sons to Jacob, Ephraim towards his left hand and Manasseh towards his right, while Israel, guiding his hands wittingly, lays the right hand on Ephraim, the youngest, and the left on Manasseh, the eldest. No remonstrance against this appears in the junior Elohist's narrative, which next mentions, in v. 20, that Israel blessed them in that day saying, "In thee shall Israel bless, saying, God make thee as Ephraim and as Manasseh;" and that he set Ephraim before Manasseh. After this follows the clause just remarked on, in xlix. 33, stating "that he gathered up his feet into the bed." No mention is given to this writer of Jacob's

death, but immediately on the gathering up of Jacob's feet there follows, in 1. 22, the clause, "And Joseph dwelt in Egypt, and his father's house." Thus baldly closes the junior Elohist's story. Its very baldness proves that it was never written in this form, and there is not the shadow of a pretext for supposing that it ever existed in any other form. It contains no particulars that, being repeated, might be supposed to indicate the blending of several accounts. For though the crossing of Jacob's hands in blessing the sons of Joseph, as told in 13 and 14, is again referred to in v. 17, yet in this latter there is no direct mention of the act, but a reference to it as having been previously done and observed by Joseph. This is not the repetition of a different narrative, but the natural reference of the same history to what had been previously mentioned. The blessing of the sons of Joseph in r. 20 is not a repetition of that contained in 16, which is ascribed to the Jehovist. This is a prayer for the Divine blessing on the lads, the other a prediction that that blessing should be so effectual, that the best wish any one could express for another was, that God would make him as Ephraim and Manasseh. There is not one particular in the portions assigned to this writer, that might not most naturally have co-existed in one original narrative with all that is assigned to the other supposed authors of the alleged compilation.

3. The Jehovist's narrative, which in the Bishop of Natal's arrangement includes all that is given by others to the second Elohist, now remains to be considered. The concluding part of ch. xlvii., ascribed to the Jehovist, had represented Jacob, as the time of his death was drawing near, to have sent for Joseph and made him swear not to bury him in Egypt, but with his fathers. The existing narrative treats this as prior to the final interview, and it has been seen how the evidence of its priority has been got rid of by assuming that the Redactor interpolated the commencing words of ch. xlviii. To the concluding verses of the preceding chapter the Jehovist now adds, in v. 8, that Israel beheld Joseph's sons and asked, "Who are these?" Their

presence with Joseph is accounted for in the history as it stands by the statement in v. 1, that Joseph had brought them with him. But in the separated Jehovist's account, there is no mention of the lads having come with their father, but quite abruptly Israel asks who they were, as being present. This is not a mode of narration natural to a Hebrew writer. The Hebrew historians seldom leave anything to be inferred from subsequent allusions, but generally tell all that is needed directly and minutely. the enquiry who they were, Joseph replies in v. 9, and Jacob bids him bring the lads near and he will bless them. The benediction of the lads occupies so important a place in the narrative, that it is still more improbable that their presence should be left to inference and not directly mentioned. The dimness of Jacob's eyes being omitted, as part of the junior Elohist's story, the Jehovist proceeds in the latter part of v. 10 to say that Joseph brought them near, and that Israel embraced them. In v. 12 he says that he had not thought to have seen Joseph's face, but that God had showed him also his seed; and then the clause, "and Joseph brought them out from between his knees," being ascribed to the Redactor, it is added in the Jehovist's words, "and he bowed himself with his face to the earth." The reason for calling in the aid of the Redactor to remove from the Jehovist's narrative, as his interpolation, the withdrawing the lads from between the knees of Israel is plain. It was the junior Elohist who, as is alleged, had told that Israel had strengthened himself and sat upon the bed. It was only by his having assumed this sitting posture, that the lads could have been between his knees when he embraced them. Hence to have made the Jehovist represent them in this position would have been absurd, and the Redactor is therefore supposed to have put in this particular. It may safely be asserted he never did so. The clause as it now stands indicates an original writer who had pictured to his mind the entire scene, as represented in the existing united history, in the vivid and dramatic form in which it is presented to us. The circumstance in question was not

needed to the completeness of the history, but greatly adds to its life and reality. Perhaps there is not in the whole book a particular, not of importance to the history, thus incidentally mentioned, that renders the whole story more natural and consistent. As an original writer would describe the picture he had before his mind, this particular might have come spontaneously and almost unconsciously. A mere compiler putting together with a certain slavish ingenuity the disjecta membra, into which he had resolved the materials that came to his hand for the purpose of combining them into one narrative, would never have dreamt of introducing a circumstance that there was no occasion for mentioning, and which the mechanical operation in which he was engaged would be far enough from suggesting to his mind. The conception of supplying this particular, for the sake of giving a touch of reality to a story which did not require it, would imply a flash of genius not to be thought of in one engaged in such peddling work.

The Jehovist having, however, represented Joseph as bowing to the ground before his father, then relates in v. 15 and 16, without any previous mention of the laying on of Jacob's hands, how he blessed Joseph, and implored the Divine benediction on the lads. After this he says that Joseph saw that his father laid his right hand on Ephraim's head, and was displeased and tried to correct the mistake, as he thought it, but that his father refused and confirmed what he had already done. The junior Elohist's mention of the blessing in v. 20 being passed over, Israel tells Joseph that he is dying, and says that God will bring him and his brethren to the land of his fathers, and so he gives him a portion above his brethren, which he had taken from the Amorite with his sword and with his bow. He then summons the rest of his sons, and pronounces on them the prophetic sentences recorded in ch. xlix. 1-28, the Redactor getting credit for the last clause of v. 28, "and he blessed them, each according to his blessing, he blessed them." But as some of the oracles pronounced by Jacob were not properly blessings at all,

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it seems strange that the Redactor, not finding the word applied to these oracles in general, should have gratuitously incumbered the narrative with the difficulty of a word which could not be applied to them all in its proper acceptation.

As the Bishop of Natal unites the Johovistic and second Elohist accounts into one, and makes his Jehovist the compiler, of course the preceding remarks are in many particulars inapplicable to his simpler partition. The reasons, however, on which these critics proceed not being sufficient to produce unanimity amongst themselves, they have the less claim to disturb the traditional belief of the unity of the history as it exists.

§ 11. CH. L. JACOB'S FUNERAL. JOSEPH'S SUBSEQUENT LIFE AND DEATH. ELOHISTIC.

THE Bishop of Natal gives all this chapter to the Jehovist, with the exception of v. 13, which, containing the oft-repeated description of the cave of Machpelah, and its purchase from Ephron, is as usual ascribed to the Elohist. We have already noticed the improbability of this being so frequently repeated in such close proximity in the Elohistic narrative as separated from the rest. Our present concern, however, is with the more minute subdivision of other critics. The final address of Jacob to his sons having been set out at length, the Jehovist is made, like the junior Elohist, to pass over the death of Jacob without any direct mention of it; but in l. 15 he tells us that Joseph's brethren saw that their father was dead, and expressed their apprehensions that Joseph would requite the evil they had done him. There being but one direct statement of Jacob's death, namely in xlix. 33, and that being assigned to the Elohist, the far more copious narrative assigned to the Jehovist is thus left with only an indirect mention of this important event. The account of the funeral in ch. l. precedes even that mention of Jacob's death, and cannot therefore be attributed to the Jehovist. It would be equally unfit to give it to the junior Elohist, who has no mention of the death at all; and it would be entirely

out of place, with its long and minute particularity, in the very brief narrative ascribed to the original Elohist. The two concluding verses, 12, 13, with which this account of the funeral winds up, recapitulating that his sons did as he commanded them, and buried him in the cave of the field of Machpelah, is as much as could, with any regard to proportion, be given to the Elohist. There is nothing for it, therefore, but to make the Redactor the author of this account of the funeral. If the Jehovist's narrative would have admitted it, it would doubtless have been given to him, as it contains a reference in v. 5 to the oath which Jacob exacted of Joseph that he would bury him with his fathers, as related in xlviii. 29-31, in a passage ascribed to the Jehovist. This reference, and the fitness of this account of the funeral as a part of the present history, besides the improbability that a mere compiler would have introduced so lengthened a passage without necessity, tend strongly to prove the original unity of the narrative as it now exists.1 The

The funeral halted at "the threshing floor of Atad, which is beyond Jordan." The question has been raised, on which side of Jordan it was? If on the eastern side, then the writer, it would be thought, must have been in the land of Canaan, and not himself at the eastern side. Jerome says it was between the river and Jericho. The word \(\frac{\text{SUZ}}{2}\), however, is ambiguous, and is used to denote a place on the same side as the writer, as well as on the other side, as in 1 Kings iv. 24. A more important question is, what took them near the river at all? It cannot be believed that it was intended by the writer to imply that a funeral cortege, setting out from Goshen, with a large body of people, should have taken the enormous and circuitous route which would have brought them to the east of Jordan, as when the Israelites entered the land of Canaan. The direct route through Beersheba would also have brought them to Mamre, without going to the river. The compiler was not likely to have made such a mistake any more than any of the supposed earlier writers. Perhaps this is to be accounted for by the fact that the funeral was conducted with all the solemnities customary in the more important Egyptian funerals. The earrying of the body across a lake or river was a principal feature in the ceremonial, and in order to omit no important rite they may have gone to the Jordan. Hengstenberg thinks that the expression, "beyond Jordan," had obtained a general prevalence from its use in the land of Canaan, and that it would be employed even by a person writing or speaking on the eastern as well as the western side. This is quite possible, but his way of accounting for the circuitous route which he supposes the funeral cortege to have taken in order to arrive at the eastern side of the river, namely that it was on account of the military escort that the way of the wildenness was chosen, and that for the same reason the Egyptains did not enter the land of Canaan, only the peaceful part of the procession, Jacob's sons and

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Jehovist's story-which, after overleaping the funeral, with which v. 14 is of course connected, mentioned the fears entertained by Joseph's brethren after their father's death—extends to the end of v. 21; and in the latter part of 22 and 23 tells the age to which Joseph's life extended, and how he saw Ephraim's children of the third generation, while the children of Machir, the son of Manasseh, were also brought up on his knees. There only remains the concluding statement, that Joseph told his brethren he was dying, and that God would visit them and bring them back to the promised land, that he exacted an oath of them that they would carry up his bones with them, and that he died an hundred and ten years old, was embalmed, and put in a coffin in Egypt. These concluding verses, 24-26, are also given to the Redactor. If the embalming of Jacob was not mentioned by any of the original writers, it might be thought improbable that any of them should record that Joseph was embalmed, and accordingly the last verse goes to the Redactor, with the earlier part of the chapter. Nothing in these verses is, however, out of place as an integral part of the history as it now exists. On the other hand, after the book has been resolved into its supposed elements, and each writer has had his own share assigned to himself, there still remains a considerable amount of matter, which there is no way to dispose of, except by making the compiler, in addition to his proper work as such, assume also the office of an original narrator. But if he was disposed to write thus on his own account, it is not likely that he would have taken the trouble to interweave short sentences, and even separate phrases from several not very consistent authors, into a connected whole, instead of taking one as his basis, and incorporating the supplementary matter from time to time in its proper place in his own words.1

4.

¹ The reader may see in the Table of Contents the sections and subdivisions into which the book is resolved in this work, set out in a tabular form, so as to have a connected view of the whole.

** Distinguishing peculiarities of the Elohist and Jehovist.

Many of the peculiarities of diction, relied on as distinctive of the supposed authors of the book of Genesis, have been considered in the course of the preceding examination. In the last part of his work the Bishop of Natal has collected together all these peculiarities, and the summary view which he has given of them, with all the references and the numbers of instances in which each occurs, no doubt makes a very imposing array, such as on a hurried glance, which is all that the general reader would perhaps think of giving to these lists of verbal peculiarities, would seem to go far in support of the views of the Bishop and the other critics of the same school.

A careful examination, however, of those lists of the more salient points which the Bishop presents in chapters iii. iv. of that volume will tend greatly to moderate the effect which this formidable array is apt at first sight to produce. Many of the points relied on vanish entirely as characteristic marks, and many which appear very numerous in the gross reckoning, when reduced to their net amount, are too few to sustain the weight laid upon them. In order to do justice to this part of the subject, it will be necessary first to enter into a detailed examination of the examples exhibiting the more salient points of the supposed Elohist's style and manner, and then to turn our attention to the Jehovistic peculiarities. The proceeding will be dry and tedious, but it is unavoidable.

In making this examination we shall have occasion frequently to refer to the two following propositions, which are of great moment in forming a just estimate of the value of the instances of characteristic style adduced. These propositions are so self-evident that it will suffice to state them. They will be cited as we proceed by the letters A and B.

A. Instances of any usage, which, having been once adopted in a particular place, continue as a matter of course to be used

several times in the same connexion, are only equivalent to a single instance. This may be exemplified by the expression, "walked with God," in vi. 22 and repeated in v. 24.

B. Instances of usage, which are plainly copied or adopted from an earlier occurrence of the same, add no weight to the earlier instance as indications of a distinctive character, and must be discharged from consideration altogether.

N.B. The formulæ to which an asterisk is prefixed, do not occur at all in the non-Elohistic parts here denoted by X. The Elohistic parts are denoted by E.

" * (r.) 'After his (their) kind,' i. 11, 12, 12, 21, 21, 24, 24, 24, 25, 25, 25; vi. 20, 20; vii. 14, 14, 14, 14."

But the instances from i. are only = 1 by A; those from vi. and vii. are taken from i., and therefore = 0 by B. All are therefore only equivalent to one instance instead of seventeen.

" * (וו.) יְּשֶׁרֶץ', 'swarm,' יְּשֶׁרֶץ', 'swarming things,' 1 i. 20, 20, 21; vii. 21, 21; viii. 17; ix. 7."

But the instances in i. are only = 1 by A, those in vii. and viii. are taken from i. $\therefore = 0$ by B, and that in ix. 7 = 1. All therefore are only equal to two instances instead of seven.

" * (אוו.) פַּרָה וְּרָבָּה, 'fructify and multiply,' i. 22, 28; viii. 17; ix. 1, 7; xvii. (2+6), 20; xxviii. 3; xxxv. 11; xlvii. 27; xlviii. 4."²

But the instances in i. are only = 1 by Λ , those in viii. and ix. being taken from i. = 0 by B, xvii. (2+6), 20 only = 1 by Λ , xxxv. 11 and xlviii. 4 are carried on from xvii. and \therefore = 0 by B, and xlvii. 27 = 1. All therefore make but three independent instances instead of eleven.

"(IV.) 'These are the generations of the heaven and earth,' ii. 4," etc.

It has been shown that these clauses are no indications of style, but the formal titles of the principal sections. The first, ii. 4, has been shown to belong to the Jehovistic passage follow-

¹ Thus the Bishop translates; but we have seen, p. 80, that this is incorrect.

² The comparison with "be mighty and multiply" in vii. 18, used of the waters of the deluge, is wholly irrelevant, though recommended by the Bishop.

ing it. The Bishop admits x. 1 to be Jehovistic, and xxxvii. 2 is prefixed to a Jehovistic section by the Bishop's admission; to call it Elohistic is quite an arbitrary assumption.

"* (v.) הוֹלְיק, 'beget,' v. 3, 4, etc., twenty-eight times; vi. 10; xi. 10, 11, etc. twenty-nine times; xvii. 20; xxv. 19; xlviii. 6."

But the instances from v. are only = 1 by A, and those from xi. also only = 1 by A, and four other references = 1 each. All are therefore only equivalent to six instead of sixty-one instances.

"X. has the *Hophal* form of this verb once, xl. 20; but in the formula where E has קליד, X employs always לבי, iv. 18, 18, 18; vi. 4; x. 8, 13, 15, 24, 24, 26; xxii. 23; xxv. 3, which E never uses in the sense 'beget.'"

But the instances in iv. and x. are only = 1 each by A, and these with the other three will make only five in all, instead of twelve instances.¹

"* (vi.) ያኒሳ 'hundred,' v. 3, 6, 18, 25, 28; vii. 24; viii. 3; xi. 10, 25; xxi. 5; xxv. 7, 17; xxxv. 28; xlvii. 9, 28.

But here the instances in v. are only = 1 by A, those in vii. and viii., the latter following the former, only=1 by B, and those in xi. = 1 by A. The number of instances is thus reduced from fifteen to ten.

፡ "X uses ፫ኛዶ always, vi. 3; xxvi. 12; xxxiii. 19; l. 22, 26, which E. has also xvii. 17, xxiii. 1."

In the case of vi. 3, the writer, having accidentally placed the hundred before the lesser number twenty, could not have used the stat. constr., meath. The same remark applies to 1. 22, 26, so that we have only two instances of the alleged Jehovistic usage that can be relied on. Had there been occasion of mentioning this number more frequently, it is possible that the Jehovistic passages might also have presented the word in the stat. constr. The cases in which the number is mentioned in the entire of the non-Elohistic part, seven-ninths of the whole book, are too scanty to found any induction on them.

¹ It has already been shown that these two forms of the verb are not in all cases interchangeable.

"* (vii.) 'in (after) his (their) generations (דֹרֹת),' vi. 9; xvii. 7, 9, 12."

The instances in xvii. are only = 1 by B, and the two examples which we thus have left are too few to establish a distinguishing characteristic. Moreover the word is used in quite different senses in the two chapters. In ch. vi. 9, "Noah was perfect in his generations," the word denotes the generations with which he was contemporary, amongst all which wicked successions through so long a life he maintained his uprightness. This use is paralleled presently after in the Jehovistic vii. 1, "I have seen thee righteous in this generation," -the only one of this existing generation. And thus this instance rather tends to identify than to differentiate these writings in regard to their origin. In ch. xvii. the word is used of the successive generations of Abraham's descendants. God's covenant was to be not only with himself, but with his seed after him in their successive generations, and every one in these successive generations must be circumcised. The word "after" introduced by the Bishop as a substitute for "in" would make nonsense of the expression in these places.

"* (viii.) 'all ffesh' vi. 12, 13, 17, 19; vii. 15, 16, 21; viii. 17; ix. 11, 15, 15, 16, 17."

All these thirteen instances following in succession from the first are by B only equal to one.

" (וx.) אָלֵי, 'I,' vi. 17; ix. 9, 12; xvii. 1; xxxv. 11; xlviii. 7; xlix. 29. Exod. vi. 2, 5, 7, in preference to אָלָי, 'I,' which E uses only once, xxiii. 4."

"X uses the latter fifty-four, and the former thirty times."

But from all these latter we must first reject the instances which are not assigned to the Jehovist proper. These are, for anochi, xv. 1, 2, 14; xx. 6, 6; and for ani, xli. 9, 11, 15, 44.

Then as regards anochi, xvi. 5, 8 = 1 by A; so also xxi. 24, 26; xxiv. 3, 13, 24, 27, 31, 34, 37, 42, 43, are, each set, = 1 by A; xxv. 30, 32; xxvi. 24, 24; xxvii. 11, 19, Jacob saying anochi while the other speakers say ani; xxviii. 15, 16, 20; xxx. 1, 2, 3; xxxi. 5, 13, 38, 39, Jacob's words, Laban using

¹ Thus pointed by the Bishop, and written anochi, apparently all through, as noticed by Dr. Kay, Cris. Hupf. p. 36.

ani; xxxviii. 17, 25; xlvi. 3, 4, 4; and l. 21, 24, are by A only = 1 each set, making altogether but 12; while the remainder are but 13, thus in all giving twenty-five instances instead of fifty-four.

Then for ani we have xxvii. 8, 24, 32, 34, 38; xxxi. 44, 52; xxxiv. 30, 30; xxxvii. 30, 30; xlii. 18, 37; xlv. 3, 4 = 1each by A; and these are together six, the remainder being ten, in all fifteen. In ch. xviii. Jehovah uses ani, and Abraham anochi; in xxvii. Jacob uses anochi, and other speakers ani; and in xxxi. Jacob also uses anochi while Laban says ani. If this was designed on dramatic grounds, we should deduct these three instances from each, making the total for comparison to be twenty-two instances of anochi and twelve of ani. The proportions in either case are not materially altered from those which the Bishop arrives at, but the weight of the entire is considerably reduced as forming a distinguishing characteristic of the Jehovistic writer. The Elohistic instances of ani are equivalent to seven, and there is an instance of anochi. If we add these to the numbers ascertained above, and for the rejected passages, xv. 1, 2, 14, and xx. 6, 6, one each of anochi; and for xli. 9, 11, 15 one, and v. 44 one, of ani, we shall then get for the entire book twenty-eight of anochi, and twenty-four of ani or thereabout. Hence we see that, on the supposition of a single author, he was quite indifferent as to the use of either form, and the seeming disproportion may be entirely due to an unnatural partition of a single work.

"* (x.) לָּוַעָּ , 'expire,' vi. 17; vii. 21; xxv. 8, 17; xxxv. 29; xlix. 33."

In vi. 17 this word, signifying "to breathe out," seems to have been suggested by the mention of every creature in which was the breath of life. In vii. 21 it follows vi. 17, and adds nothing as an example. In the other four instances it is used in reference to the death of Abraham, and his sons, Ishmael, Isaac, and of Jacob. Thus the mention of the death of these four is made more formal and deferential by the addition of this

word to some other word denoting their decease. It seems therefore in all cases due to a special reason for its use.

"* (xī.) 'with (乃致) thee,' 'with them,' etc., used as a kind of expletive, vi. 18, 19; vii. 7, 13, 23; viii. 1, 16, 17, 17, 18; ix. 8, 10, 10; xi. 31; xvii. 27; xxi. 2; xxviii. 4; xlvi. 6, 7, 7."

In vi. 18 we have first, "with thee will I establish my covenant," and the like phrase in ix. 8. Neither of these use the expression as an expletive, but as a needful part of the sentence. In the second instance of its occurrence in vi. 18 it can scarcely be called an expletive, as the verb is in the second person singular agreeing with "thou," and the expression "with thee" supplies the place of the verb to the subsequent nouns. At any rate this, with the other instances in the history of the deluge, is due to the fulness and iteration with which every particular is gone over and over again, and every phrase repeated, as one of the special characteristics of that particular piece. In xi. 31, "they went with them," the expression is of quite a different kind, and is equivalent to our expression, "they went with themselves." The phrase is indeed expletive, but does not correspond to the preceding uses, or to any of the following. In xvii. 27 it is not expletive, but completes the statement the writer wanted to make; all the men of Abraham's house were not only circumcised, but were circumcised simultaneously with himself. In xxi. 2 it supplies a needful part of the intended meaning-Sarah bare Abraham a son at the time of which God had spoken to, or with him. Of course it might have been omitted, but its absence would have been elliptical, rather than its presence is expletive. In xxviii. 4 it is less necessary, as also in xlvi. 6, 7, 7, especially in v. 7. But, on the whole, as an expletive the expression is not used so decidedly, or so frequently, as to be a token of distinct authorship.

"* (xII.) 'thou and thy sons and thy wife and thy sons' wives with thee,' vi. 18."

Similar enumerations are in vii. 7, viii. 18, and with slight variation, vii. 13, and viii. 16. All these follow on vi. 18 by

the iteration usual in this narrative. They characterise that piece in particular, but do not occur in other parts sufficiently to differentiate the writer, the only other example being at the end of the book in xlvi. 6, 7, where we have a similar enumeration of Jacob's family. Of course no one doubts that these all proceeded from the same author.

"* (XIII.) 'give a covenant,' ix. 12; xvii. 2, 7, 19; 'establish a covenant,' vi. 18; ix. 9, 11, 17; xvii. 21; Ex. vi. 4."

"X has always 'cut a covenant,' xv. 18; xxi. 27, 32; xxvi. 28; xxxi. 44, which E never uses."

The difference of meaning and usage of these phrases has already been sufficiently discussed, p. 407-9 and 437.

"* (xiv.) 'my (his) covenant,' vi. 18; ix. 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17; xvii. 2, 4, 7, 9, 10, 13, 14, 19, 21; Ex. vi. 4, 5."

All the instances in ix. are only = 1 by A. They ought perhaps to be set down as of no weight at all, as they are plainly adopted from vi. 18. The instances in xvii. are also only = 1, and Ex. vi. 4, 5 refers plainly to xvii. and follows it. Two or three instances are the most; and but for the repetition, which gives a deceptive appearance of frequency, this expression would never have been thought of as a token of separate authorship.

"* (xv.) 'in the bone of this day' = on the self-same day, vii. 13; xvii. 23, 26."

The two instances in xvii. are only = 1 by A, and the latter, as has been shown, belonging to the prefatory matter prefixed to xviii., is in a Jehovistic connexion.

"* (xvi.) 'and Elohim remembered' Noah, viii. 1, Abraham, xix. 29, Rachel, xxx. 22."

Of these, that in xix. 29 has no reason to be given to the Elohist, except on the ground of a repetition which has been explained already. The other two instances are but a slight token of individuality. The remembrance of God's covenant referred to in ix. 15, 16 is too different in its import

to be classed with the former. That denotes a personal object of regard, the other respect to one's own engagement.

" " * (XVII.) 1. 'With you and your seed after you,' ix. 9.

2. 'Between thee and thy seed after thee,' xvii. 7.

3. 'To thee and to thy seed after thee,' xvii. 7, 8; xxxv. 12.

4. 'Thou and thy seed after thee,' xvii. 9.

5. 'Between you and thy seed after thee,' xvii. 10.

6. 'With him and his seed after him,' xvii. 19.

7. 'To thee and to thy seed with thee,' xxviii. 4.

8. 'Jacob and all his seed with him,' xlvi. 6."

"X has 'to thy seed' xii. 7; xv. 18; xxiv. 7; xxvi. 4; 'to thee and to thy seed for ever,' xiii. 15; 'to thee and to thy seed,' xxvi. 3; xxviii. 13; never 'to thy seed after thee,' or 'thy seed with thee.'"

But now, of the expressions ascribed above to the Elohist, those numbered 2-6 are all in xvii. and only = 1 by A. That numbered 3, as repeated in xxxv. 12, and 7 in xxviii. 4, being adopted from ch. xvii. go for nothing by B. There are therefore altogether but three instances, in ix. 9, in xvii. and in xlvi. 6, as independent examples, the last being really different from the others.

"(xviii.) 'everlasting generations,' ix. 12; 'everlasting covenant,' ix. 16; xvii. 7, 13, 19; 'everlasting possession,' xvii. 8; xlviii. 4."

"X has 'everlasting Elohim,' xxi. 33, 'everlasting mountains,' xlix. 26."

The three instances of "everlasting covenant" in xvii. are only = 1 by A, those of "everlasting possession" in xvii. 8, and xlviii. 4, are only equal 1 by B, the latter being derived from the former. Hence we have four examples of the word "everlasting," used in the Elohistic parts with three different substantives as the occasion offered. No one will think this a token of separate authorship.

"(xɪx.) ሂ଼ជុំ), 'soul' used for 'person,' xii. 5; xvii. 14; xxxvi. 6; xlvi. 15, 18, 22, 25, 26, 26, 27."

"X has this once, xiv. 21."

The first of the above instances is a case per se, and should be excluded from this enumeration. The word soul is in that place used in the singular as a collective term for human beings, in contrast with בוֹשׁ which stands for inanimate and brute

possessions. Its use there is exactly the same as in the Jehovistic xiv. 21 above referred to. There, too, the collective "soul" stands in contrast to the same word rechush for other property: "give me the soul, and take the goods to thyself." In xvii. 14, "soul" instead of "man" seems to be used with reference to the loss of life threatened to the uncircumcised person, "the uncircumcised man-child—that soul shall be cut off." In xxxvi. 6, "souls" is used in the plural as distinguished from cattle and other possessions, but may pass as an instance of the use it is adduced to exemplify, as may also the instances in xlvi., which are, however, only = 1, as in a recurring form, by A. It is thus that these proofs of a peculiar style for the most part melt away when a little sunshine is let in on them.

- "* (xx.) 'And Abram took,' etc., xii. 5.
 - 'And he led off,' etc., xxxi. 18.
 - 'And Esau took,' etc., xxxvi. 6.
 - 'And they took,' etc., xlvi. 6."

The Bishop compares these similar descriptions of the removal of their substance by Abram, Jacob, Esau, and Jacob and his sons. Their similarity is only in the fulness with which various particulars are enumerated, of which the Jehovistic parts also afford examples, and in the circumstance that they all refer to the same kind of transaction, the design being in all cases to express a complete removal of the entire substance. The differences, however, are so considerable, that had it suited the theory to give them to different writers, a good case of different phraseology might be made. The passages are subjoined, not in the words of the Bishop's translation, but so as to show exactly the phrases that are the same, and those that are different.

"And Abram took Sarai his wife, and Lot his brother's son, and all the getting which they had gotten, and the soul which they had made in Haran." xii. 5.

"And he led off all his gain, and all his getting which he had gotten, the gain of his gaining which he had gotten in Padan-Aram." xxxi. 18.

"And Esau took his wives, and his sons, and his daughters, and all the souls of his house, and his gain, and all his cattle, and all his gaining which he had gotten in the land of Canaan." xxxvi. 6.

"And they took their gain and their getting, which they had gotten in the land of Canaan." xlvi. 6.

"* (xxi.) 'And the land did not bear them to dwell together; for their gain was much, and they were not able to dwell together.' xiii. 6.

'For their gain was much above their dwelling together; and the land of their sojournings was not able to bear them because of their cattle.' xxxvi. 7."

A like circumstance is reported naturally with some similarity of statement, but at the same time with very considerable difference of expression. The resemblance would have been greater, if the Bishop had added to the former the mention of the strife between the herdmen of Abram's and of Lot's cattle, the word rendered cattle being the same in both. But this addition in xiii. is given to the Jehovist.

"* (xxii.) Appearance of God as 'El Shaddai to the Patriarchs,' xvii. 1; xxxv. 11; xlviii. 3; Ex. vi. 3."

The three last of these all follow from the first, which is said to have been an appearance of Jehovah, this name being therefore forcibly extruded from the text. In Ex. vi. 3 it is also Jehovah who says that he, Jehovah, had appeared to the Patriarchs "in El Shaddai."

"* (xxiii.) בְּמְאֵר מְאַר (exceedingly, xvii. 2, 6, 20." "X has אָסָאר מָאַר מָאַר (אַר 19, xxx. 43."

The examples in xvii. are only = 1 by A, and may be matched by the two from the remaining parts of the book. The use of the preposition prefixed in the single instance can scarcely be regarded as differentiating the authorship.

- "* (xxiv.) 'Thou shalt be a father of a multitude of nations,' xvii. 4.
 'A father of a multitude of nations will I give thee,' xvii. 5.
 - 'I will give thee for nations,' xvii. 6.
 - 'I will give him (Ishmael) for a great nation,' xvii. 20.
 - 'That thou mayest be for a company of peoples,' xxviii. 3.
 - 'A nation and a company of nations shall be out of thee,' xxxv. 11.
 - 'I will give thee for a company of peoples,' xlviii. 4."
- "N.B.—E speaks of many nations being formed from the descendants of Abraham,

and uses the formula 'give thee (him)' for a nation or nations, whereas X has the following formulæ, but never uses the expression 'give' in this connexion, nor the phrase 'company (multitude) of nations (peoples)':—

'I will make thee a great nation,' xii. 2.

'He shall surely be for a great and mighty nation,' xviii. 18.

'I will place him (Ishmael) for a nation,' xxi. 13. 'For a great nation will I place him,' xxi. 18.

'Two nations are in thy womb, and two folks shall be separated from thee,' xxv. 23.

'For a great nation will I place thee,' xlvi. 3.

'His (Ephraim's) seed shall be the fulness of nations,' xlviii. 19."

The Elohistic phrases are all traceable to ch. xvii., and spring from that one occasion being repeated or imitated in the subsequent places, as already noted several times. Of the non-Elohistic expressions, xxi. 18 is not given to the Jehovist at all; xxv. 23, in reference to the sons of Rebekah, could not speak of a multitude or company of nations, as only two were intended; and of Ephraim it was not intended to indicate the descent from him of several nations, or of even one as a distinct or separate nation, but only that his seed should be numerous enough to make nations.

"* (xxv.) 'Kings shall go forth out of thee,' xvii. 6.

'Kings of people shall be out of her,' xvii. 16.
'Kings shall go forth out of thy loins,' xxxv. 11.

'The souls that went forth out of Jacob's thigh,' xlvi. 26."

The three first of these, as already often said of the references to ch. xvii., or to places derived from it, are all resolvable into one. The last reference seems only added as a make-weight, because it has the expression, "went forth," the rest being all different.

"* (xxvi.) 'I will give thee, and to thy seed after thee, the land of thy sojournings, all the land of Canaan, for an everlasting possession,' xvii. 8."

In addition to this the Bishop quotes similar sentences from xxviii. 4, xxxv. 12, and Ex. vi. 4. But as these are all simply derived from the first, they add nothing to the Bishop's argument.

"* (xxvii.) 'land of thy (their, his father's) sojournings,' xvii. 8; xxvii. 4; xxxvi. 7; xxxvii. 1; Ex. vi. 4. Comp. 'days of the years of my sojournings,' xlvii. 9; 'days of their sojournings,' xlvii. 9."

The second of the above references is directly taken from the

first, and so is the last, Ex. vi. 4. No doubt the Patriarchs are represented as constantly keeping this phrase in mind, as did the author also.

"* (xxviii.) ልርኒቨ , 'possession,' xvii. 8; xxiii. 4, 9, 20; xxxvi. 43; xlvii. 11; xlviii. 4; xlix. 30; l. 13."

Of these references, xlviii. 4 follows xvii. 8, and $\therefore = 0$ by B; xlix. 30 and l. 13, follow ch. xxiii., being simply repeated from it, and $\therefore = 0$ by B; and the three instances in xxiii., being merely instances of the repetitions which, with legal precision, are made in that piece, are only = 1 by A. Hence the entire number is reduced to four. No doubt also the two instances in xxxvi. 43, and xlvii. 11, are due to a reference in the writer's mind to the promise in ch. xvii. In the former, by the separation of the first verse of the next chapter, the contrast is not noticed. Esau had possessions while yet Jacob lived in the land of his sojournings, notwithstanding the promise that it should be for a possession. And in xlvii. 11 he obtains a possession in Egypt, instead of as yet inheriting the promised possession in Canaan.

- "* (xxix.) 'The years of the life of Sarah,' xxiii. 1; 'Ishmael,' xxv. 17;' Comp. 'the days of the years of the life of Abraham,' xxv. 7.
 - 'The days of Isaac,' xxxv. 28.
 - 'The days of the years of thy (my) life,' xlvii. 9.
 - 'The days of the years of my sojournings,' xlvii. 9.
 - 'The days of the years of my father's life,' xlvii. 9.
 - 'The days of Jacob, of 1 the years of his life,' xlvii. 28."

There is here, however, great variation, notwithstanding the general resemblance. The phrases from xlvii. 9 are in fact only equivalent to one instance. That respecting Abraham agrees as regards the expression of time with these. But these with the others, and the others amongst themselves, vary still more.

"X has 'all the days of the life,' iii. 14, 17."

But this agrees as much with some of the others, as they do amongst themselves.

¹ The "of" has no business here; the clauses are in apposition. Its absence diminishes the similarity of this to the preceding reference.

"* (xxx.) E describes frequently, with almost legal precision, the cave of Machpelah, which is mentioned nowhere else in the Bible, xxiii. 17, 18, 19, 20; xxv. 9, 10; xlix. 29, 30, 32; l. 13."

There is no doubt that this cave and field were kept continually in view, as the only property in land acquired by Abraham in Canaan, but cherished as a pledge of its future possession. The chapter in which this purchase is recorded is very peculiar, and has, like many other passages in the book, a style of its own, which differs as much from that of the Elohistic, as of the Jehovistic parts of the book. Its ascription to the Elohist, so called, is quite arbitrary and to suit the ends of the theory.

"* (xxxi.) E mentions expressly the burial and burial place of Sarah, xxiii. 9; of Abraham, xxv. 9; of Isaac, xxxv. 29; of Rachel, xxxv. 19; xlviii. 7; of Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebekah, and Leah, xlix. 31; of Jacob, xlix. 29; l. 13."

But the verse containing Rachel's death and burial in xxxv. is picked out of an admitted Jehovistic context, merely that the Elohist should tell this fact; the others, as Elohistic tokens, depend on the Elohistic origin of xxiii. and the non-Jehovistic origin of xvii., both which are arbitary determinations, the first without the usual tokens that are alleged for the distinct Elohistic style, and the second by the violent rejection of Jehovah from the text.

"* (xxxII.) 'and Abraham (Ishmael, Isaac) expired and died, and was gathered unto his people,' xxv. 8, 17; xxxv. 29; Comp. 'I shall be gathered unto my people,' xlix. 29; 'and he expired and was gathered unto his people,' xlix. 33; also 'he shall be cut off from his people,' xvii. 14."

This last expression is quite different in its conception from that of being gathered to one's people. In the one the people are those that have died before, in the latter they are those that survive. If the expression's could have any effect, it would be to indicate a different, instead of the same, habit of mind.

"* (xxxiii.) 'and his sons, Isaac and Ishmael, buried him,' xxv. 9; 'and his sons, Esau and Jacob, buried him,' xxxv. 29; 'and his sons . . . buried him,' l. 13."

These sentences are the complements of those just mentioned,

and should not be severed from them as distinct indications of authorship.

"(xxxiv.) E uses ho, 'with,' fifty-one times, viz., v. 22, 24; vi. 9, 13, 18, 18, 19; vii. 7, 13, 23; viii. 1, 16, 17, 17, 18; ix. 8, 9, 9, 10, 10, 10, 11, 12; xi. 31; xvii. 3, 4, 19, 21, 22, 23, 27, 27; xxi. 2; xxiii. 8, 8, 20; xxv. 10; xxviii. 4; xxxv. 13, 14, 15; xxxvii. 2, 2, 2; xlvi. 6, 7, 7; xlix. 30, 32; l. 13, 13; and by, 'with,' only twice, xxiii. 4, 4:

"X uses 'eth' seventy-nine times, and 'him' ninety-three times."

Of these examples the two in v. are only = 1 by A, that in vi. 13, is probably mistaken; the particle eth sustains any relation according to circumstances, and in this case should perhaps be rendered from,—"from the earth," like "from Jehovah" in iv. 1. The succeeding instances in vi.-ix. are highly characteristic of the history of Noah, and remarkably distinguish that piece, as one of the special features of its composition. The same may be said of xvii, though the instance in v. 3 and 23 should probably be translated, as by the LXX., $a\dot{v}\tau\hat{\varphi}$, "to him," not "with him;"—Elohim spake to him; and the same may be said of the three instances of the same phrase in xxxv. 13, 14, 15, though the LXX. have μετ' αὐτοῦ there; and of xxi. 2, where they have $a\dot{\nu}\tau\hat{\omega}$; and in xxiii. 8, where they have πρὸς αὐτοὺς. In the same verse, "if it be אַת־נַבּשָׁבֶם," should also be rendered "to your mind," the LXX. here too having a simple dative. The compound preposition meeth in v. 20, and copied from that in xxv. 10, in xlix. 30, 32, and l. 13, is a different form, and should not be classed here. It is the full expression of the relation elliptically expressed in iv. 1; the particle eth sustains the relation expressed by the preposition whatever it may be, and this may be omitted when the sense is clear. The expression rendered "with the field" in the two last references is probably a simple apposition, eth being only the sign of the accusative, and is so rendered by the LXX. Thus the number of clear and independent instances of the use of this particle in the sense of with is reduced nearly one half, and as a striking characteristic it is confined to the history of Noah, and to the seventeenth chapter. It is an illustration in

Elohistic parts of what we shall presently see is a characteristic of the Jehovistic parts also. All through the book the writer from time to time gets, as it were, fits of a particular phraseology, which last for a while and then disappear, the remaining parts not being particularly distinguished by the same manner of speaking. A remarkable instance of this as regards a Jehovistic passage has already come under our notice in the use of the pronoun anochi, I, namely in ch. xxiv., where this form is used nine times, and ani only once, while in xxvii. ani is used five times, and anochi twice. As regards the use of the particle ethe for with, it is plain that the number of times it is so used by E, with the manner of its distribution, estimated as we have shown it should be, does not by any means justify the confident tone with which the Bishop argues from its employment in the Elohistic parts as compared with the non-Elohistic.

In proceeding next to examine the characteristics of the non-Elohistic parts of the book, which the Bishop has collected, it will be necessary to add to the former propositions A and B, a third, C, which is equally self-evident, and without regard to which no fair comparison can be made.

C. In judging the characteristics that distinguish the Elohist and the Jehovist as two different writers, all instances should be excluded from the latter, which by the Bishop's own judgment do not belong to the Jehovist proper at all. The usages of other writers should not be added to swell the alleged peculiarities which distinguish the Jehovist from the Elohist.

N.B.—The asterisk will here distinguish usages which do not occur at all in the Elohistic parts. The following are the forms occurring twenty times at least.

"* (I.) לְּבֶר (serve,' ii. 5, 15; iii. 23; iv. 2, 12; xv. 13, 14, xxv. 23; xxvii. 29, 40; xxix. 15, 18, 20, 25, 27, 30; xxx. 26, 26, 29; xxxi. 6, 41; xlix. 15,—twenty-two times."

But first, the examples in ii., iii., and iv. constitute an usage

per se, "to serve," for "to till," the ground being a figurative use quite different from the literal sense the word has in the other places referred to. These should therefore perhaps be put out of consideration. Next, eh. xv. is not given to the Jehovist proper, but to the Deuteronomist, and must be excluded by C. All the instances in xxix.-xxxi. necessarily follow from the nature of the story, and depend on the first occurrence of the word, from which its use in the sequel follows as a matter of course. These are therefore only = 1 by A. The entire are therefore only worth five, besides the figurative use in ii.-iv. Considering the relative extent of the parts ascribed to the Jehovist, three times times as great as those assigned to the Elohist, the use of the word has no value as a differentiating token.

"לְּבֶּלְּי, 'servant' or 'slave,' ix. 25, 26, 27; xii. 16; xiv. 15: xviii. 3, 5; xix. 2, 19; xx. 8, 14; xxi. 25; xxiv. 15 times; xxvi. 15, 19, 24, 25, 32; xxvii. 37; xxx-43; xxxii. 4, 5, 10, 16, 16, 18, 20; xxxiii. 5, 14: xxxix. 17, 19; xl. 20, 20; xli. 10, 12, 37, 38; xlii. 10, 11, 13; xliii. 18, 28; xliv. 19 times; xlv. 16; xlvi. 34; xlvii. 3, 4, 4, 19, 25; l. 2, 7, 17, 18-eighty-six times."

First, however, xiv. is not given to the Jehovist proper, nor are xx., xxi., xl., xli., xlv. in the parts eited. Thus eleven instances are struck off by C. The examples from ix. are only = 1 by A, as also xviii. 3, 5 = 1 by A. Of the fifteen instances in xxiv., thirteen, as merely mentioning Abraham's servant, all follow from the first, and are only = 1 by A. Of those in xxvi., three, "Isaac's servants," are only = 1 by A. Of those in xxxii., four, namely "thy servant," said of himself by Jacob, and the like uses of the word in xxxiii. following these, are = 1 by A, xlii. 10, 11, 13 = 1 by A, and sixteen instances of the like expression in xliv. only = 1 by A. The three instances in xlvii. 3, 4, and the two in 19, 25 are each set = 1by A. Thus fifty-three of the eighty-six instances of this word are to be thrown out, leaving only thirty-three clear and independent examples, many of which might be struck off for the same reasons, but have been allowed to stand. Chapter xxiv. presents in this case an example of one of the fits of a particular phrase or expression already noticed. All through, the use of this word

entirely depends on the subject matter, except in the instances where it occurs as a formula of politeness or humility, such as "thy servant." These, as estimated by our rules, are about six. And this is in fact the only use that could be considered characteristic. But it is not of frequent occurrence through the book generally, nor in any other Jehovistic part remarkable but in ch. xliv., where it is repeated several times.

The example of the two instances now examined will show how needless it is to cite all the references in regard to words of common use. When they are employed as occasion requires in their natural and literal acceptation, and are the proper, and we might say the necessary, words to be adopted—when not their presence, but their absence, and the use of a less common and familiar expression would be remarkable—their employment cannot be considered as in any way distinctive. Any writer would more naturally express the idea of a servant, by the word "servant," than in any other way. It is only such usages as above noticed, "thy servant" as a phrase of civility, or "serve" for "till the ground" in ii.-iv., that are worthy of note. It will suffice therefore in regard to such words to notice the remarkable usages only.

"* (וו.) שׁיֹם, ' place,'-forty-seven times."

Of these forty-seven instances of the word, the larger part are the common and natural use in the sense of putting or setting in a place, on anything, or in any direction. These are quite irrelevant. The instances worthy of notice are xiii. 16; xxvii. 37; xxxii. 12; xlv. 7, 8, 9; xlvi. 3; xlvii. 26; xlviii. 20; besides xxi. 13, not given to the Jehovist proper. In these places the word is used in the figurative sense of "make" or "appoint." But of these, xxxii. 12 follows xiii. 16, and is $\therefore = 0$ by B, and xlv. 7, 8, 9 are only = 1 by A, while xxi. 13 is excluded by C. Hence we have only six independent instances for the entire of the Jehovistic writings strictly speaking, proportioned to but two as compared with the Elohistic parts,—too small a number to constitute any decided distinction. There

are a couple of instances in which the word is used improperly of setting a space between two persons, but still the idea is that of literal place.

"(III.) \$\int\text{n}\$, 'he, she, it,' ii.\frac{1}{11}, 13, 14, 14, 19; iii. 6, 12, 15, 16, 20; iv. 4, 20, 21, 22, 26; vi. 3; vii. 2; ix. 18; x. 8, 9, 12, 21; xii. 14, 18, 19; xiii. 1; xiv. 12, 13, 15, 18; xv. 2, 4; xvi. 12; xviii. 1, 8, 10; xix. 20, 20, 30; xx. 2, 3, 5, 5, 5, 5, 5, 7, 12, 18, 16; xxi. 13, 17; xxii. 20, 24; xxiv. 7, 15, 44, 54, 62, 65; xxv. 21, 29; xxvi. 7, 7, 9, 9; xxvii. 31, 33, 38; xxix. 9, 12, 12, 25; xxx. 33; xxxi. 16, 20, 21; 43, xxxii. 18, 21, 31; xxxiii. 3; xxxiv. 14, 19; xxvv. 6; xxvvi. 24; xxvvii. 2, 3, 27, 32; xxxviii. 12, 14, 16, 21, 25, 25; xxxix. 3, 6, 22, 23; xl. 10; xli. 11, 25, 26. 28; xlii. 6, 14, 27, 38; xliii. 12, 32; xliv. 5, 10, 14, 17, 20; xlv. 20, 26; xlvii. 6. 18; xlviii. 14, 19, 19; xlix. 13, 19, 20; l. 14, 22,—a hundred and twenty-eight times. E has it thrice, ix. 3; xvii. 12; xxiii. 15."

From this imposing list of references, we must first deduct twenty-five instances occurring in passages not given to the Jehovist proper, which should therefore by C be excluded from consideration as between the Jehovist and Elohist. Only we may observe in regard to these, that chapter xx., and part of xxi., being given to the second Elohist, we have in the former from v. 2 to 16 eleven instances, while in the latter, in all 20 verses, this pronoun occurs but twice,—as strange a disproportion as any, yet by one writer. We then observe as to the distribution of this pronoun, that it is by fits, large Jehovistic passages being wholly destitute of it as much as the Elohistic, which latter be it remembered, in the book as it now exists, are like the others distributed indiscriminately amongst the passages which contain this pronoun. As regards these fits, we notice first the chapters ii., iii., and iv., which altogether are equivalent only to one example, but in each of which the use of the pronoun is mainly concentrated in a few verses. Then we have a single instance in the Jehovistic part of vi. and one in vii. 2, while

In regard to the form אות for the feminine pronoun, instead of אית, Kennicott, "State of the Printed Hebrew Text of the Old Testament," p. 343, remarks with reference to Gen. iii. 12, 20, that the Samaritan text has "אות, she, in both places here, as (perhaps) in every other, where this pronoun has been corrupted in the Hebrew." He considers the feminine form to have been always used originally for the feminine. This became corrupted by the transcribers, who elongated in some cases the into i; but he shows that the MSS. are not uniform in this corruption, while the punctuation agrees with the regular form.

from thence through all the Jehovistic parts of the history of the deluge, twenty-five verses, it does not ever occur until it re-appears for once in ix. 18. Then we have sixteen verses again assigned to the Jehovist without its occurrence, when we come upon another short fit of it in x. 8-21. Then follow thirty-three Jehovistic verses without it, succeeded by four instances in xii. 14-xiii. 1, eight verses. We have then again twenty-six Jehovistic verses without it, till we come to xvi. 12, where it is found once. Between that and xviii. 10, twelve Jehovistic verses, it exists three times, after which follow fortytwo Jehovistic verses without it, when it occurs again twice in xix. 20, and once in 30. Then follow thirty-nine verses without it, to xxii. 20, 24, after which we have it in xxiv. 7, 15, and a fit towards the end of the chapter after twenty-eight verses without it. Then after ten verses it re-appears twice in xxv. 21, 29, and after eleven verses again four times in xxvi. 7-9. After these there is no instance through a space of fifty-three Jehovistic verses, till we come to xxvii. 31-38, in which it occurs three times. Then after twenty-nine verses it is again found four times in xxix. 9-25, but fourteen Jehovistic verses. thirty verses it does not appear again, but is found in xxx. 33, after which we have twenty-five verses without it; and then in three verses of xxxi., 16, 20, 21, and again in 43, it shows itself, and again after eleven verses in xxxii. 18, 21, and 31, and in xxxiii. 3. After thirty verses in which it is not found, we see it again in xxxiv. 14, 19, and after seventeen verses again in xxxv. 6. After ten verses of Jehovistic origin it is found then in xxxvi. 24, and after seven in xxxvii. 2, 3, after which it does not occur in twentythree verses following, but then twice in 27, 32. After fifteen verses there is then a fit in xxxviii. 12-25 of six times, and after seven more verses it is found in xxxix. 3, 6, 22, 23, and after fourteen verses in xlii. 14, 27, 38, the intervals wanting it; and similarly in xliii. 12, 32, after which there is a fit of five instances in twenty-two verses, to xliv. 20. There are then thirty-two verses without it, when it occurs in xlv. 20, 26, and

again after twenty Jehovistic verses it re-appears in xlvii. 6, 18, an interval of only nine Jehovistic verses. There are then twenty-one verses of the Jehovist without it, when it is found in xlviii. 14, 19, 19, and after fifteen more it appears in xlix. 13, 19, 20, and finally after nineteen verses without it, it appears in l. 14, 22.

Now this pronoun seldom depends for its use in any way on subject matter, and might reasonably be expected to be equably distributed through all the writings of the same person. It is not so, however; but the distribution obeys a different law, and whatever the cause of this may be, it is plain that large tracts of matter without the pronoun, interposed between brief passages in which its use is concentrated, present precisely in regard to this word the same difficulty, that the Elohistic parts do as they are found distributed equably through the rest in our Bibles. It is only the separation that makes the absence more glaring in these parts, as it would be in the Jehovistic parts that want it, if they were on any theory separated also. On the other hand, when we find the same unequable distribution characterise a portion assigned to a third author, as already noticed, this is a pretty good indication that all proceeded from the same hand. The Bishop has excluded certain instances where the pronoun is a mere note of explanation, and these also we omit to notice.1

This is the regular Hebrew form of giving strength or prominence, and naturally occurs almost exclusively in the speeches attributed to interlocutors. Few of these, as it happens, are attributed to the Elohist, but the phrase occurs in one of them. Of the thirty-eight instances mentioned three do not belong to the Jehovist proper, and eight are due to the repetition of the

[&]quot;(IV.) use of indicative with infinitive, e.g. 'eating, eat;' 'dying, die," etc.—thirty-eight times."

[&]quot;E has it once, xvii. 13."

¹ The Jehovistic usage, as regards the first person, has been considered in connexion with the Elohistic use of the forms *anochi* and *ani*. Some of the remarks now made will apply, as the reader will perceive, to that case also.

same form in immediate proximity. The remaining twentyseven examples are distributed thinly, with large intervals in which the form does not occur.

' * * (v.) እኳኳ, 'find,'—fifty-six times.''

A common word unavoidable by any writer when occasion for its use offers. But of the fifty-six instances of it which are enumerated nineteen occur in three fits in xviii. 26-32; xxxi. 32-37, and xliv. 8-17. Of the remainder only five are worthy of notice as peculiar expressions. One of these is xxvi. 12, "Isaac sowed, and found the same year an hundredfold." This is a singular instance. There are five instances of the expression "find grace in the eyes of" one, vi. 8; xviii. 3; xix. 19; xxx. 27; and xxxii. 5. It is always used towards some one in human form, except in vi. 2 where it is an anthropomorphic application of the expression. For the extent of the Jehovistic portions of the book, the instances are too few to form a distinctive characteristic, especially as they all but one occur under the same circumstances in the course of the narrative.

"* (vi.) 'and he (she, one, etc.) called his name... for, etc.'—'therefore he (she, one, etc.) called his name, etc.,' ii. 23; iii. 20; iv. 25; xvi. 11; xxvi. 20, 22; xxvii. 36; xxix. 32; xxxii. 30; xxxv. 7; xli. 51, 52; comp. xxix. 33—xi. 9; xvi. 14; xix. 22; xxi. 31; xxv. 30; xxvi. 33; xxix. 34, 35; xxx. 6; xxxi. 48; xxxiii. 17; l. 11;—twenty-five times."

The point in these references on which the Bishop relies is plainly the use of the words for or therefore in explaining the reason or meaning of a name. He omits to notice the many other forms in which this is done in both Jehovistic and Elohistic parts, and it will be well to refer to these places. We shall first give the Jehovistic instances:—iv. 1, 17; v. 29; x. 25; xvi. 13; xxi. 3+6 (E and J); xxii. 14; xxvi. 21, 31+33; xxviii. 16+19; xxx. 6 (E and J), xxxi. 49; xxxii. 2, 28; xxxviii. 29. Then the Elohistic explanations of names are these:—xvii. 5, 15; xxv. 25, 26; xxx. 8, 11, 13, 18, 20, 24; xxxv. 7, 8, 15, 18.

Now, after comparing these, if the reader will be at the pains-

and taking into consideration that of the passages referred to by the Bishop, xxv. 30; xxvi. 20, 22, 33; xxx. 6; xxxi. 48; xxxiii. 17; xxxv. 7; xli. 51, 52, are not given by other critics to the Jehovist at all, as also are not v. 29; xxi. 3+6; xxvi. 21, 31+33; xxxi. 49; xxxii. 2, 28, of the additional Jehovistic instances which we have given—he will probably think that the manner in which names are accounted for in the several parts of the book is not capable of constituting a distinctive characteristic.

"* (vii.) אָדָן 'know,'—ffty-six times."

Of these nine are in passages which the Bishop does not give to the Jehovist; and the number might perhaps be further reduced by rejecting mere repetitions. But it does not matter. The word is a common and an unavoidable one in any narrative of sufficient length. According to subject its occurrence is somewhat concentrated. The only significant use of the word is where it is said of carnal knowledge. There are seven instances of this, three of which in iv. are only = 1 by A, and similarly perhaps two in xix. 5, 8. Thus the entire are not equivalent to more than three or four independent instances for the large extent of Jehovistic matter.

"(VIII.) Då, 'also,'—ninety-two times."

This is one of the peculiarities on which the Bishop lays great stress. But the same results will follow from observing its distribution, as in the case of NT above considered. First, we have to reject three instances from xiv., one from xv, a fit of five from xx., three from xxi., and one from xl., in all thirteen, as being in parts not assigned by the Bishop to the Jehovist. Then we have a fit of nine instances in ch. xxiv. 14.46, one of five in xxvii. 31.45, of four in xxix. 27.33, of four in xxx. 3-15, of six in xxxii. 6-20, of four in xxxviii. 10-24, and of five in xliv. 9-29. We have close recurrences in iv. 22, 26; xix. 34, 35; xxii. 20, 24; xliii. 8, 8, 8; xlvi. 34, 34; xlvii. 3, 3, and 19, 19; xlviii. 19, 19, and 1. 9, 9. The remaining

twenty-two instances of this word 1 are distributed at longer and shorter intervals through the rest of the Jehovistic matter, leaving large tracts, equivalent in length to the longer passages of Elohistic matter, dispersed between them, in which the word occurs just as little as it does in those Elohistic passages. It is the separation that creates the distinction.

In regard to this, as to more than one of the preceding characteristics, ch. xvii., the Elohistic character of which is regarded as a great discovery and one of the main pillars of the system, has an instance of this Jehovistic token in v. 16, see above (III.) Nin, (IV.) "use of indicative and infinitive," and instances in regard to the meaning of names noticed in our remarks on *(VI.)

" * (IX.) Ni; 'fear,'—twenty-one times."

These instances of a very simple and common word, naturally occurring in its proper place, might be reduced, if it were worth while, by striking out two instances not assigned to the Jehovist proper, and a few which follow from others as a matter of course. The only instances worthy of note are two, in which the word is used of the fear of God, or religious fear, as distinguished from mere common natural fear. The word is pretty equably distributed at long intervals through the book, and its weight as an indication of peculiar authorship quite inappreciable.

" (אַני ,אָנֹכִי (.x.) ".

The use of these has been already considered, in discussing the Elohistic peculiarities.

" * (x1.) הְּנִיד 'tell,'—thirty-four times."

Another common and necessary word, signifying to show or declare, as distinguished from other kinds of verbal communication. It is naturally confined to the parts of the narrative which treat of the intercourse between different people, and would not be so likely to occur in places where mere notices of events are given. And indeed it may be remarked in respect of all these examples, that in any narrative, however certainly

¹ One of these forms part of a compound word, قِنْ إِذِ in Gen. vi. 3, and should not have been reckoned at all.

proceeding from the same pen, there must necessarily be a great difference in the words used where mere notices of events are given, and where conversations and transactions between several persons are recorded. And if in any such narrative the mere dry notices of events were picked out, the difference would be as perceptible between these and the other parts, as in so much of the Elohistic parts when compared with the Jehovistic.

"(XII.) ישָׁלֵּח, ישָׁלֵּח, 'put forth, send,'—sixty-four times."

Of these sixty-four instances, five are in the story of the raven and the dove, viii. 7-12. These may all be regarded as =1 by A, as may also iii. 22, 23, where we have the play on words and double senses so common in all parts of the book: "Lest he send forth his hand, Jehovah-Elohim sent him forth." Also xxii. 10, 12 are only =1 by A: Abraham sent forth his hand, and the angel said, "Send not forth thine hand." Again in xxiv., verses 7 and 40 are =1 by B, and 54, 56, 59 =1 by A. In xxvi., 27 and 29 =1 by B; xxxii. 3, 5 =1; xxxvii. 13, 14 =1; xxxviii. 17, 17, 20, 23 =1; xliii. 4, 5, 8 =1; xlv. 5, 7, 8 =1; and 23, 24, 27 =1. These repetitions diminish the number by twenty-one. Of the remainder, four or five are used of putting forth the hand, and the rest of common sending, as of a messenger, or of dismissal from a place. They are necessary to the narrative, and mark no distinction of authorship.

"E has it twice, xxviii. 5, 6."

" (XIII.) אָעָהָ, 'now,' וְעַהָּה, 'and now,'—thirty-five times."

The former occurs twelve times, in nine of which it denotes simply present time. These should be excluded altogether from consideration. The latter is a peculiarly conversational phrase, in which the idea of present time is more or less lost sight of. It is therefore confined to dialogue, or words of others recorded by the historian, and the remark made in reference to *(x1.) applies here. Indeed the adverb in any sense is never used by the historian in his own person in this book.

"E has וְעַתְּה once in xlviii. 5."

"* (xiv.) רָעָה, 'tend' as a flock,—twenty-three times."

Another word of common use, and naturally to be found in the parts of the history which are concerned with pastoral life, but not in other parts. Hence from iv. 2, where it refers to Abel's pastoral habits, it does not occur till xiii., that is, until all the Elohistic parts are over, except genealogical notices and a few brief passages of general import. The use of the word has clearly no weight as an indication of special authorship.

"* (xv.) גָּם־הָּוֹא, 'he (she, it) also,' נָם־אָנֹכִי, 'I also,' etc.,—thirty-one times."

All these, with one exception, have already been referred to under the separate words, and having thus done duty apart, they are now made to serve again, as joined together. Plainly the circumstances, which would suggest the emphasis implied by the use of the adverb, would render the subject emphatic also, and so occasion the frequent union of the pronoun and adverb.

"* (xvi.) עשָׂה ל- 'do to,'—thirty-one times."

Of this very plain and natural expression, five of the instances quoted belong to non-Jehovistic passages in the Bishop's judgment. The remainder, few and scattered, afford no criterion of style, as being clearly the proper expression at the proper time.

"* (xvii.) 'Elohim of Shem,' ix. 26; 'of heaven,' xxiv. 3, 7; 'of earth,' xxiv. 3; 'of Abraham,' xxiv. 12, 27, 42, 48; xxvi. 24; xxviii. 13; xxxi. 42, 53; xxxii. 9; 'of Isaac,' xxviii. 13; xxxii. 9; xlvi. 1, 3; 'of Nahor,' xxxi. 53; 'of Israel,' xxiii. 20,"

"Comp. 'Dread of' Isaac, xxxi. 42, 53; 'thy (your) Elohim,' xxvii. 20; xliii. 23; 'El of' Bethel, xxxi. 13; xxxv. 7.

Of these expressions, seven are contained in xxiv., and four in xxxi. The latter are from the nature of the place only equivalent to a single instance, as are the three first, and the four last, in xxiv.; likewise two instances in xxxii. 9. So also are two of El Bethel in xxxi. and xxxv., by reference of the latter to the former, and the two in xxviii. 13. The whole number of independent instances is therefore only twelve, all of which, except one, are subsequent to xxiii. As this manner of speaking implies a particular Elohim, such as Jehovah, in contradistinction to pretended gods, or the Elohim of other

people than those named, it is less likely to be found in a purely Elohistic connexion, where Elohim stands for the generalised idea of God.

"* (xviii.) דְּבֶּר, 'word, matter,'—fifty-nine times."

It is plain that here are two very different uses, which should no more be classed together than two words of different sound. In the sense of a word spoken, it will naturally crop up continually in a narrative of conversations, and is no peculiarity of diction. In the sense of matter it is more noticeable, but the number should be reduced by eight instances in parts not belonging to the Jehovist proper. Also it may be often doubted whether the literal "word" would not be as proper a translation as "matter" or "thing." But at any rate, the Jehovist proper has but twenty-one instances of a very common use of the word.

"E has דְבַר, 'speak,' eleven times, which X also uses."

"* (XIX.) \$3, 'now, I pray,' etc.,—seventy-four times."

In the first 168 verses of the so-called Jehovistic writings this particle does not occur once. There are then two instances in xii. 11, 13, three in xiii. 8, 9, 14. The Bishop's reference to xv. 5 is irrelevant to his argument as non-Jehovistic, but there are two instances in xvi. 2, after which it does not appear until xviii. 3, when in fifty verses to xix. 20 it occurs seventeen times, this fit being highly characteristic of that particular section, the subject matter of which gave special occasion for the use of this particle. There follow then thirty verses of Jehovistic writing without it, when it appears in xxii. 2, after which follow eighteen verses without it. Then comes another fit, as usual, in xxiv., where it occurs eight times in forty-three verses. It occurs once in xxv. 30, and once in xxvi. 28, after which it is found in xxvii. 2-26 six times, this story also giving opportunity for it. In the next seventy-three Jehovistic verses it does not exist, but is twice in xxx. 14, 27, once in xxxi. 12, and again in xxxii. 11, 29. In xxxiii. 10-15, that is, in six verses, it is found five times, and once in xxxiv. 8. Then follow forty-one

Jehovistic verses without it, when it is again found four times in xxxvii. 6-32, in xxxviii. 16, 25, after which follow thirty-one Jehovistic verses without it, and then two instances in xl. 8, 14, non-Jehovistic. Then come 103 Jehovistic verses, that is in all, 134 without it, when it appears in xliv. 18, 33, in xlv. 4, and after thirty-nine verses, again in xlvii. 4-29, four times; in xlviii. 9, and in l. 4-17, five times.

We have exhibited the distribution of this particle in this manner, on account of the stress laid on its use by the Bishop of Natal, who says of it that it is "inconceivable that the little particle of entreaty No. na, could have been used by the same writer eight times in each of xviii. and xxiv., nine times in xix., and seventy-four times in X altogether, and not at all in E;—not even in xxiii., where Abraham throughout uses forms of courteous entreaty, yet never employs this particle." In the numbers which the Bishop has italicised lies the answer to his argument. The use of the particle is concentrated in certain short portions to a great extent, and large spaces, where it might be as much expected, exist without it all. We might say, after the manner of the Bishop, it is inconceivable that the same writer who has used this particle so often should never once have used it in the first 168 verses of Jehovistic matter, exactly equal to one-half of the entire Elohistic part of the book, although this early part contains the opportunities afforded for its use so amply in iii. and iv.; or that in all the narrative in xxviii. of Jacob's dream at Bethel, or in his communications with Laban in xxix., offering so much opportunity for its use, it should never occur; or again in 134 verses between xxxviii. 25 and xliv. 18, containing all the early part of Joseph's history in Egypt, where frequent opportunity for its use existed, it should never once appear, the only instances of its occurrence in all that space having been foisted in, as alleged, from another writer. Surely the Bishop's argument applies as strongly to quite as full an extent of the Jehovist's writings, as the whole of the Elohistic matter.

"E never uses 🖎, but uses instead of it 🖒 in a formula of entreaty, xxiii. 5, 13, 14."

It is only by a conjectural various reading that the first and last of these verses contains this particle in place of the pronoun ;; but the particle is used in both Jehovistic and Elohistic passages, and is not an exact equivalent of \$\frac{3}{2}\$. This expresses strong desire with a deprecatory tone, or with a leaning to such a tone. The other is a mild form, something like our "perhaps" in expressing a wish.

Of these, two non-Jehovistic should be rejected, and five in xxxix. 4-8 are only=1, as are also xii. 20 and xiii. 1 = 1. Thus this very likely mode of expressing what the author had to say is reduced to twenty-one. But the manner of speaking is not uniform in these instances; sometimes all is omitted, sometimes the pronoun is a dative, sometimes it is affixed to the preposition with. No stress can be laid on so variable a phrase, the use of the relative being the only point in which it is consistent.

" * (xxi.) אָרְם , 'arise' = set out,—twenty times."

"E has it once, xxviii. 2."

· Very little of the movements of the Patriarchs is assigned to the Elohist, who had therefore less room for the expression, even if he were a different person from the Jehovist. But he was not averse to this idiom, which seems to have arisen from the shifting habits of a nomadic people. The word "arise" does not mean as the Bishop says, "set out;" its use seems to have grown out of the breaking up from a resting place.

" (xxii.) נַעַר 'youth,' m. and f.__; 'damsel,'—thirty-five times."

This is a word only used when mention is to be made of a youth or damsel, and accordingly, of the thirty-five instances mentioned twenty-four are concentrated in, and divided amongst, the three stories of Ishmael, xxi. 12-20, the offering of Isaac, xxii. 3-19, and the mission for Rebekah xxiv. 14-61, and in

the speech of Judah when Joseph was about to take Benjamin, xliv. 22-34. The repetitions of the word in all these passages amount to no more than one instance each. In xxiv. and xxxiv. the word is used as a feminine, without the final Π , but the vowel of the feminine termination is given, and when the plural is formed in xxiv. 61, it is regular. This may be dismissed as a case of usage that adds nothing to the Bishop's argument.

"* (XXIII.) ";;, 'come near,'—twenty times."

Here, too, we have an expression natural and likely in its proper place, and therefore in no way distinctive. It occurs six times in xxvii. 21-27, when the blind old man requires persons and things to be brought near that he may feel or take them. And again it occurs four times in xxxiii. 6, 7, 7, where Jacob and his wives and children successively approach Esau to salute him at their meeting. In xix. 9, 9, xlv. 4, 4, and xlviii. 10, 13, the repetitions do not add to the value of the instances. Hence the independent instances are not more then nine for the entire book.

" * (xxiv.) 'Thy servant,' 'your servant,' etc., -thirty-six times."

These have already done duty in (*I.), and were there considered. Sixteen of them in xxiv. are reducible to one, and so in regard to other repetitions already' noticed, bringing the entire number down to about a dozen.

" * (xxv.) בַּלְחַ, v. הַלְלוֹם, n. 'dream,'—forty-eight times.''

Here also we have a concentration of a necessary word in its proper place on the needful occasions. While it occurs twice in xx. 3, 6, which is non-Jehovistic, once of Jacob's dream in xxviii. 12, three times in xxxi. 10-24, two of which are of one dream, it occurs thirteen times in xxxvii. 5-20 respecting Joseph's dreams, nine times in xl. 5-16 respecting the chief butler's and chief baker's dreams, and eighteen times in xli. respecting Pharaoh's dreams. In each of these

 $^{^1}$ The dream in v. 11 should be translated with the article. The pointing cannot show it in this case, but the sense is clear.

cases the instances are only = 1 each by A, as is also the case in xlii. 9, 9. Hence the forty-eight instances are reduced to seven independent Jehovistic uses of the verb or noun. If it be insisted on that dreams are distinctive of the Jehovist's narrative, it may be asked, after the Bishop's manner, how can it have happened that in the first 560 Jehovistic verses or thereabouts, more than half the Jehovistic, and considerably more than all the Elohistic matter, there should not be a single dream?

" * (xxvi.) 'Israel' used as a personal name for Jacob,-twenty-nine times."

Of course the name Israel was not used before it was given to Jacob. The Elohist has the account of this in xxxv, 10, where if it is not a personal name, it is not so anywhere. The Bishop separates v. 21, 22 of this chapter, in which the name occurs, from the admitted Elohistic context, his principal argument being the threefold use of Israel in it. The connexion with the context is sufficient, and the inconsistence of the alleged abiding "beyond the tower of Edar," with Jacob's supposed haste in going to Isaac is imaginary. There is no mention of any such haste, nor does the word בשבן denote more than a temporary stay. The name occurs in the Elohistic xxxvi. 31, and in xlvi. 8, "the Children of Israel," where it is certainly personal, as distinguished from the designation of the family as simply Israel, just as in xlii. 5, one of the passages quoted by the Bishop, we read that the sons of Israel (the same phrase) came to buy corn, and in xlv. 21 again. It is also to be noted that while the Bishop gives all the twenty-nine instances to the Jehovist, Dr. Davidson, and the critics whom he represents, give twelve of them to the compiler or the junior Elohist.

We can afford to let this point pass without any remark. The Bishop would probably say that "the evening and the morning" in Gen. i. is not parallel to these definitions of time, which belong to the details of the minute narratives of trans-

[&]quot;* (xxvII.) The time of day defined, viz., 'morning,' 'evening,' 'daybreak,' 'sunrise,' 'noon,' 'heat of the day,' 'afternoon,' 'cool of the day,' 'sunset,' 'night,' —forty-four times."

actions ascribed to the Jehovist. But the definitions of the year, month, and day in the Elohistic part of the history of the deluge are quite analogous to the definitions of the time of day in other narratives.

The Bishop next gives a list of fifty-four expressions that occur from ten to twenty times in Jehovistic passages, but not once to be found in Elohistic. Very many of these occur in fits, which leave so few for other parts of the book as to make their use quite insignificant; and after the reduction in the number of instances in the list already examined when their net value is determined perhaps it is not worth our while to apply to this second list a process of similar reduction from gross to net, that would assuredly have a similar effect. And the same is also the case with a third set of forms that occur still less frequently, and could never on that account be regarded as distinctive characteristics in a proportion of the book assigned to the Jehovist so much larger than to the Several, however, of these less salient marks of supposed difference of authorship have been noticed in the progress of the examination, which has been made of the whole book in detail.

In Pt. v. p. 36-7, the Bishop of Natal has given a table of thirty-six instances of anthropomorphisms, which he considers peculiarly characteristic of the Jehovist. It is natural that anthropomorphisms, implying the personal rather than the generalised conception of the Deity, should be connected with the proper name instead of the appellative Elohim, and this consideration will naturally account for the predominance of such expressions in the parts assigned to the Jehovist. At the same time the instances quoted by the Bishop are not so striking in their character or distribution as he regards them to be.

Thus of the thirty-six instances he has given, the first twentyone are confined to the second and third chapters, and form one of the special characteristics of that piece, which has been already fully discussed. Seven more belong to ch. xviii., and

are not in the same sense anthropomorphic at all. They belong to a class of manifestations of God in human form, and, as such, are in a sense anthropomorphic; but the true characteristic anthropomorphism consists in representing God, as God, in the exercise of human faculties and possessed of human characteristics. These seven are quite irrelevant therefore to the Bishop's purpose in this enumeration. Four in the history of Cain and Abel; the repentance that he had made man, ascribed to Jehovah in vi. 6, 7; the shutting the ark after Noah; the smelling the sweet savour of Noah's sacrifice; the coming down to see the tower of Babel; and again to see the state of Sodom, in xviii. 20, 21; and more questionably God's tempting Abrahamthese are the true instances of anthropomorphism which the Bishop has added to those contained in ii-iii. Against these the Bishop mentions the Elohistic representations of remembering Noah, Abraham, etc., making a covenant, appointing a sign of it, with other instances. But he adds that these are, for the most part, obviously of a very different kind from the others. The difference, however, is only that which might be expected between the personal and more generalised conceptions of God.

The ascription to the Jehovist of all the darker parts of the history is mainly rendered possible by the ascription to him of the larger part of the entire book. Yet the Elohistic account of the deluge and the wickedness preceding it, and the intimation ascribed to the Elohist of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah by Divine interposition, would lead us to conclude that, if Jehovism had not designedly predominated in the history of the Patriarchs, these darker traits of character might have been found in as Elohistic a connexion as the earlier wickedness of mankind.

The Bishop and others also assign to the Jehovist, or, at any rate, to the non-Elohistic parts, all indications of a more advanced civilisation, such as the use of gold and precious stones, musical instruments, use of camels, earrings, and servants. Surely there was no time in the history of the Israelites when these things

could have been unknown to them, or more or less unused by them. It is only from the brevity of the Elohistic parts in all that relates to the customs of life, and to the social intercourse of mankind, that these things are not mentioned in them as in the other parts of the book.

Building of houses with windows, roof, door, is also said to indicate a later age, such as Solomon's time. The verses in the directions for the building of the ark, which speak of the window, door, etc., are picked out from the Elohist's part, and given to the Jehovist to supply a defect in his story; and so the Elohist is supposed to have no better word for the apartments to be made in the ark than nests. Plainly, however, this word is used not of rooms, as in the English Version, but of places for the animals to rest in. This word nest may have been adopted, not only with reference to the birds that were to have been taken into the ark, but also as descriptive of the sort of lairs that should be made for the other animals. But does the Bishop really mean to say that even so late as Samuel's time, to which he assigns the Elohistic part, these things were not familiar to the Israelites? Or, knowing the evidences of early civilisation of the very high order that prevailed in Egypt, to say nothing of Phœnicia or other adjacent countries, does he think there was any time in the history of the Israelites, in reference to which the mention of any of those things should be considered an anachronism? That they were at one time in Egypt is not denied; and even at the period previous to the descent into Egypt, as described in this book, the intercourse for traffic, the existence of which can scarcely be doubted, would have rendered nomadic tribes in Palestine and other adjacent countries more or less familiar with such things, and especially with articles of personal ornament.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS.

I. We have seen from the foregoing examination of the entire book, that as regards the names of God, on which so much stress has been laid in this discussion, the Alexandrian translators are by no means in accordance with the present Hebrew text. The significance of this fact has already been sufficiently indicated, and does not call for further remark here. But it has been shown that on the supposition that the usage, as it now exists in the Hebrew text, is such as it came from the hand of the original author or authors, it is by no means capricious, or such as to render the authorship of one person improbable.

We have seen, however, that the supposition of several authorship is not based on this usage alone, but on other verbal peculiarities which have been supposed to distinguish the different authors, whose writings it is maintained have been put together in the formation of the book as it exists at present. The reader is now in a position to estimate the value of these peculiarities as evidences of the point in dispute, and to judge whether an artificial importance has not been attached to them, which vanishes as soon as they are closely examined. But whatever value they may be thought to possess, on the supposition that we now possess the original Hebrew text, the weight of that value would be seriously impaired, indeed, it may be said, rendered quite worthless, by the possibility of such a modernisation of dialect, as we have already shown to be by no means improbable. It is not necessary to suppose that the original text is not fairly represented; but conclusions based on purely verbal usages are rendered quite uncertain, no matter with what care the original text might have been transformed into its present state. We know that at any rate a transliteration of the text took place when the Chaldee or square character was substituted for the earlier Phœnician alphabet; and this was likely to have affected the text in many cases through the misreading of similar letters, and that more especially where numbers were concerned. In addition to what has been already said in showing that the change was probably not confined to an alteration of the literal character, we need here only quote what Warburton has said on this subject. Speaking of the cases in which the occurrence of words and phrases more modern, than the age to which a writing purports to belong, may or may not be regarded as evidence of forgery, he says, "In public and practical writings of law and religion, this would be found a very fallacious test: it was the matter only which was regarded here. And, as the matter respected the whole people, it was of importance that the words and phrases should be neither obscure, ambiguous, nor equivocal: this would necessitate alterations in the style, both as to words and phrases. Hence it appears to me, that the answer, which commentators give to the like objection against the Pentateuch, is founded in good sense, and fully justified by the solution here attempted. The religion, law, and history of the Jews were incorporated; and consequently, it was the concern of everyone to understand the Scriptures. Nor doth the superstitious regard, well known to have been long paid to the words, and even letters of Scripture, at all weaken the force of this argument: for that superstition arose but from the time when the Masoret doctors fixed the reading, and added the vowel points. I have taken the opportunity the subject afforded me, to touch upon this matter, because it is the only argument of moment urged by Spinosa, against the antiquity of the Pentateuch."1

II. It is to be observed that after the parts supposed to have been of purely Elohistic origin have been abstracted, there still remains by far the larger part of the entire book; and this larger part presents the same interchange of the names Jehovah

¹ Divine Legation, Book II., Sect. 3.

and Elohim, with as little to account for it, as characterises the book in its present integrity. Whatever difficulties as regards the whole that interchange occasions, the like have still to be encountered in this residual and greater portion.

It is further to be observed that the supposed original narrative of the Elohist, though copious in its earlier part, is, as regards the greater part of the history, a mere abstract or outline of the briefest possible kind. That from a writing characterised by such copiousness of style and admitted redundancy of narration, a redundancy not corrected in parts of either Elohist or Jehovist by the separation, it should be possible to pick out sufficient intimations direct or allusive, to make when added to certain other larger portions, which the usage in regard to the names of God and other supposed distinctive resemblances cause to be appropriated to the Elohist, a tolerably complete and consistent abstract of the history, and yet still to leave a pretty complete and consistent residue, is what might have been reasonably anticipated. The likelihood that such an abstract should be possible produces of itself already a very considerable abatement from the force of this, as an argument in favour of the diversity of the authorship.

When the Elohistic narrative, as thus separated from the whole, is compared with the residue, one very suspicious circumstance is, that each narrative is found deficient in very important matters, and these are matters that would scarcely have been omitted from either as independent narratives. Thus while the Elohistic narrative traces the descendants of Adam to Noah, the Jehovistic has no such descent, although it does trace the descendants of Cain through several generations. That this is only a different form of the same genealogy is a most unjustifiable assumption, which still would leave the genealogy incomplete, as it does not connect the Lamech, with whose children it concludes, with Noah, whose father according to the other account was of that name. Again, while the Elohistic narrative traces the descent from Noah through Shem to Abraham, the

Jehovistic account, though giving the descendants of Noah's sons in general, gives no descent from Shem in the line to Abraham beyond Peleg the son of Eber. Then the Elohistic account alone has the institution of circumcision, which was of so much importance in the history of the chosen race that some allusion to it at any rate could not fail to have occurred in the Jehovistic narrative, since according to the theory it was not the plan pursued by the compiler to avoid repetitions, the occurrence of which in the combined narrative is one of the great pretexts for its disruption. The portion left after the abstraction of the Elohistic story is also rich in matter of moment not touched on at all in the abstracted part. The largeness, however, of this residuary portion, as compared with the separated passages, makes this less significant; only it could hardly have happened that the Elohistic story should have no account whatever of some matters, such as the circumstances that led to the descent into Egypt, of which it is quite destitute.

But however this cause of suspicion against the correctness of the theory may be met by the allegation, that in some cases where the separate histories coincided too closely in their representations of the same facts, to allow of their being presented as different transactions in the combined history, the statements of one or the other were omitted by the compiler, this allegation will not meet the next suspicious circumstance that is apparent on the comparison of the two portions. That is the fact, that while each is very full in its narration of some particulars, and extremely meagre in its reference to others, it happens to be exactly in the very cases in which one is full and minute, that the other is bald and fragmentary, often when the one makes a distinct statement, the other having only a bare allusion. This is just what might be expected to be the result of the picking of one story out of another, which in its integrity was equably copious, but did not supply materials sufficient for a double narrative, each member of which should be uniformly copious in its details. This aspect of the separated narrations is of too

much significance, in regard to the present discussion, to be passed over without the instances in which it shows itself being more particularly displayed.

The first instance of this kind which may be noticed is in the history of the deluge. A glance at the separated narratives as already presented to the reader will show, that while the Elohistic account of this event, and of the circumstances connected with it, is very full and particular, the Jehovistic is brief and fragmentary. And if we consider how small a proportion the Elohistic part in its whole extent bears to the residuum, this comparative brevity of the Jehovistic story of the deluge seems still more out of due proportion.

Passing now to the history of Abraham, we find his departure from Haran in obedience to the Divine command, his arrival in Canaan and early wanderings there, with various important particulars, set out fully in the Jehovistic narrative contained in chapters xii. to xiv. Now in reference to all this the Elohistic story is as brief and imperfect as possible. The first mention of Abraham's departure from Haran is only given in the form of an allusion, and the entire is comprised in these brief notices following:-xii. 4, 5, "Abram was seventy and five years old at his departure from Haran. And Abram took Sarai his wife, and Lot his brother's son, and all their substance that they had gathered, and the souls that they had gotten in Haran, to go into the land of Canaan; and into the land of Canaan they came;" xiii. 6, "And the land was not able to bear them, that they might dwell together: for their substance was great, so that they could not dwell together;" v. 11, "And they separated themselves the one from the other;" r. 12, "Abram dwelled in the land of Canaan, and Lot dwelled in the cities of the plain." These latter portions relating to Lot's separation from Abraham may be particularly compared with the full and explicit account of the same event, and the choice offered to Lot, and made by him, as set out in the Jehovistic account. The latter, however, is made to attribute the separation to an unexplained dispute

between the herdmen, while the briefer Elohistic story tells the cause of the dispute. All the Divine promises to Abraham, up to the end of ch. xvi., as contained in the Jehovistic history, are also comprised in the Elohistic account in the brief and unconnected statement in xv. 1, "After these things the word of the Lord came unto Abram in a vision saying, Fear not, Abram, I am thy shield and thy exceeding great reward." And even to give this much to the Elohist, it is necessary to suppose that the original reading has been corrupted, and Jehovah substituted for Elohim, a supposition which, as has been already noticed, has also to be made at the commencement of ch. xvii.

Let us now proceed to the particulars recorded in ch. xvirespecting Abraham's connexion with Hagar, her flight from Sarah, her return, and the birth of Ishmael. These particulars are fully described in their various circumstances, but the Elohist has only this brief mention of so important a part of the history:—v. 3, "And Sarai Abram's wife took Hagar her maid, the Egyptian, after Abram had dwelt ten years in the land of Canaan, and gave her to her husband Abram to be his wife;"v. 16, 17, "And Abram called his son's name, which Hagar bare, Ishmael. And Abram was fourscore and six years old, when Hagar bare Ishmael to Abram." And even here it will be observed that the birth of Ishmael is only indirectly mentioned, with evident allusion to some previous direct statement.

Then again the residual history has a very full account of the destruction of the cities of the plain, and of the circumstances attending Lot's deliverance, while the Elohist has only this brief allusive reference to these particulars, as if already fully mentioned, xix. 29, "And it came to pass, in God's destroying the cities of the plain, that God remembered Abraham, and sent Lot out of the midst of the overthrow, in overthrowing the cities in the which Lot dwelt."

In like manner the birth of Isaac is but very briefly, and in the form of an allusion, described in the Elohistic narrative, while it is fully set out in the other portion. The Elohist's statement in regard to a matter of such cardinal importance is as follows:—xxi. 2, "And Sarah conceived at the set time of which God had spoken to him. And Abraham called the name of his son that was born unto him, whom Sarah bare to him, Isaac;" v. 4, 5, "And Abraham circumcised his son Isaac," etc.

Then, on the other hand, the Elohistic narrative has a full and particular account of the change of the names of Abram and Sarai to Abraham and Sarah in ch. xvii., while the remaining narrative has no express mention of this change at all, but quietly, and as a matter of course, adopts the new names from that chapter out.

The Elohist has a particular account of Sarah's death, the purchase of a burying place, and her burial by Abraham, in ch. xxiii., these matters filling the entire chapter. The remaining history, on the contrary, has no direct mention of Sarah's death and burial at all, but just assumes her death as well-known, at the close of ch. xxiv., where it is said, v. 67, that Isaac, when married to Rebekah, brought her into his mother Sarah's tent, and "was comforted after his mother." In like manner the Elohist in xxv. 7–11 describes at full length the death and burial of Abraham himself. But the residual history has no mention of that event at all, except so far as it may be thought implied in the bestowal of all his possessions on Isaac, and the sending away of the sons of his concubines "while he yet lived," v. 5, 6.

The Jehovistic narrative has full particulars respecting the marriage of Isaac and Rebekah, while the Elohist barely alludes to this event in xxv. 20: "And Isaac was forty years old in his taking Rebekah to wife, the daughter of Bethuel, the Syrian, of Padan-Aram, the sister of Laban the Syrian," all this being referred to as if already mentioned. And he is equally brief in his allusion to the birth of Isaac's sons, while this is fully set out in the other portion. All the Elohist is allowed to say on that subject is, that "Isaac was threescore years old when she bare them."

The Elohist has in xxvi. 26-33 a particular account of the covenant between Abimelech and Isaac, which gave rise to the name of the well at Beersheba. All that the other portion has in reference to this is, that "he came to Beersheba, and there Isaac's servants digged a well," v. 23-25. In the larger Elohistic account, however, the well is referred to as already digged: "Isaac's servants told him concerning the well which they had digged," v. 32.

The minute and copious account of the circumstances which led to Jacob's departure to Haran, of his marriages and stay in that country, and his return again to the land of Canaan, is represented in the Elohistic narrative by the few verses, xxviii. 1-5, in which Isaac sends him to Padan-Aram to take a wife there; and again in xxxi. 18, when it is said that "he carried away all his cattle and all his goods that he had gotten, the cattle of his getting which he had gotten in Padan-Aram, for to go to Isaac his father in the land of Canaan." And all the circumstances immediately consequent on his return, occupying several chapters following, are by the Elohist summed up in the statement of xxxv. 9, that "God appeared unto Jacob when he came out of Padan-Aram and blessed him," with the following verses to the end of 15, describing the change of his name to Israel, the promise of the land, the setting up of the pillar, and the giving of the name of Bethel to the place where God appeared, these particulars being regarded as the Elohist's account of matters told also by the Jehovist, which in the conjoined narrative appear as quite different events.

In the midst of this brief abstract, however, we find at the close of ch. xxxv. the Elohist's account of Jacob's return to his father Isaac, the age, the death, and the burial of Isaac set out particularly, while the fuller residual history has no mention at all of the death of Isaac, except so far as it appears in Esau's anticipation of it long before in xxvii. 41. Also in xxxvi. 6–8 the Elohist is given a particular account of Esau's departure with all his family and possessions from the face of Jacob, and of

his settlement in Seir on account of the insufficiency of the land to bear them both. On the other hand, the remaining history has no more particular mention of Esau's settlement in Seir than the remarks in xxxii. 3, that Jacob sent to Esau to Seir, the country of Edom; in xxxiii., that Esau returned on his way to Seir; and in xxxvi. 9 the heading of "The generations of Esau in Seir," all these being mere incidental allusions to his settlement there.

And now, though the remaining portion of the book is so full in its several particulars relating to the history of Joseph, the family of Judah, the descent into Egypt of Jacob and the Patriarchs, and the subsequent events until the death of Joseph, a very few verses contain all that in a most meagre and unconnected form the Elohist is permitted to tell of these important matters. In xlvi. 6, 7 he tells, in an abrupt and disjointed manner, that Jacob, with all his goods that he had gotten in the land of Canaan, and with all his family, went down into Egypt, no reason being assigned for this migration, nor any circumstance mentioned that led to it. Then in xlvii. 11 he has the words, "and he gave them a possession in the land of Egypt;" in 27, "and they had possessions therein, and grew and multiplied exceedingly;" while in 28 he tells the length of time that Jacob lived in Egypt, and the whole number of his years. In xlviii. 3-7 Jacob tells Joseph how God appeared to him at Luz and promised him the land of Canaan, adopts the two sons of Joseph, and mentions the death and burial of Rachel. In xlix. 29-33 he gives charge respecting his burial in the cave of Machpelah, recounting the burial there of Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebekah, and his own burial of Leah there also, and then yields up the ghost. And, finally, in l. 12, 13 his sons fulfil this command and bury him in the field Ephron, the description of the burying place being there, as on all other occasions, recited with a prolixity out of all proportion to the baldness of the narrative in general.

Thus barren has the Elohist's narrative become towards its

close, notwithstanding its frequent fulness in the earlier parts, and its preponderating copiousness of narration at the commencement. The alternations of full and meagre narrative in each of the separated histories, and the frequent brevity of each in regard to particulars on which the other is full, is exactly what would be likely to characterise, when separated into two distinct narratives by the mode of treatment applied to this book, an original unbroken narrative equably full in all its parts, mentioning matters explicitly in one place, and referring to the same briefly, and often indirectly, in another. In effecting the separation, advantage is taken of these instances of repeated mention and indirect allusion; the direct statements serving for one of the severed narratives, and the references and allusions for the other, vicibus versis. How much more favourably would the theory present itself to us, if each part observed an equable fulness throughout, that fulness being in each proportioned to its relative size as compared with the other. The real state of the case is highly unfavourable to the probability of the theory, and strongly confirms the original unity of the whole book.1

It is true that after the Elohistic narrative, as above repre-

 1 The following references indicate the passages ascribed to the Elohist in Dr. Davidson's table :—

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Ch. i. ii. 1-3.
                                              Ch. xvi. 3, 15, except first clause, 16.
     v. 1-28, to "begat."
29, "Noah."
                                                   xvii. xix. 29.
                                                   xxi. 2, except second clause.
        30-32.
                                                        4, 5.
     vi. 9-22.
                                                   xxiii. xxv. 7-11, except last clause.
     vii. 6, 7.
                                                              17, 20, 26, last clause.
                                                   xxvi. 26-33 first clause, 34, 35.
         8, except "clean, and of beasts
            that were not clean."
                                                   xxviii. 1-9.
         9, 11, 13-16 as far as Elohim.
                                                   xxxi. 18.
     21, 24.
viii. 1, 2 to end of second clause.
                                                   xxxv. 9, except "again."
                                                         15, 27, except "unto Mamre"
                                                            and last clause, 28, 29.
          3 last clause.
          4, the dates.
                                                   xxxvi. 6, except "to a country," 7, 8.
          5, 13-19.
                                                   xxxvii. 1.
     ix. 1-17, 28.
                                                   xlvi. 6, 7.
     xi. 10-32.
                                                   xlvii. 11 second clause.
     xii. 4 last half, 5.
                                                         27 last half, 28.
                                                   xlviii. 3-7.
     xiii. 6, 11 last clause.
                                                   xlix. 29-33, except second clause.
          12 two first clauses.
                                                   1. 12, 13.
     xv. 1.
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The Bishop modifies these references by a few subtractions and additions, but on the whole the difference is but slight. sented, has been abstracted, there still remains in the residue much Elohistic matter, which the partitionists of an earlier date would have assigned to the original Elohist, and which, if joined to what is now attributed to him, might have considerably modified the result of the comparison which has just been made. But our concern is not with the theory in a form which it has been found necessary to abandon, but in the form in which its advocates for the present think fit to present it. How long it may retain that form it is indeed hard to predict. As in regard to sects and parties, so also in regard to questions of criticism, the application of tests and discriminating criterions seldom stops short at a binary division, and has a tendency to continued subdivision. Thus it has been with the documents into which the book of Genesis has been resolved. The critics who first thought only of two original documents, the Elohistic and the Jehovistic, now find that division insufficient. A third has been now marked off, to say nothing of the hints that are thrown out of further subdivision. With regard to this third document Davidson says, "How have traces of a junior Elohist been detected? Certain portions of the Pentateuch belong to neither of the two documents exclusively, but present peculiarities resembling both. Though Elohim occurs in them, they are not what are termed Their tone and manner more resemble the Jeho-Elohistic. vist's."1 Taking the book as it exists in its integrity, we may justly regard these passages that savour of both as evidences of the unity of the entire. The varying phases of a writer's mind, which will at one time produce one peculiarity, and at another time another, will also naturally show themselves in their intermediate stages, and blend both peculiarities. But when the extremes have been separated, it is impossible to adjudicate these transitional passages fairly between the two, and nothing remains for it but to turn them over to a third author. The whole evidence for the existence of this third writer, denominated the junior Elohist from the frequent though

not exclusive use of Elohim, depends on the previous partition between the Elohist and the Jehovist, the phenomena which this portion presents being easily reconcilcable with the whole in its integrity, as it contains the peculiarities that distinguish both the other portions, though not so readily with either of the latter in their separate state. Thus, for instance, the primitive Elohist is in general too brief to admit any very diffusive narrative, especially in regard to the patriarchal history, to be assigned to him. Thus Davidson says, p. 44, "The history of the settlement of Jacob's family in Egypt, which is largely interwoven with Elohistic materials, belongs in a great degree to the junior Elohist. This is shown by the contents, manner, and style. The narrative is too diffuse and minute to harmonise with the summary notices of the primitive Elohist, unless the occurrences bore a particular theocratic and legal significance, which they do not." The assumed criterion of theocratic and legal significance fails, and the theory is modified accordingly. The necessity which exists therefore for separating so much Elohistic matter from the primitive Elohistic document, when once the principle of separate authorship has been adopted, justifies the comparison of that Elohistic document in its reduced form, with the remaining materials contained in the book, which has just been made.

III. Before making a further remark on the book in its general aspect, as partitioned amongst the several supposed authors—the Elohist, the Jehovist, the junior Elohist, and the Redactor,—it will be desirable to present one complete table of the parts assigned to each in the order of their succession and alternation, rather than separate tables of the parts assigned to each, such as Davidson and the Bishop of Natal have given.

Table of Passages assigned to the several Authors.1

Сн.	i.	ii.	1-3	E.	Сн. іі. 9-25, ііі. 1-21
			4-9	J.	iii. 22–24R.
			9.	"tree of life."R.	ivJ.

¹ In this Table, E. stands for Elohist, J. for Jehovist, J.E. for junior Elohist, and R. for Redactor. The Bishop of Natal greatly modifies this table, rejecting a

Сн. v. 1-28, to "begat"Е.	Сн. xii. 4 last clause, 5Е.
28, "a son."R.	6 90 -::: 1 5
20, a son	6-20, xiii. 1-5J.
29, "Noah."E.	xiii. 6E.
remainderR.	7-11 to "east"J.
30–32E.	11 last clause, 12 to "place"E.
vi. 1–3R.	
4 first slaves	12 last clause, 13–18, xivJ.
4 first clauseJ.	xv. 1E.
remainderR.	2-21, xvi. 1J.
5-8J.	xvi. 2J.E.
9-22E.	3E.
vii. 1–5J.	4-14J.
C O Ta	1
6-8,E.	15 first clause
8, "clean, and of beasts	remainder, 16, xviiE.
that were not clean." R.	xviii. xix. 1-28J.
9E.	xix. 29 E.
10J.	20. 28 D
	30–38R.
11E.	xx. 1-17J.E.
12J.	18J.
13–16E.	xxi. 1 J.E.
16 last clause, 17J.	2 first clauseE.
18-21E.	second clauseJ.
22, 23J.	
04 mill 1 0 funt alarma 17	last clauseE.
24, viii. 1, 2 first clauseE.	3J.E.
viii. 2 second clause, 3 first clauseJ.	4-5E.
3 second clauseE.	6–7J.E.
4, "the ark rested."J. dates	8–9R.
datesE.	10-16, 17 first clauseJ.E.
"on the mountains, etc."J.	17 second clauseR.
5E.	17 second chause
	remainder, 18-20 to
6–12J.	"grew"J.E.
13–19E.	20 remainder
20-22J.	21–34, xxii, 1–13J. E.
ix. 1–17E.	xxii. 14–18J.
18, to "Japheth"J.	19J.E.
last clauseR.	20-24J.
19 J.	20-21
	xxiiiE.
20-27R.	xxiv. 1-67, except last clauseJ.
28, 29E.	67 last clauseR.
x. 1–5 first clauseJ.	xxv. 1-6J.
5, "every—tongue,"R.	7-11 to "Isaac"E.
remainder—8 first clauseJ.	11 last clauseJ.E.
8 second clauseR.	12-16J.
9-20 to "families"J.	17 E
00 (1-25-4)	
20, "after their tongues,"R.	18–19J.
remainderJ.	20E.
21	21-26 to "Jacob"J.
22–25, to "Peleg"J.	26 last clauseE.
25 next clauseR.	27, 28J.
last clause—31 as far as	29–34, xxvi. 1–5R.
"families"J.	xxvi. 6J.E.
31 " after their tenence" D	7 10
31, "after their tongues,"R. remainder, 32J.	7–12R.
remainder, 32	13-14 to "servants"J.E.
xi. 1-9R.	14 last clause, 15
10-32E.	16-17J.E.
10-32	18R.

separate compiler altogether, and giving a much greater proportion of the whole to the Jehovist. It is unnecessary for the present argument to give the Bishop's table, as it is mainly directed against the more complex subdivision. This table is formed from that of Dr. Davidson, who gives Boehmer as his principal authority for it.

Сн. xxvi. 19-22	CH. XXXI. 55 intermediate partJ.E.
23, 24R.	last clauseJ.
25 to "these"J.E.	xxxii. 1-2J.E.
last clauseR.	3-21J.
26-33 first clauseE.	22 first clauseR.
last clauseR.	intermediate partJ.
34, 35E.	33 last clauseJ.E.
xxvii. 1–45	23 first clauseR.
46R.	remainderJ.

xxviii. 1-9E. 10-12J.E.	24 first clause
	second clauseJ.E.
13–16R.	25R.
17–22J.E.	26-31 first clauseJ.E.
xxix, xxx. 1-13 J.	31 last clause, 32R.
xxx. 14-16R.	xxxiii. 1–16J.
17-40 first clauseJ.	17R.
40 second and thirdR.	18 first clauseJ.
remainder, 41–43 and	to "Aram"R. last clauseJ.
xxxi. 1J.	last clauseJ.
2J.E.	19,R.
3J.	20, xxxiv. 1, to "out"J.
4-9J.E.	xxxiv. 1 concluding wordsR.
10 R.	2. to "saw her" J.
11 first clauseJ.E.	2, to "saw her"J. remainderR.
remainder, 12R.	3, 4J.
13-17 first clauseJ.E.	5R.
17 second clauseJ.	6J.
18E.	7R. 8–13, to "said"J.
19 first clauseJ.E.	
second clauseJ.	13 last clauseR.
20	14-18J.
21-23, to "journey"J.	19R.
23, thence to "him"J.E.	20-26 first clauseJ.
"in the mount Gilead"R.	26 remainder, 27R.
24J.E.	28-30J.
25, 26 first clauseJ.	31, xxxv. 1-4R.
26 remainderJ.E.	xxxv. 5
27J.	6, 7, to "him"J.E.
28, 29J.E.	7 remainder, 8R.
30, 31 first clauseJ.	9, to "Jacob"E. "again"R.
31 remainderJ.E.	"again"R.
32–37J.	remainder—15E.
38–41 first clauseJ.E.	16 first clauseR.
41 intermediate partR.	remainder—20 first
last clause, 42J.E.	clauseJ.
43–45J.	20 second clauseR.
46-48 first clauseJ.E.	21J.
48 remainder, 50 to	22–26J.E.
"daughters"R.	22–26J.E. 27, to "father"E.
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Now, if the reader will take the pains to scan the columns of the foregoing table, he cannot fail to be struck by the large proportion of the book that is supposed to be made up of brief passages, single verses, sentences, clauses, and phrases of one or two words, interlaced and interwoven, as picked in varying alternations from the several documents, which are alleged to have been made use of by the laborious compiler of this tessellated work. In all there are 370 alternations of authorship, and of these 155 are in length less than two verses, very many much smaller. task, which the Redactor is thus imagined to have set himself, was very different from that which the modern critics have accomplished in their analysis and resolution of the book as it came into their hands. Having assumed certain tests and criteria of authorship, whether fallacious or not, they had only to apply these tests as they went along, and then to classify the separated parts accordingly. The admitted copiousness, and even redundancy of narration, favoured this operation, and helped the formation of distinct narratives out of the separated materials. Whatever did not fit conveniently into any of these in their separated state, it was easy to ascribe to the compiler himself; and whenever a want of connexion, or a serious omission of particulars that ought to have been specified, presented itself in these separated documents, it was easy also to imagine an omission by the Redactor of what he did not want in duplicate, and could not convert into narratives of different events, or to suppose that he altered the grammatical structure to suit his combined performance. But when he went to work, he

must have had the documents before him in their separate and severally unbroken continuity. What he would have been likely to have done in such a case was to adopt one, the most complete perhaps, as the basis of his operation; he might, perhaps, have introduced longer portions of the others, just as he found them, into the places to which they were obviously adapted; and with regard to the remainder, he would have supplied from it, in his own words, whatever was deficient in that which he adopted as the ground work, or he would, using the particulars supplied by all as his materials, have written from himself a complete and continuous narrative. If the theory was presented to us in this form, then the compiler would in fact have been an original author, and the only question would be as to his age and name. There would have been no antecedent impossibility that Moses himself might have proceeded in this way, any more than that the three first Evangelists, having in memory, as seems most probable, some proterangelium, or statement of Gospel history drawn up for use in the congregations, should have interwoven the same in their own fuller narrations. The application of the tests, however, does not suit such a form of the theory, and a compiler is therefore supposed to have set about breaking up the several documents into minute fragments, and then to have pieced and patched these together into a continuous narrative. That any one should have attempted this operation would imply such a superstitious reverence for the mere letter of the several documents, as is contradicted by the freedoms which this compiler is supposed to have taken not only with the sense, which he must often have altered, but even with the letter itself in many cases. That any one should have undertaken such a task is what may well seem incredible to one accustomed to form his opinion on, at least, a reasonable amount of probability. This remark, indeed, is far more applicable to the complex arrangement of the parts of the book adopted in the table we have just given, than to the more simple partition of the Bishop of Natal; but it does apply with very considerable force to it also, on the supposition that the second Elohist was a different writer from the Jehovist, who subsequently interwove the two Elohists with his own additions. It applies, at least, so far as the second Elohist's portions extend.

That the author of the entire book in its present state might not unreasonably be admitted to have incorporated a previously existing document, like that which forms the vertebral column of the three first Gospels, is what no one would feel any disposition to question, if only the evidences of such an earlier document were sufficiently clear, as they certainly are in the case of the Gospels. The absence of evidence sufficient to sustain this supposition, as regards the Elohistic document supposed by some to be embodied by a later Jehovist, has been sufficiently exhibited in the foregoing examination. The supposition of a later introduction of certain Jehovistic and other passages by the writer himself may, perhaps, claim a greater degree of probability; though it is not necessary to account for the phenomena presented by the book in its present state, if the considerations already brought before the reader have any weight. The fifth chapter, which is the proper sequel of the introductory passage ending with ii. 3, and which seems to have been originally intended as the first of the principal sections following the Exordium, having the more formal title, "This is the book of the generations of Adam," may have been composed in immediate connexion with that commencing passage. Then the intervening portion, so different in its representation of the process of creation, may have been introduced by the author at a subsequent period; only in such case the reference to iii. 17 in v. 29 must have been simultaneously introduced in the latter place. Such a reference, connecting the new matter with the old, the original writer might have thought of introducing; a subsequent compiler would scarcely have interpolated it, where nothing existed in the document before him to suggest it to his mind. If then we may reasonably assume the subse-

quent introduction of the section entitled, "The generations of heavens and earth," what was thus done in one instance may have taken place in others also. Such passages as vii. 1-10,1 viii. 20-25, and others, the omission of which would not break the continuity of the narrative, and which may be thought to exhibit a somewhat different mental habitude, either as regards the names of God, or in other respects, from their present context, or to repeat somewhat needlessly what was already told, may be due to such interpolation by the author himself, at a period subsequent to the original composition of the book. Few works are free from such additions made by their own authors; and in an age when the art of composition was not cultivated as in after times, less care may have been taken to avoid the appearances of the more recent introduction of the passages in question. In the investigation already made this supposition has not been relied on. It seemed better to judge the book as it exists, without the aid of any such conjecture; and it is hoped that a good case has been made out, independently of any supposition of this kind. It is not amiss, however, to suggest here the possibility of a subsequent retouching and introduction of fresh materials, which the critics, who may, perhaps, refuse to this book the benefit of such a conjecture, are yet in the habit of giving to their own more artistically constructed writings.

One may feel the less scruple in claiming for a single author of the entire book this privilege of introducing new matter here

¹ The connexion, which, as we have already seen, exists between the several particulars enjoined in vii. 1−5, and the fulfilment of the commands as stated in the succeeding verses (see p. 368), renders it necessary to suppose that such an introduction by the author, at a later period, must have extended to at least the tenth verse. But then this would bring together parts, on the differences of which the supposition of their different authorship has been grounded. One of these differences is the change from Jehovah to Elohim, and the other the absence of any distinction as regards the number of pairs, when the distribution of clean and unclean animals is mentioned in v. 8. If only vii. 1−5 were subsequently introduced, as above suggested, then the author must have taken the several particulars contained in the Divine command from those specified in the succeding verses, and put them in the same order. The necessity, however, of multiplying hypotheses diminishes the probability of any conjecture.

and there, on subsequent reviews of his writing, and at times when different circumstances, or variations in mental habitude, may have occasioned variations of phraseology, since the Bishop of Natal himself, in the last volume of his work, has claimed the same privilege for his Jehovist. Having admitted the validity of the reasons for separating the portions of the book ascribed to the second Elohist from those of the Jehovist, reasons more or less valid, as the legitimate application of the principle of subdivision, on the grounds already relied on for separating the Elohistic parts, he still thinks these portions ascribed to the second Elohist may have been written by the Jehovist at a different time from the principal Jehovistic parts. Thus, Pt. V., p. 60, he speaks of the probability of "the second Elohist being the same as the Jehovist, only writing at an earlier period of his life, before he had acquired that freedom and fluency, which seems to characterise the more decidedly Jehovistic matter." And again in p. 65 and 67, and several times elsewhere through the volume, the same notion is put forward with more or less confidence. And though he claims for these parts a closer agreement in style than between the original Elohist's writing and either, yet in what is simply a matter of degree, or depends on difference of circumstances, greater intervals and more widely different circumstances might have occasioned greater diversity. The brief and simple style of much of the Elohistic parts might reasonably be thought to indicate, that a dry abstract of leading facts was first prepared, which was afterwards at different times enlarged and filled up. This, however, cannot have been the case with some of the fuller portions of the Elohistic matter, such as ch. i. and the history of the deluge, which may have been written at large at the earlier period, the rest, though in parts also fuller than others, being as yet mainly only sketched out. And thus the book might have gradually assumed its present form in the hands of a single author.

In conclusion, it remains only to be remarked, that the unity of the book rests on an unbroken tradition, which even in the NOTE A. 631

time of the LXX. appears to have been as unquestioned as it was in subsequent ages, if indeed they had not more satisfactory evidence as to its authorship than any mere tradition, however uninterrupted. The burden of proof rests, therefore, on those who now maintain the plurality of authorship; and those who advocate the unity are only called on to rebut or debilitate such proof as may be adduced. If they are successful in this, they are not obliged to produce any positive proof in support of the traditionary character of the book, which may well claim to hold its prescriptive rights until they have been disproved. That the arguments relied on in proof of the plurality of authorship have in some cases been wholly rebutted, in others so much weakened as to be of little force in proof of the conclusions drawn from them, and that the residue are quite insufficient to establish these conclusions, is the least that may be claimed as the result of the foregoing examin-It is hoped, however, that many positive proofs of the unity of authorship have been presented from time to time, and that whatever has been thus adduced as direct evidence of unity will be found not wholly destitute of weight.

NOTE A.

(Page 306, line 23.)

In drawing conclusions from fragments of ancient authors, Orphic verses, oracles, and such like remains of antiquity, we should remember how manifestly corrupt these things have in many instances come to us, taxing the ingenuity of the learned either to elicit meaning from them, or to restore their metre. However the conjectural emendations of such remains may often carry with them the self-evidence of their success, in many cases we must still feel considerable doubt, and greatly distrust such amended authorities in discussing controverted questions. Moreover this habit of applying conjectural emenda-

tion to corrupted remains of ancient authors has not been a practice adopted only by modern critics. Ancient critics also tried their hands in this way. Thus from a passage of Porphyry, quoted by Warburton, Divine Legation, B. II., sect. 3, we learn that this writer, a great collector of such curiosities, was accustomed thus to deal with what he has transmitted to later times. In the passage referred to, which has been preserved by Eusebius, Porphyry declares to God, that the ancient oracles, which he collected, he gave without addition or subtraction as regards their meaning, though he corrected erroneous readings, used clearer for more obscure expressions, filled up defective metres, and drew his pen through what seemed irrelevant to the writer's purpose.1 Now though he adds that he preserved the sense unaltered, under fear of the punishment due to sacrilege,2 it is plain that remains thus dealt with can have very little weight as authorities in regard to questions of moment. What Porphyry did others may have done likewise, without even their own attestation of fidelity. We are not only obliged to trust the honesty and good judgment of the corrector, without being able to compare the amended with the corrupted text, but we are also deprived of all opportunity of judging whether the quotation belongs to its pretended date by the evidence of a phraseology corresponding or not with such an age. The diction being modernised, we must take the genuineness of the fragment on the sole authority of the writer who cites it. We need not say how precarious conclusions drawn from such authorities, and mainly depending on them, must necessarily be thought, especially when it is on the diction itself that these conclusions rest. It is plain that such precarious inferences, and weakly supported conjectures, can never be justly allowed to disturb the existing belief on any subject of moment.

 2 'Ως τόν τε νοῦν ἀκραιφνῆ τῶν ρηθέντων διετήρησα, εὐλαβούμενος τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἱεροσυλίας ἐπομένην δίκην.

¹ Έπει κάγω τι θεοὺς μαρτύρουαι. ὡς οὐδὲν οὕτε προστέθεικα, οὕτε ἀφείλον τῶν χρησθέντων· εἰ μή που λέξιν ἡμαρτημένην διώρθωσα, ἡ προς τὰ σαφέστερον μετα βέβληκα, ἡ τὸ μετρὸν ἐλλεῖπον ἀναπλήρωσα, ἡ τι τῶν μὴ πρὸς τὴν πρόθεσιν συντεινόντων διέγραψα. Prap. Evang. iv. 7.

NOTE B.

(Page 311, line 24.)

Fuerst's statement that \mathfrak{P} (Gawan) was the name of a Byblian deity is probably to be traced to the article by Movers on Phænicia in Ersch and Gruber's Cyclopædia, if not independently derived from the same source. But Movers there only infers the existence of this name from the $\Gamma a \acute{\nu} a s$ of Lycophron and Tzetzes. As an explanation of $\Gamma a \acute{\nu} a s$ it is, however, far more probable, than the conjectural 'Ia\acute{\nu} a s, which the Bishop of Natal, after the same Movers, adopts in support of his theory, but which would entirely depend on the truth of the theory itself for any probability it might possess.

NOTE C.

(Page 312, line 2.)

In reference to such forms as $A\beta\delta\alpha\hat{i}os$, $Z\epsilon\beta\epsilon\delta\alpha\hat{i}os$, and other like names derived from the Hebrew, it is to be observed that the termination alos is the normal representative of the Hebrew terminations '- and '-, common in gentile adjectives, but not confined to adjectives of that kind. The termination '- in proper names of men may have been the pronominal suffix, but the names of persons ending in '- were properly adjectives applied as names, and expressive of personal qualities or circumstances; see Ewald, Krit. Gramm. Ausfürhl, §. 138. These proper names in the canonical books are commonly represented in their Hebrew form. But we may instance the name Haggai, which is presented with a Greek termination as 'Ayyalos. And this form is common in the Apocryphal books. It is true that in the first book of Esdras one or two names with this termination represent names, that in the canonical book of Ezra appear with the termination iah, as $\Sigma a\mu a\hat{i}os$ for Shemaiah. But the names in the Apocryphal book of Esdras are generally corrupt. Besides,

to serve the purpose for which the name Abdæus is adduced, it is not enough that this termination might represent the Hebrew termination jah. To serve as a proof of the use of this element in the composition of Phænician names it should be the proper representative of that termination, and not regularly represent any other. This not being the case, the occurrence of a single instance like 'Aβδaîos can prove nothing. To say the least, it is more likely to represent one termination than the other. To argue from the mere possibility of its being used irregularly is quite inadmissible in the present case.

NOTE D.

(Page 315, line 7.)

That the Phonicians in later times may have adopted religious words and notions from the Jews, might be thought probable from the case of the Syro-Phœnician woman mentioned in the Gospels. An imitation may have taken place even at a much earlier period. We read in the book of Amos, i. 9, of "the brotherly covenant" which the Tyrians are charged with being unmindful of, when they delivered up the captivity to Edom. This may have had reference to the league between Solomon and Hiram. Solomon adopted from the Tyrians the worship of the Sidonian Ashtoreth, to whom he built a temple on the Mount of Corruption at Jerusalem, which remained with other monuments of heathenism to Josiah's time, when they were all destroyed. On the other hand we find Hiram, as mentioned in 1 Kings v. 7, saying "Blessed be Jehovah this day, who hath given to David a wise son over this great people." It was not as a Tyrian God that Hiram thus blessed Jehovah, but as the God of Israel. This appears from the form in which the words are given in 2 Chron. ii. 12. He there says it was "because Jehovah hath loved his people," that he made Solomon king over them. and then adds "Blessed be Jehovah, the God of Israel, that NOTE D. 635

made heaven and earth." In this Jehovah's people are not mankind in general, nor Tyrians as well as Israelites, but Israel alone. Hiram recognises the God of Israel, and adopts the Israelite addition, "maker of heaven and earth," just as Abraham recognised the El-Elion of Melchizedek, and adopted the addition, "possessor of heaven and earth." Such an adoption of Hebrew worship by the Phænicians was much more consistent with their idolatrous notions, than was Solomon's adoption of heathenish worship with the religion of the Israelites, and the interchange is highly probable. Indeed we have some slight evidence of its existence on this occasion, as just shown, though not of its subsistence as long as that of the idolatrons worship amongst the Israelites borrowed from the Tyrians. Whether the expression in Ezekiel xxviii. 14, "Thou wast upon the holy mountain of God," has any reference to this matter or not, it is clear that if it were proved, which it has not been, that the name Jehovah, or the shorter form Jah, was at any time employed by the Phænicians, the Biblical history itself, according to its own manner of representing the case, would sufficiently account for such a fact, without the monstrous hypothesis that the Israelites borrowed the name from them at the late period that is alleged, or at any time.

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